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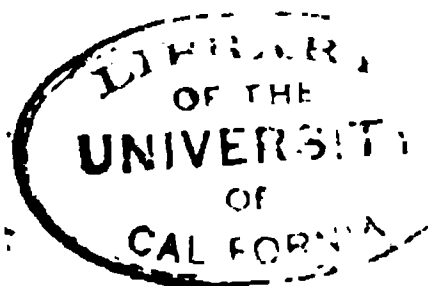
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Lake Mohawk conference

Class

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
Lake Mohonk Conference
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
1901

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS



PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1902

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PREFACE.

The nineteenth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian was held, as usual, in the hospitable home of the generous hosts, Messrs. A. K. and Daniel Smiley, at Lake Mohonk, October 16-18, 1901. A large number attended the meeting, as, in addition to the personal guests of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, there were many guests of the house present. As last year, so this year, much time was given to the consideration of other races besides the Indian.

The addresses and discussions are given practically in full, save the complimentary speeches, which are always heartily given and warmly applauded by the audience, but the printing of which is forbidden by the hosts of the occasion.

One copy of this Report at least is sent to every member of the Conference. If others are needed, they may be had by writing to Mr. Daniel Smiley, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

I. C. B. .

NEW YORK, N. Y., December, 1901.

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PLATFORM.

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

The nineteenth annual session of the Lake Mohonk Indian Conference congratulates the country on the gratifying evidence of healthy progress and important results attendant upon efforts that have been put forth in recent years for the education and elevation of the Indian race, seen in a federal school system providing for the education of upward of 25,000 Indian children, and the allotment of over 6,500,000 acres of land to over 55,000 Indians, with a secure individual title, and in the possession by these Indians of all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizenship. We note with special satisfaction the action of the Department of the Interior, since our last meeting, in issuing regulations for licensing and solemnizing marriages of Indians, for keeping family records of all agencies, and for preventing polygamous marriages. There still remain evils to be corrected and work to be done. The frequent changes in the Indian service, involving both removals and appointments for purely political reasons, lead us to suggest to the President the propriety of framing and promulgating some rules prescribing such methods in nominating agents as will put an end to this abuse. The same pressure for patronage operates to delay or prevent the abolition of needless agencies. Congress, at its last session, acting on the recommendation of the Indian Commissioner, abolished three such agencies. There are at least half a score more which, in the judgment of experts, should be abolished as sinecures, which not only involve needless expense to the country, but also operate deleteriously upon emancipated Indians.

We recognize the administrative perplexities attending the allotting and leasing of lands: there are the aged and infirm, the feeble and incompetent, women and children; many who prefer other occupations than that of farming or grazing; others who, by renting their lands, may be able to pursue their education; all of whom, under a just system of leasing, would derive great advantage from holdings which would otherwise be valueless. But indiscriminate leasing, which strengthens the white man's hold on the Indian's land, and encourages lazy landlordism in the Indian, should be prevented, either by more stringent legislation, or by a careful scrutiny of all leasing recommended by agents in the field.

The tribal funds held in trust for Indians by the Government of the United States should be placed to the credit of individual Indians, who are entitled to share in them as rapidly as lists of such individuals in each tribe can be prepared and recorded. Chil-

dren born after the preparation of such lists should share in such funds only by inheritance, and not as members of a tribe; and, so far as possible, consistent with the spirit and the equitable intent of the special terms which created each such fund, these funds should thus be broken up into individual holdings, when provision shall have been made for certain educational uses for all the members of the tribe, and perhaps for payment of territorial, state and county taxes on allotted lands during all or part of the period of protected titles. The money which belongs to the Indian should be paid to the Indians as rapidly as they are pronounced fit to receive it, that by receiving and using, each his own money, Indian citizens may be educated to the use of money.

Improvements are doubtless required in our Indian schools. This Conference puts itself on record as believing in schools, both in the Indian neighborhoods and at a distance from them; and the proportion to be maintained between the two must be left to be determined from time to time by experience. The eventual result to be reached is the abolition of all distinctively Indian schools, and the incorporation of Indian pupils in the schools of the country.

The importance of the native Indian industries is such that the Government, and all teachers and guides of the Indian, should cooperate in the endeavor to revive them. To the Indian, they are valuable as a means of profitable occupation and natural expression; to the country, as specimens of a rare and indigenous art, many of them artistically excellent; some of them absolutely unique; all of them adapted to furnish congenial and remunerative employment at home, and to foster, in the Indian, self-respect, and in the white race, respect for the Indians.

The evil condition of Indian reservations in the State of New York has been a matter of frequent consideration. This Conference emphasizes the recommendation made in December, 1900, by a committee of five appointed by the then governor, Theo. Roosevelt, that these reservations be allotted in severalty; and it urges Congress to consider at an early day the practicability of enacting such legislation as will accomplish this result without further delay.

The experience of the past indicates the errors which we should avoid; the principles by which we should be guided; and the ends which we should seek in our relations with all dependent races under American sovereignty. Capacity for self-government in dependent and inexperienced races, is a result to be achieved by patient and persistent endeavor; it is not to be assumed that they already possess it. Meanwhile, the duty of administering government for the benefit of the governed involves the obligation of selecting all officials, not with regard to services which have been rendered to their party, but solely with regard to the services which they will render to the governed community. Loyalty to the American spirit requires us so to organize and administer government over dependent peoples, as will most speedily prepare them for self-government. All men under American sovereignty, whatever their race or religion, should

be treated as equals before the law; amenable to the same legal penalties for their offenses, and secured in the same legal protection for their rights. The principle recognized by all experts in social science, and abundantly confirmed by American experience, should prevent the Federal Government from granting any permanent franchises in any of our territories. Lands which have come, or shall come, into the possession of the United States, should be held in trust for the people of the territory, and, as far as practicable, should be disposed of to actual settlers in the spirit of the homestead laws. In all territories of the United States the Federal Government should see that public schools are provided under federal control, and, when necessary, at federal expense, for the education of all children of school age, until permanent governments are organized able to provide and maintain such schools. The Christian religion is the basis of Christian civilization; and the new opportunities opened before the American people, and the new responsibilities laid upon them, demand the co-operation of all the Christian churches in an endeavor to inculcate the principles, and impart the spirit, of the gospel of Christ. In brief, the object of action, whether governmental, philanthropic or religious, should be to secure to these dependent peoples just government, righteous laws, industrial opportunities, adequate education and a pure and free religion.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1901.

President: MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D.

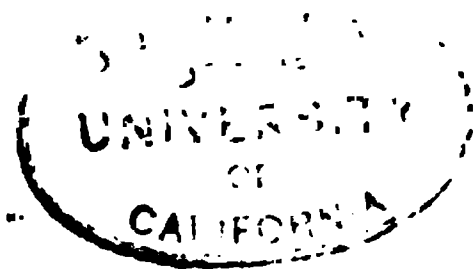
Secretaries: Mrs. ISABEL C. BARROWS, Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS, Mrs. GEORGE H. KNIGHT.

Treasurer: Mr. FRANK WOOD, 352 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

Business Committee: Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT, Dr. ADDISON P. FOSTER, Mr. DANIEL SMILEY, Mr. LUCIEN C. WARNER, Mr. D. W. McWILLIAMS, Mr. PHILIP C. GARRETT, Mr. DARWIN R. JAMES, Gen. T. J. MORGAN.

Press Reporter: Mr. W. H. McELROY.

Publication Committee: Mrs. I. C. BARROWS, Mr. JOSHUA W. DAVIS, Mr. FRANK WOOD.



THE NINETEENTH LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 16, 1901.

The Nineteenth Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian was called to order after morning prayers, which were conducted by Rev. Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, at 10 A. M. Wednesday, October 16, 1901. The guests were welcomed by Mr. A. K. Smiley, the generous host of the occasion, in the following words:—

Ladies and Gentlemen: The time has arrived for the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Friends of the Indian. I am not sure but we shall have to change that name. These friends are friends of other peoples besides the Indians. I cannot begin to tell you how much pleasure it gives me to welcome you here. To see a company of men and women, with earnest hearts and clear brains, coming together to discuss the elevation of different races of people, and the best way of doing it, is to me an intense delight. I believe all good causes can be best promoted by the friendly, earnest, open discussion of people holding different views, comparing notes, and then arriving at some conclusion. We have always had open and free discussion here, and at the end have come to some conclusion in which we could agree, owing to the fact that there were peace-makers as well as wise heads among us.

I have great hopes for the success of this Conference. There are here this morning just an even hundred invited guests, with about fifty yet to come. There are two hundred and thirty-one regular guests of the house also here,—an unusual number at this time of the year. I am afraid that we may have to put our Conference off later another year, because we do not like to turn away people who want to attend it.

It has been thought best that the Indian question should not monopolize the whole three days of the meeting. A great many matters which needed attention eighteen years ago have been settled now, so that the need of an Indian conference is not so strong as it was; but other questions have come up which are very important, such as Porto Rico, the Philippines and Hawaii, about which we ought to confer, and time will be given for that.

It is important that we have a good presiding officer, and I have always assumed the privilege of nominating one. We have had

one man who has served us admirably for some years, and I have no doubt that it will meet with your full approval when I again nominate as our presiding officer Dr. Merrill E. Gates, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

The motion was seconded, and Dr. Gates was unanimously elected.

Dr. Gates took the chair and called for further organization.

On motion of Mr. Philip C. Garrett the following Secretaries were elected in the order named: Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis, Mrs. George H. Knight.

On motion of Mr. Charles F. Meserve, Mr. Frank Wood, of Boston, who, as was said, has served the Conference faithfully for eleven years in that capacity, was elected Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. James Talcott the following-named persons were elected a Business Committee: Dr. Lyman Abbott, Dr. Addison P. Foster, Mr. Daniel Smiley, Mr. Lucien C. Warner, Mr. D. W. McWilliams, Mr. Philip C. Garrett, Mr. Darwin R. James and Gen. T. J. Morgan.

On motion of Hon. W. W. Beardshear, Mr. William H. McElroy was elected press reporter.

On motion of Dr. H. B. Frissell the following Publication Committee was elected: Mrs. I. C. Barrows, Mr. Joshua W. Davis and Mr. Frank Wood.

The following address was delivered by Dr. Gates, the presiding officer.

THE NEXT STEPS TO BE TAKEN.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D., OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends of the Indians, and Members of the Mohonk Conference: Once more in response to the hospitable invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Smiley, we are met at Mohonk to take counsel together for the welfare of the Indians. The beauty of the autumn time renews itself no more unfailingly than does the gracious and hearty welcome of our host to his annual guests. The beauty of the autumn does not pall with added years; but all the glories of the autumn time are suggestive of fruit, and our Conferences here, beautiful as they are in their setting of natural scenery, and gracious and delightful as they are in their social intercourse and their ennobling friendships, do not exist primarily and chiefly for these social and æsthetic delights. The rich colors of autumn and its falling foliage bear witness to a period of life which has been used in producing fruit, and enriching other lives; and so it passes in serene beauty, its mission accomplished. And all our Conferences here, to those of us who have known them for almost a score of years now, are valued, and have become beautiful in memory,

not chiefly for the gracious charm which has marked our intercourse here, but by the fruitage of ennobling friendship in our united helpful effort to uplift and enrich the life of the less favored and belated races of our country.

PROGRESS ALREADY MADE.

Much has been accomplished in these eighteen years. In the autumn of 1884, when I was first present at a Mohonk Indian Conference, the only original Americans had no rights before the law. They were without citizenship, and they could not possibly become citizens. They had no homes. No way was open to them by which they might enter into the life of our people. There was no door of hope for the Indian. A severalty bill to give them homes, which had been drafted and urged by the Board of Indian Commissioners as early as 1870, did not become a law until 1886. There was no adequate system of Government schools; and the mission schools and contract schools of the different denominations reached but a small fraction of the Indian children of school age.

Now, about sixty thousand of the Indians have become citizens, under the Severalty Act. If we except the twenty thousand Navaho, there is almost enough of opportunity at Indian schools for all the Indian children of school age. The average of attendance at Indian schools is approximating that of the average schools for whites in our country. The number of Indians who are dependent upon rations is decreasing from year to year, and should be still more rapidly diminished. Wars between Indians and the United States Government are at an end, as we believe. And we dare to hope that there will not be much more even of bloody rioting on the part of Indians against the authorities. The regulations of the Civil Service have removed from the problem many of the evils connected with inexperience and incapacity on the part of teachers and employees in the service. There is no longer a "clean sweep" for partisan reasons after each general election. The service still suffers terribly from the appointment of incapable and worthless agents by local and political influence, and purely from partisan considerations. But we remember that in 1892 Theodore Roosevelt, then Civil Service Commissioner, and an interested participant in this Conference at Mohonk, said that the President of the United States, while he could not by his own act put Indian agents under the Civil Service Law, could, if he chose, put an end to many of the evils attaching to the present system of appointing agents, by declaring that he would not nominate as Indian agent any man whose fitness for the service had not been tested and approved by examination, or by some competent commission; and we have confidence that Theodore Roosevelt, as President of the United States, knowing the actual condition of affairs upon our Western Indian reservations by personal observation as no other President has ever known them, in some way which shall commend itself to his sound judgment and his high principles, as President will carry into effect the reforms which, as Commissioner, he saw were so much needed in order to secure well qualified

and effective men as Indian agents, and to keep in positions where their experience will be of service to the nation and the Indians, the agents who show themselves capable.

REGULATIONS TO PROTECT THE FAMILY.

During this last year decided progress has been made in more than one line of effort that looks toward the solution of the Indian problem. Those of you who were present at this Conference a year ago, remember how strongly your Chairman insisted at that time upon the crying need of regulations for the licensing and solemnizing of Indian marriages; and for the making and keeping of a permanent record, at every agency, of family relations, and of births and deaths, as well as of marriages. If any others felt, as your Chairman certainly felt (at the close of the session, in which the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had spoken to us in a way to command so fully the interest and the esteem of all who heard him make that address), that the Chairman of the Conference went to the extreme limit of the allowable in urging upon the Commissioner of Indian Affairs his personal responsibility for taking immediate action to carry into effect such a system of family records, we may say, in the circle of the Conference, that the friendly challenge to act at once was taken up most cordially by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and before your Chairman and the Commissioner reached Washington, steps had been taken to prepare the necessary papers and blanks. The experienced head of a division in the Indian Bureau, Miss Cook, was named by Commissioner Jones to give especial attention to this matter. Members of the Conference will be gratified to know that the entire system of instructions, forms and regulations requiring the licensing and solemnizing of marriages between the Indians, forbidding polygamous marriages, providing for the immediate registration of all families at each Indian agency, and for a permanent record of all births, marriages and deaths, has gone into effect in the Indian service within the last two months. To Commissioner Jones (and to Miss Cook, of the Indian Bureau, to whose manifold duties the preparation and supervision of these forms were added), belongs the credit for immediate and effective action along this important line. The Secretary of the Interior has given his hearty approval to the plan.

We are anticipating with pleasure the presence of Commissioner Jones, to speak to us at a subsequent session of this Conference; and from him we shall hear in detail of the progress of the year in Indian affairs.

THE END OF "THE INDIAN SYSTEM" IS IN SIGHT.

Among the many matters connected with the Indian problem which interest us, and to which true friends of the Indian and lovers of their country must still give thought and steadfast effort, *one or two subjects are so centrally, so supremely important*, that I want to impress them especially upon your thought. I want to ask you, as leaders of public thought and shapers of public opinion, through

the press, the pulpit, and that ever-widening influence which belongs to the intelligent womanhood of our land, to *do all that lies in your power to stimulate thought, and to secure legislative and administrative action along these central lines.*

CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE OF TRIBAL FUNDS.

You know the intensely conservative force of vested funds in maintaining an established order of things. Many who are eager and strenuous in their efforts to influence men toward new and wiser courses of action, seem to be struck with paralysis of awe when they contemplate millions of dollars which have been used in certain ways, and therefore, in the minds of many, always should be used in precisely the same way. When vast tracts of land and great sums of money are united in their force of inertia to perpetuate great abuses, all hope of change seems to die out of the hearts of many. The history of "mortmain," and its deadly conservative effect upon the life of certain European nations, is a notable case in point.

By the old system, in Indian affairs, our National Government palavered and treated with the so-called "tribal governments" of Indians. This evil, old system was based upon the idea of isolated reservation life for savages, while we pauperized them by feeding them rations in their laziness; and thus we cut off from civilization (not for the use of Indians, but merely as vacant "roaming ground," no longer hunting fields) vast realms of our territories, larger than states. Twenty years ago this system seemed solidly intrenched behind the conservative bulwarks of landed interests and great tribal funds.

The inertia and opposition to all reform which was inherent in the land system of the undivided reservation for the tribe, we have successfully attacked by the Severalty Act. Nearly sixty thousand homestead farms and holdings have been carved out of a small fraction of the reservations. And the land still held by the Government for Indian reservations is greater in extent than the area of all the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and half of Pennsylvania. But by recognizing the individual Indian (instead of the tribe) in his right to hold and use land, we are steadily making of Indians self-supporting and home-loving citizens; while we are at the same time doing away with many of the evils of the reservation, and opening vast tracts of land to settlement, and to the influence and example of American homes and civilized families.

TRIBAL FUNDS PREVENT PROGRESS.

The conservative influence of the vast tribal funds held in trust by the Government of the United States for Indians remains intact. Only those who watch attempted legislation and the efforts of claim agents for Indian tribes, can properly estimate the dead weight of inertia which often crush attempts at reform in methods

of dealing with the Indians, or the constant temptation to perversion of justice which the maintenance of these unused funds inevitably stimulates. The influence of these funds is always felt in favor of perpetuating the worst abuses of the reservation system, with its issue of rations to able-bodied idlers, its favored and too often exorbitant agency traders, its long perpetuated "annuity payments" in goods and in cash, its indefinitely prolonged period of helpless tutelage for Indian men and women who are not taught the proper use of money and property, by themselves using it, but become sadly familiar with its abuses by having it doled out to them in ways which render them still more helpless. When this Conference and other friends of the Indian unite in asking that agencies pronounced by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to be no longer needed, and worse than useless, be abolished, the selfish interests of the localities where money from the tribal funds has been spent, come to the front. Intense pressure is brought to bear upon Senators and members of Congress to continue the agency with all its evils. This is not the place to recount in detail the history, even of the last year, in respect to such recommendations. But here, as everywhere, the conservative force of these tribal funds in keeping "things as they are" and at their worst, in our Indian service, can hardly be overestimated. When Dickens satirized the delay—the "red tape," the deadly conservatism of "the circumlocution office"—in attacking the evils of chancery practice in England a generation ago, Americans used to feel thankful that in America such things were not possible. But those of us who at Washington watch the skill with which a system of "how not to do it" can be perpetuated by department methods, under the influence of the conservatism of great tribal funds, at times are tempted to feel that the worst enemy of reform for the Indians is the (sometimes unconscious) combination of well-meaning employees, who stand for doing things precisely as they have always been done, and shrewd intriguers,—Indian and white,—who wish tribal funds and Indian claims to be indefinitely perpetuated, that they may profit by the "system as it is."

(Here the speaker related incidents to illustrate his position.)

I ask you, then, how can the Indian take his place as an American citizen among American citizens, if the Government is to perpetuate indefinitely a system which holds him in tutelage (for his alleged interest), and administers vast tribal funds for him "as a ward." Let the Government, as guardian, prepare to "give a final accounting" of what it has done with these trust funds of its ward. As fast as they "come to years of discretion," let these so-called "wards" be intrusted with the management of their own property. And because the Indian tribe is neither a sound social group nor a political entity, let us cease to keep up the pretense that the Government can do good to Indians by dealing with the little groups of half-breeds, Indians and "squaw men" (I use the term with an apology, but purposely, to indicate the whites who for interested reasons marry Indian women), whose corrupt and selfish use of the funds which come into their hands has been proven in so many cases, and has brought "tribal councils" into contempt.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY? BREAK UP TRIBAL FUNDS.

Let the Government recognize the individual Indian in his right to his divided share of the tribal fund, as the Government has already recognized the individual Indian in his right to his divided share of the tribal land. A law can be and should be devised (and such a law should be speedily enacted) by which a date should be fixed (for each tribe) after which no more children shall be born into such tribal relations as will give them the right to an undivided share in tribal funds. Let no Indian child born after that date have any share in tribal funds, except as he may inherit, under the laws of the State or Territory in which he resides, the right to a part of his father's or his mother's individual holding of a share of those funds.

The system of family records at agencies, for which the Board of Indian Commissioners has earnestly called for the last two years, within the last three months has been put into operation. Wherever the Government has sought to divide tribal funds in the past, *the first great difficulty has been to secure a trustworthy list of those who were entitled to a share in such division.* The system of family records at each agency, this year inaugurated by the Department, if faithfully carried out, will at once give a basis for such a complete list in the case of each tribe.

OUTLINE OF THE NEEDED LAW.

My idea of a general plan for breaking up tribal funds is something like this: Let a list of all those in a tribe who are entitled to a share in such a tribal fund, at a given date be prepared and filed; and let a general law provide that, on that date, the whole fund for that tribe (possibly with such reservations for educational and tax-paying purposes as may be wise and consistent with the equities of the spirit and intent that governed the treaty) be divided into individual holdings, and let each member of the tribe who is entitled, on that date, to a share in the fund, be credited with his divided and individual share. Let no children born after that date have any share, save as they inherit from their parents or older relatives, under the laws of the State or Territory in which they reside. Let these individual holdings stand to the credit of individual Indians upon the books of the agency, and upon the books of the Department and the Treasury. This means some increase in clerical force at Washington; but the expense in salaries for such an increase of clerical force for a short time, would be as nothing compared to the money that is annually wasted in "keeping the system as it is." Let authority be given by law to the Secretary of the Interior, upon recommendation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to fix a date for each tribe at which these individual holdings shall be paid to the individual Indians in whose name they stand on the Treasury books. Such a date might be fixed for the entire tribe in numerous instances, and payments might be made to all immediately. The Indians of several tribes are now prepared to use well such payments. In the

case of other tribes it might be wiser to fix a date on which all Indians who can meet certain prescribed tests of intelligence, and so manifest a fitness to manage their own affairs, should be paid each his own individual share, while the other members of the tribe should receive each his own share as rapidly as he might be able to meet similar tests. In this way we should soon see "the beginning of the end" of that injurious system by which the United States Government holds and administers great sums of money for a peculiarly pampered, exceptionally favored body of native Americans! Of course, some Indians would at once waste the money they received. But added years of observation are bringing all friends of the Indian to the unanimous conviction that Indians cannot learn to swim successfully in the tides of civilization if they "never go near the water!" We are all settling into the conviction that *there is but one way for people to learn how to use property, and that is by using it.* The Government may deem it best to make some provision by which Indian holders of allotted lands may have at least a portion of the regular county, state and territorial taxes upon their lands paid for them during the period of protected title, so that there may no longer be a harsh division of interests between Indian settlers untaxed and the neighboring white settlers, who alone are now taxed for local government and local improvements which are of benefit to Indians and whites alike. Is there any wiser way to fit the Indian for citizenship than by intrusting to him (with such limitations as have been indicated above) his own money, to be used in his own way? When the few years needed to inaugurate such a system shall have passed, there will be comparatively few Indians under forty years of age who have not had some instruction in our schools. The process of education by contact with whites, melancholy as are some of its results, goes forward, and must go forward, and upon the whole does good. We are entirely convinced that the Government should break up tribal funds into individual holdings, and should bring the Indians as rapidly as possible under the civilizing influence of our American public schools, where Indian and white children can mingle, and of local government and good fellowship in neighborly interests. *This participation in our American life will fit Indians for citizenship* more rapidly and better than any other instrumentality which could be devised.

CHECK THE LEASING OF INDIAN LANDS; STOP RATIONS FOR THE IDLE.

*Certain groups of Indians who ten years ago were working upon their own land, are now leasing their lands, securing enough yearly rental to supply them with the mere necessities of life, and not doing a stroke of work for the last few years. We are thus sending them back to barbarism, by allowing them to lease their lands. We had lifted them a little way by land and labor; we are letting them fall back again. From the issue of rations, from a share in "annuity payments," and from leasing their lands, they get enough to enable them to live in idleness. The necessity of working if one

would eat—the great fundamental discipline of civilized life—we deprive them of. While you seek to inculcate sound ideas as to the breaking up of tribal funds, will you not in these next months use all your influence to direct public thought to the danger and evils which attend that reckless leasing of Indian lands, allotted and unallotted, which enables Indians to live in squalid idleness? And will you not protest against the continuance of rations to able-bodied men who will not work?

CONNECT THE "HOMESTEAD" IDEA WITH THE ALLOTING OF LANDS IN SEVERALTY.

Is it not possible, as we approach the final solution of the Indian problem, to devise some plan by which the title of an Indian to his allotted land shall be made to a certain degree dependent upon occupancy and use, so that the principle of the Homestead Act, which gives land to the actual settler who wishes to use it, may be worked in with the principle of the Severalty Act? I have not yet attempted to think through the details of such a plan. Its suggestion was made to me since we came together for this Conference by one of the thoroughly educated young women who, from philanthropic motives, and from the experience gained in unselfish Christian service among the Indians, are thinking out results. I am sure that the idea deserves our careful attention.

INFORMATION CAN BE HAD FROM THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.

Let me say to the friends of the Indians who are attending this Conference, that requests for our Annual Reports, or for such literature of information as we can place within your reach, if addressed to me, as Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C., will receive immediate attention. And our Board always welcomes suggestions and questions from those who are interested in that policy of educating, uplifting and Christianizing the Indian, and thus fitting him for intelligent American citizenship, which the Board of Indian Commissioners was thirty years ago created and commissioned to devise, shape and forward,—that "the Indian question" may cease to exist.

CONGRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT INTEND TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT.

In the purposes which we have at heart in this Conference, friends of the Indians should come to understand that the Government of the United States—in the Department and in Congress—is with us and not against us. I want to bear witness here to the steadily growing confidence with which those who seek justice for the Indian may expect to be received by the members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate of the United States. It is now more than seventeen years since I became a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners; and as Chairman of that Board for nine years, and its Secretary for the last two years, I have had occasion

to see something of every Congress which has convened since 1884. Sixteen or eighteen years ago it was difficult to find members of Congress in the Senate or in the House who would listen to suggestions with intelligence and friendly interest when justice, education and civilization for the Indian were the objects sought. Senator Dawes in the Senate and Mr. Darwin R. James, now Chairman of this Board, when a member of the House, were perhaps the most prominent and consistent friends of the Indian in the very small group who at that time could be counted upon to favor legislative efforts at justice and civilization for the Indians. There seemed to be comparatively few members of Congress who did not share the feeling expressed in the old and bitter gibe, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian!" Now there are few members of either House who share in that feeling, and a still smaller number who venture to express the feeling if they have it! Gradually, but steadily, a great change has come about in Congress. When the members of our Board appear before the House Committee, whose chairman is with us in this Conference to-day, we uniformly find him and his fellow-members of the committee quick to appreciate the rights and the needs of the Indian, and responsive to every appeal for justice. This is equally true of the Senate Committee. It is well for friends of the Indian to appreciate this changed attitude toward the matters which interest us here. Always there will be the pressure of many other interests to stand in the way of giving time to needed legislation for the Indians. And always there will be some selfishly interested men in Congress, and outside of Congress, who will seek in every possible way to obstruct legislation which, if secured, would put an end to the abuses by which they profit. But, in general, we have the right to feel that our Senators and Representatives in Congress intend to do the righteous thing. And I have no sympathy with those writers and teachers of morality, whether they are preachers, editors or college professors, who cannot speak of members of Congress or of men who are active in political life without an implied sneer. The teacher of morality is never truer to his high calling than when he insists upon high standards of honor and morality in the public life of our land, and recognizes these principles in the lives of public men who practice them!

THE INFLUENCE OF THIS CONFERENCE STEADILY GROWS.

There was a time in the early history of the Mohonk Conference when a little band of the tried and true, who had been pioneers in special work for the Indian, met here, and were drawn into such close relations with one another that, if death entered the circle during the year, all the members of this Conference felt the loss as a personal bereavement. It is a source of great encouragement to those of us who have longest shared in this work, that the number of those who, through the meetings of this annual Conference are deeply interested in the welfare of the Indians has come to be so large, that we feel the enthusiasm of numbers as well as the enthusiasm of a lofty purpose. Our circle has now grown to such pro-

portions that we do not venture even to name over in public the list of those who, from year to year, are called from our life of Christian service here into the larger life beyond. But high aims in life make firm friends; and the higher the aim the greater the number of aspiring souls who may be bound by it to one another, and to that grateful service of the God who loves us, which is possible only in the loving service of our fellow-men. To the fellowship of this high service, as your Chairman, as President of the Conference, I bid all a most cordial welcome. Those who are with us for the first time (at first disinterested spectators, but sure to become interested friends of the cause) are no less welcome than are the trusted friends who have so often taken counsel together here in the years that are past.

Gen. THOMAS J. MORGAN.—I received yesterday a brief statement of the tribute of Lone Wolf to President McKinley, which to me was very touching. Lone Wolf was one of the chiefs of the Kiowa Indians. He has professed Christianity, and united with a little local church. I would like to read this tribute. It was taken in shorthand as he spoke.

LONE WOLF'S TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

Lone Wolf, Chief of the Kiowas, lives near the new town of Hobart, which sprang up in a day when the Kiowa reservation was opened to settlement in August. The following account of his remarks, as contained in the *Kansas City Star* of October 3d, is vouched for as substantially correct by one who heard him speak:—

“One of the unique incidents of the memorial services held at Hobart in honor of President McKinley was the address delivered by Lone Wolf. He had been invited to make a talk, but when he arrived at the place of meeting he called for an interpreter. None being present, Lone Wolf, who is Chief of the Kiowas, rose up from his seat and solemnly addressed the crowd. He spoke as follows, according to a stenographer's report of his address: ‘Mebbe so me not talk; mebbe so me not read; mebbe so me not make you understand when me talk. Me never go to school, but me not like I used to be. Mebbe so me better than me was. Me changed. Mebbe me pa was bad; he not know better. He not read. Mebbe so he not Christian, for he lived long ago and go on the warpath and kill.

“‘Mebbe last summer me go to Washington to see McKinley. McKinley he work; he work; he great father; he be fine man. Me shake hands with him and me proud. Me like him, the great father.’

“At this point Lone Wolf raised his hands in a gesture of sorrow, and with tears streaming down his cheeks, said: ‘Mebbe so McKinley dead; him gone; him no more walks; him no more speaks to

his red children; him dead.' With breaking voice he continued: 'Me not able to say what me mean. Me know. Mebbe people all over country, mebbe so white people and Indians feel heap bad, —Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches sorry.' With tears flooding down his cheeks he said: 'Me sorry; me heap sorry. That's all.' Notwithstanding his bad English and disjointed remarks, Lone Wolf made a wonderful impression on his audience."

The Chairman introduced the next speaker as a man of clear vision and great experience, "our beloved General Whittlesey."

Gen. E. WHITTLESEY.—I have no hesitation in saying that the Indian service is improving year by year. It is now administered by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior at Washington, honestly and faithfully; and in the field, though here and there a man creeps into office through political influence who is unfit for the place, yet the great majority of Indian agents, inspectors, teachers and matrons are honest, faithful and efficient; so that as we look back, some of us who have been watching Indian matters for twenty-five or thirty years, and see how order and system have been made to replace chaotic confusion, we feel that there is ground in the present state of affairs for optimism as we look toward the future.

One auspicious fact is the retention of our present excellent Commissioner of Indian Affairs in office. Some years ago we tried pretty hard to secure the retention of another good Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but political influence was too much for us. The present auspicious fact is due to the wisdom of that noble, much-loved President William McKinley. However much we mourn and shall continue to mourn his untimely death, yet another auspicious fact is that we have in the White House at Washington, as our Chief Magistrate, a man who has a large knowledge of Indian affairs, larger probably than that of any President who has preceded him, and who is fully committed to the principles of Civil Service Reform. We may feel sure that he will make no changes in the personnel of the service without cause, and that he will make no new appointments without having ascertained in some way the fitness for office of those whom he appoints.

I may mention another auspicious fact, and that is that A. K. Smiley still lives and that the Mohonk Conference still thrives. It certainly is no insignificant fact that a hundred and fifty or two hundred men and women gather here year after year at a considerable sacrifice of time, and sometimes of business interests, to discuss topics of interest concerning the education, the industries, the moral training of a race of our own people. These things afford ground for optimism as we look to the future. Above all, and far greater than all, is our assurance that God himself is with us; and with Him on our side it matters very little who or what is against us.

The CHAIRMAN.—We are to have now the pleasure of listening to one of those fearless women who, years ago, went beyond the verge

of civilization to dwell among warlike savages, where she has entrenched herself in the affections of the Indians, and has done more, perhaps, than any one woman we could name to lead the Sioux to Christian civilization,—Miss Mary C. Collins, of Standing Rock Agency, Fort Yates, North Dakota.

ADDRESS OF MISS MARY COLLINS.

It is always a great pleasure to come to Mohonk and stand before these friends, though I hardly know what to say, there are so many things I would like to have you know and understand. I want to speak from the standpoint of the Indian, letting you into the life of the Indian,—his home and thought and heart life. The Indian, like all other people, has his intellectual, his physical and his spiritual nature; and we must reach him in all points if we would make a full man of him. I should say, also, that all we can do for him intellectually and physically, although very important, is not enough; we must reach him spiritually, because we cannot separate the Indian from his religion. It is impossible. His daily, hourly life in the old times was religious, and the religious spirit comes up in everything that he does. If an Indian smokes, he is offering incense; it is part of his religion. He does not smoke to gratify his appetite. Wherever tobacco does not grow he uses the red willow bark or Kinnikinnick. They sit in a circle, and after lifting up the pipe to the Great Spirit, and then to the four winds, and making a prayer, they pass the pipe around the circle. So in the dances. All the dances are religious ceremonies. If I could only have the people understand, and have our agents understand, and the Government understand that dancing, to the Indians, is not play, I think I could make a great step forward in teaching the Indians to lay aside old customs. To the white man dancing is play, and to have the old-time Indian dances and Wild West Fourth of July to amuse the white people is a great thing in the West; and some of our best Indians are led into this through the prizes offered and the glory they get out of it from those who ought to work to stop these things. It is not play; it is religious worship, and an Indian cannot go into it for exhibition without doing violence to his conscience as a religious man; and no man can violate his conscience and not retrograde. Not only is dancing a part of their religion, but even the preparation for going after the game has its religious ceremony. So, also, when they start on the warpath. Everything they do they do with prayer. They are praying constantly. From childhood they are taught their dependence upon the Unseen, not the one Great Spirit as we understand it, but upon something which is unseen and unknown,—the Wakonda, the Great Unknown. We are so apt to speak of Indian gods as if they meant the great God. He worships everything under the sun, and the sun itself. He offers prayers to them, but he knows nothing of a God of Love. All the old gods were cruel and required sacrifices,

and brought all kinds of trouble to the Indian. They had never a god that brought blessing. What was the maize dance? When the Indian went out, was it to offer thanksgiving for his corn? It was not that. All these prayers were raised to the various spirits that they should not destroy the corn crop, that they should not come with blighting winds and frosts to destroy and take away their life food from them. It was not a prayer to bring a blessing. It was a prayer to let them alone. When we come to the Indian tribe,—I speak of the Sioux,—we find them full of religion. Now can we train them to make them self-supporting men and leave out this most important part of their lives? It is impossible. We must bring to them a knowledge of the true God, a knowledge of Christ, a knowledge of how to live the true Christian life. If we remember that they are essentially religious, we readily meet a response from them. When you meet an Indian on that ground, he can understand what you are talking about. If you ask that his children be educated, he does not feel much interest in that. If you ask that they be taught a trade, he cannot understand what benefit it would be; but talk to him about the Great Spirit, about the inner life, about prayer; tell him that you have the word of God, that God is directing his people, that they are God's people, and he can meet you, and you will gain his confidence. The President in introducing me spoke of the devotion of the Indians to me. It is because I have come to them in this spirit. There is no Indian so poor or so low or so ignorant that he does not know something of the religious life; and knowing that I am a religious teacher, he can open his heart to me, and speaking his language, I can understand him and help him.

I was much interested in stopping at Buffalo. I made my way from the gate directly to the Indian show in the Midway, and I reached there just in time to see a chief from Pine Ridge introduced to the great throng as the greatest living chief of the Sioux nation. The audience was told that this man was the greatest warrior among the Sioux, that he had killed many people, and was considered by the President of the United States and by the generals of the army as one of the greatest generals of the day; that he had been on the warpath and followed up by our army, which was not able to overtake him, and had to call in assistance from another country before he was vanquished. Then an Indian whom I do not know made a speech to the people at the door, and the old man in his own tongue said: "My friends, we are brought here by your white people to play before you, and in the inside of this tent the play will be going on; and if you pay, you will see our people. You will see us ride on our horses. This is all I have to say." The interpreter said: "Now you will want to know what the old man said. He said that he wished he had been in this late war, that he would have annihilated all those enemies, and he also said that he was a great man among his own people, and that there was only one thing that he was not happy about, and that was that he had only eight wives, and there was another old red devil on the reservation that had nine."

(Cries of Shame! Shame!)

The PRESIDENT.—It is a shame, is it not, that such things should be tolerated. Was the so-called interpreter a Government official?

Miss COLLINS.—I do not know. I stood within six feet of him and heard the speech. The congress of Indians as I saw it was only a poor imitation of a Wild West Show with another name. I tell you this that you may understand how perfectly helpless these people are in the hands of their interpreters, and how important it is that you know your interpreters when you use them in Washington. I have frequently been in a great meeting when I have heard things said by the Indian which were translated by the interpreter to mean a very different thing. Our Indians are very often misrepresented in this way.

It is necessary for the good of these people that the missionary should keep out of all political questions on the reservation as far as possible; but when the missionary is a woman and speaks the language of the people, and is among three or four thousand Indians who know that they can go to her without an interpreter and tell her everything that is in their heart, she does sometimes get mixed up in the politics of the reservation, and it is necessary that she should make protests against things that are going on which she knows are a detriment to the Indians. I look forward to the time when the Indian shall own his own home, and the issue of rations shall be done away with. But I live neighbor to these people. I am right at their doors; I visit their houses every day and know them as you know your neighbors; and it is a very hard thing when an order comes to cut down rations, and we know that owing to drouth almost nothing has been raised to eat. How can it be done? What are they to eat? I know it is said that necessarily some must starve, but must it be dear old Grindstone, the faithful old chief who has served his people all his life, a Christian man, loyal to the Government, who for many years has cared for his old mother who is one hundred, and he himself seventy-nine? Must they go hungry and die, perhaps, because "some must suffer"? Could you pick out those who might starve? Very many are hungry to-day because the rations have been cut down so small that in places they barely sustain life. I know that you cannot make men out of people who are always fed; but are there not enough wise people to make the change come in such a way that it will not be felt so violently in its coming? Why should a Senatorial Committee come out from Washington and make a treaty with the Indians, and in ten years after we be told that the treaty is old fashioned; that they did the best they knew, but that things are different now?

President GATES.—In your opinion how could a measure be devised which should discriminate between those who really need help and those who do not?

PLAN FOR REDUCING INDIAN RATIONS.

Miss COLLINS.—After one year's notice, I would cut off all English-speaking mixed bloods, and all families of white men who have married Indians. At the same time I would also give notice that

in two years all English-speaking young men (and their families) who have been in school shall be cut off, and in one more year those coming out of school, etc. But have it understood that a man who has had his rations taken away should take his allotment of land for home at once, still holding his right in the grazing land. On Standing Rock the land should be allotted in homesteads, and let the grazing land be in common, as there is so little water that the reservation cannot support many cattle unless they are herded on the streams. To become self-supporting they must raise cattle.

The half-breeds are almost all English speaking, and have more influence with the agents than an Indian who cannot speak for himself. Most of them have some property. Then, not too rapidly, I would take it from others, but never without previous notice.

I would let the old people, those who will never be able to support themselves, and who have but little property, and who will live probably only a few years, have rations; and where rations are stopped and land taken, I would give cows to them to start a herd.

I want to leave the impression with you who believe in the Christian work that you *must see to it that the missionary work is carried on and supported*. Whatever the Government does, it cannot do this Christian work in the hearts of the people. If we would change a savage Indian into a citizen who shall be faithful to the Government, there must be those as guides who care for his soul life as well as his physical life. If we take away his old religion we must give him something in its place, for his religion is cruel; and he cannot become a good citizen, the best kind of a citizen, with his old ideas of religion, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

A CRISIS.

I would ask that the friends at Mohonk, the Indian Rights Association, and all who have gathered here as friends of the Indian, take more thought for our people. We have indeed reached a crisis; and between the Government's idea of treaty rights and the greed of Western cattle men, and the power of railroads, and weakness of Indian agents and their helplessness in the hands of State politicians, we were never before so much in need of strong, able friends to see that the Indian is not deprived of all the benefits which should come to him. Allot the lands as soon as possible; but in no case allow the lands to be rented to cattle men in bulk, lest we are in the condition of the State of Nevada, where the cattle men have all the water, and farmers have no chance to live.

Friends, if you are not alert now to prevent wrongs, you will have to be aroused sooner or later to a state of things that will make you see that the Indian problem has two sides. Do not let all of these great questions of the day in regard to our new possessions make you forget that our Indians are in this helpless condition, not of their own choice, but in obedience to the demands made by the Government through treaties. Then hold these treaties sacred until you can induce the Government honorably to get out of them the best way for both parties, just as if they were white people. I

trust that Congress will allow no juggling with words, but insist that, until lawfully abrogated, the treaties must be left.

Give the law, and liberty, and the religion of the meek and lowly Nazarene.

Miss Annie B. Scoville was introduced as the next speaker.

Miss ANNIE BEECHER SCOVILLE.—If there is an idol that the American people have, it is the school. What gold is to the miser, the schoolhouse is to the Yankee. If you don't believe it go out to Pine Ridge, where there are seven thousand Sioux on eight million acres of land incapable of supporting these people, and find planted over that stretch of territory thirty-two schoolhouses, standing there as a testimony to our belief in education. There is something whimsical in planting schoolhouses where no man can read, far from the highways, unneighbored by farms, and planted, not at the request of the Sioux, but because we believed it was good for them! It is a remedy for barbarism we think, and so we give the dose. Uncle Sam is like a man setting a charge of powder. The school is the slow match. He lights it and goes off whistling, sure that in time it will blow up the old life, and of its shattered pieces he will make good citizens. And there lies the danger. The danger is that he whistles over his task. It is easy to blow up the old life. It is easy to teach a child the three R's, and to put on him a civilized dress—though he may hide his clothes on the way home from school. It is easy to blow up the old life. But how if you have destroyed his old belief in the old father, such a father as Grindstone, who stands for the best, whether Indian or white? How is it if you take the child from the mother who can advise, and the daughter who can care for it, and if you say to the child, "See, education is all that you need"? And the child goes across from the schoolhouse to the Omaha dance house, which waits to teach its lessons. You say we must not take all amusement from these people, yet the Omaha lodge is an amusement that will not bear explanation; but for those who know what it was for the Hebrew to worship Baal, it will be easy to understand how that Omaha appeals to the flesh and this world, and robs those children of righteousness and the training that has been given them. Do not misunderstand me; this dance is not the worship of the old Indian. We have broken the life which demanded the exertion, the self-sacrifice, the long prayer and vigil which made the man. We have left nothing but a game which appeals to all that is low in life, and then we say that that is their social life. The children go to our schools, but all summer long, on every other Friday and Saturday, they go down to that Omaha. And when the mother says that is not a good thing to do they reply, "You don't know as much as I do: I can read." So, unchaperoned and unguarded, they go into that life, and the Indian camp is really less moral because of the work we have done in it. That sounds terrible for our schools, and yet I believe in the schools and in all that they can do; but we must not leave everything to them, and forget that though religion without education may breed

superstition, yet it is not so dangerous as education without religion, which makes of the barbarian an atheist. These boys and girls who are allowed to go on with these dances do not believe in them. If they had any religious significance to them it would be different; but we have wiped away by our work all that stood for strength, and now we are in danger of leaving these young people without a God; without an ideal to lift them up. However broadly you educate, unless you have given ideals to the people, unless you have put soul into the body, you might better leave it untrained. You do not want an educated savage. And the man who has no God is a man who is a danger to us, whether a modern socialist or a wild Indian.

Miss Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, was next introduced.

MISS ESTELLE REEL.—The work for the past year has been generally encouraging. I spend much of my time in the field,—about nine months each year,—and have just returned from Oregon and Washington. I find it much easier to go out and correct evils than to write about them. In Washington the Indians are nearly all citizens, and the time has arrived when they should be released from tutelage. I found Indian citizens riding into town in vehicles better than my old buckboard, and wearing better clothes than I. I call to mind one Indian whose income from lease money is \$800 annually, his land renting for \$10 per acre. These Indians speak good English, and I think need no further assistance from the Government in educational matters.

My heart goes out to the Indians of Arizona. They are not like the Indians of Oregon, many of whom are rich; nor those of Washington. They are greatly in need of assistance, and we are asking Congress to appropriate money for irrigating the arid lands of this region. If this request is granted, they will soon become not only self-supporting, but well to do.

Affairs in the Indian Territory are somewhat discouraging, owing to the fact that the Indians are so ready to lease their lands. An Indian woman who owned land near a school wished to obtain a position in the Government service, but I endeavored to make her see that it would be much more profitable for her to raise chickens, and sell eggs, butter and milk. A white woman in the same neighborhood sold \$60 worth per month, and I convinced her that it was better to remain at home and rear her children than to go into the Indian service at \$50 per month.

The missionaries are doing a noble work in uplifting and Christianizing the Indians, and the Indian Bureau greatly appreciates their efforts; but we cannot get many people to dedicate their lives to it as Miss Collins has. I want also to thank Mrs. Doubleday and the Woman's Association for their ever-ready sympathy and the great assistance they have been to me in my work.

Gen. T. J. Morgan was the next speaker.

THE RELATION OF THE GOVERNMENT TO ITS DEPENDENT CLASSES.

BY GEN. THOMAS J. MORGAN.

I am asked to say something on the general question of the relation of the Government to the education of its dependent classes, as it has been decided that the Conference should broaden its scope of discussion and include, not simply the education of the Indian, but the work of education as carried on by the Government for those that have been recently thrown under its watch-care, having particular reference to Porto Rico and the Philippines.

At this time we are forced back to the consideration of first principles, and I beg your indulgence for the brief time that I shall speak, while I state what I believe we are all agreed upon; and first, the great position that this republic holds in the history of freedom. It is a unique position, having no parallel in history. There have been republics; there have been free peoples; there have been governments in which there has been an attempt to embody the idea of popular liberty, but there never has been just such an experiment of free government, "a government of the people, for the people and by the people," as that which is being exemplified in our own country. We are attempting to substitute the power of the people for the power of the individual; the reign of law for the reign of force; the idea of the public weal as the object of government, instead of the idea of personal privilege or family prestige. We have met with much success in the launching and developing of this ideal republic upon our continent, but the extent of the territory is such that it militates against this success. Stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, three thousand miles, with all the diversity that necessarily attends it, the territory that the republic now occupies is such as to invite disintegration rather than to encourage the hope for unity. And then the diversity of our peoples! We have representatives of all the nations on earth and all the spoken languages. Men come to us with all of the traditional antipathies and race prejudices that have made wars the theme of history for the centuries that are past. The German and the French, the Italian, the Swede, the Russian and the Turk, all these and many others are represented here. The census bulletin shows that one third of our population of seventy-six million is either foreign born or born of foreign parentage. To take a nation so constituted and weld it into one; to make people of so many diverse interests one people in sentiment, thought and purpose, so that they may recognize that they are parts of a whole, with common interests and a common aim, is a stupendous task in human history. But we have made great progress in the achievement of our ideal: the republic endures after more than a century; one language pervades the whole nation, and the welding process goes on—little by little, day by day. We have had a marvelous illustration within the last few weeks that the heart of the nation, under a great national calamity, beats as one heart, that we mourn alike as brothers lamenting the loss of our common father.

Now the great thought that underlies this experiment of free government is that the people, who are the sources of power, who are the repositories of the ballot, the people must be competent for government. They are themselves the rulers. Their votes elect the President, Vice President, governors, mayors, and all those who temporarily exercise rule over them. It is they who decide the great policies of the Government. I tremble sometimes when I think of what an experiment it is to call upon the masses of the people of the United States and ask them to sit in judgment upon these great questions of public policy: questions of "protection," of "free trade;" questions of the "gold standard" or the "silver standard" or "bimetallism;" questions complex and difficult, that tax the wisdom and scholarship of the profoundest statesmen and economists. These great questions that lie at the foundation of our national life we submit to the masses of the people, asking them to decide them by their votes. And upon these votes hang the destiny of the nation and all the issues of our national life itself. Manifestly, if these great powers are to be exercised by this mass of voters in such a way as to conserve, promote and perpetuate our national institutions, they must be men of intelligence, a statement I need not discuss here. When we go to a man and ask him to deposit his ballot which is to decide whether the nation shall commit itself to the gold or the silver standard, to the great principle of protection, or the theory of free trade; when we appeal to him to decide by ballot whether we shall adopt the Philippines as part of our national life, or the Porto Rico people as our fellow-citizens, we commit to him mighty problems, and certainly have a right to expect that he shall have at least ordinary intelligence, that he shall know how to think and weigh arguments, and be able to decide in accordance with reason these great questions that are submitted to him.

And then we have a right to expect that these voters shall be men who are actuated by high motives, by a sense of justice, a sense of right; that they seek not partisan ends or personal advantage, but that their votes help to decide each question as it arises in accordance with the great principles of justice, equity and patriotism.

Let me dwell on patriotism for a moment. When the miner in the silver mines of Colorado is asked to express an opinion on the monetary system of the country he is asked to lift himself from his environment, from personal entanglements and practice, and to decide with reference to the welfare of the nation. It is a hard request. So when we ask the devoted churchman to pass upon some great question like the separation of church and state, he must put himself outside of his own creed; lay aside his personal predilections and the interests of his particular denomination. He must lift himself above all that and pass upon it as a great principle of government that affects not only the welfare of the nation, but that of other peoples of the earth. That is true patriotism which concerns itself with matters as related to the public weal and the prosperity of the nation as a whole. Local environment and personal opinion and prejudice are not to be considered.

We have made progress in preparing our people for this great experiment, and we have made it largely by the way of our public school system. I do not believe that education stands alone as the great factor that fashions a people, but it is one of the mighty forces. I have not time to discuss the influence of religion and law, but confine myself in what I have to say to the thought that the public school is not a mere fetich, not an idol, but a tremendous factor for good in the accomplishment of the specific end that we have in view,—that of preparing people for freedom. We have accomplished a great deal in the different States by our public schools; we are spending millions on millions of dollars, and are slowly perfecting a school system which ranges from the kindergarten up to the normal school, the university, the technological school, and they are all gradually bringing about the elevation of the average standard of intelligence among the people. Men are able to read, able to think, able to weigh arguments, able to consult libraries, able to prepare articles for the press, able to converse intelligently with their neighbors, and to go to the polls and in some degree express the result of their thought and study of the great economic questions by their votes.

The Government has undertaken to supplement this work of the States by establishing and maintaining a great school for the training of army officers at West Point and for naval officers at Annapolis. It has entered upon a broad scheme of intelligent, comprehensive culture for the Indians; and has learned many lessons in the last twenty-five years in the work that it has attempted to do for these people. But there are many things that have been left undone. There is to-day in the Indian Territory a population of probably two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand, whose children are growing up in absolute ignorance. There are no public schools of any kind. They are neglected while the Government—shall I say?—sits idly by. I will not say that, lest it reflect on the Government; but it sees that great mass of boys and girls growing up in ignorance, and not being fitted for the exercise and responsibility of citizenship. The same thing is true to a large degree in other Territories. The public school in Oklahoma is not sufficient for the needs of the people; it is not adequate in Arizona nor in New Mexico, and we have suffered a loss that the nation will regret for half a century because we did not have an adequate public school system in the Territory of Utah while it was under the control of the United States. We have in the South millions of men incapable of voting intelligently, because they are not educated according to the standard that we require for citizenship in the North; and the Government having given to that great mass the vote and made them citizens, it was in honor bound to see to it that they should be prepared for the exercise of the suffrage. But the Government neglected that great work.

Well, we are now face to face with these new questions of education in Porto Rico, and for the eight or ten millions brought under the flag in the Philippine Islands; and what I want to say is this: That I believe it to be the duty of the Government in this

hour of supreme opportunity to extend the system of education for the Indians, that has slowly grown to its present admirable proportions, to these other dependent peoples, who must look to the national Government for this training in citizenship which cannot be provided for them from any other source.

The United States has taken its place as one of the great powers of the earth, and has pledged itself by its history to give to the world an illustration of the new form of freedom embodied in law. The United States has the wealth that God has seen proper to put at its disposal, and more, apparently, than we know how to use properly. It is within the power of the present generation of statesmen at Washington to grapple with this problem in such a way, and to adopt such methods of education, as shall apply not simply to the Indian, not merely to Porto Rico and the Philippines, but to all those who have a right to look to the general Government for that guidance, training, culture, that shall fit them for the performance of their duties and the enjoyment of their privileges as members of this mighty republic of free men. Shall we do it? The Government alone has the power and the money, the experience and the wisdom, to do it. Is there anything comparable with it? Is the building of a new navy comparable with the establishment of a school system for those dependent on the national Government for their preparation for citizenship? Is the enlargement of our army comparable with it? Is the erection of public buildings, the laying out of parks, the dredging of rivers and lakes, comparable to it? Let me urge you to second the legislation of Congress in this direction, for there is no subject that can come before that body, neither the Isthmian canal, the Pacific cable, or anything else, that is of such vital importance as this question of providing an adequate system of education for those dependent on the Government for aid, and who must grow up in ignorance and unfitted for citizenship unless the Government lends a hand.

I am a good deal of an optimist. I cannot read the history of this country without a thrill of joy. I cannot recall the great men from Washington to Lincoln and McKinley that God has raised up and put in high places, without feeling that he is guiding us. I cannot survey the past without a profound conviction that it is a prophecy of a future rich beyond imagination; and yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that we have not yet attained complete success, that we have much, very much, to accomplish; that the work of education is as yet but begun. We know that we have destroyed slavery, have abolished the lottery, have done away with dueling, have made bull fighting impossible, have well-nigh driven from the country prize fighting, and there is a slowly rising level of public sentiment on all the great moral questions that affect our national life. And yet we know that the spirit of anarchy finds a home and a lodgment among us, and men declare openly that they are anarchists. We know that there is a spirit of lynching that has found its way even into the pulpit, so that here and there a minister has dared to intimate that the man who shot the President should have been at once lynched. We know, too, that such a spirit threatens the very

foundations of the Government. We know that recently in the great city of the West, where an enthusiast announced that he was Elijah returned for judgment, three thousand men and women cheered him to the echo. We know that there are superstitions that indicate a low level of public intelligence, and confess with shame that there is corruption in high places. But dare I mention Tammany, in New York, without mentioning a sister city?

We know that the foundations, the very existence of our institutions, are imperiled by the spirit that is abroad in the land, which needs correction by the public school and high moral teaching. You say I am growing pessimistic. But nations have perished. Where is Greece, who gave to the world its philosophy, its poetry and its art? Where is ancient Rome, that gave the world ideas of organization and of law? Where are those old nations of the far East whose names have been famous? To-day they have disappeared from the earth, and are but the precursors of our own nation on the road to ruin, unless we recognize the perils that beset us and set ourselves to work to correct and remove them.

And now that we are undertaking this broader work of training men for citizenship in the West Indies, in the Pacific and in the far isles of the Philippines, we need to have borne in upon us as never before that the work of the schoolhouse, the work of the teacher, of training men and women in intelligence, morals and in patriotism devolves upon the nation, and has assumed new proportions and new significance. I have wondered whether our people, so rich and so greedy of wealth; so prosperous and so mad in the pursuit of the dollar; so inflated with a sense of their power; so eager for a larger navy and a larger army; so anxious for new opportunities to win glory for men and prestige for the republic—whether our people will bring themselves to consider and master the fundamental questions of the preparation of men for citizenship by that training which the nation alone can give.

Dr. Abbott has said that it seemed to him that the one great thought that ought to be pressed upon the nation and ourselves, at this time, was this: What have we learned from our work as educators among the Indians that shall be of service to us in Porto Rico, the Philippines and other lands? The nation, by reason of the experience of more than a hundred years in the line of popular education, and in experience in conducting its schools for the Indians, has learned lessons that will be of untold use in providing education for the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos. We ought to go into the Philippine Islands with a system of education which is the outgrowth of the best thought of the day; there should be no experimenting, nor should we begin there as we did here a hundred years ago. The schools for them, as well as for our children in the Indian Territory, should be modeled on those of Massachusetts, if you will, or any others which competent people shall think best. We have done away with narrow, provincial schools for the Indians and have adopted a system, managed throughout from Washington, which utilizes the best methods found in the public schools, and why should we not put a similar system into operation for all the peoples for whom we are responsible?

We have learned that the matter of education will not take care of itself. If we had left the Indians to organize their own education it would have taken a hundred or five hundred years to reach such success as is now established. We know that the ideal of education in Porto Rico is two or three hundred years behind the times, and that the ideal of education in the Philippines is equally crude. We must carry to these people our ideas, based on our own experience and history, as well as upon the profoundest thought of our best educators, and must put them into practical operation ourselves. It must not be left to them.

We have learned that it is possible to accomplish very much for people as hopeless as some of the Indian tribes seemed to be twenty-five years ago; that a system of education will produce the same results among them under the same circumstances as it produces elsewhere. Some time ago a distinguished Senator said to me: "You cannot educate an Indian. Every dollar you give for Indian education is thrown away." An Assistant Secretary of the Interior said to me: "You are a fool; you cannot educate the Indian; it is a waste of time to try; but if the Senators from Kansas want a school for its patronage, for God's sake let them have it." We have got far beyond that. Indians can be educated. Multitudes have been educated. It is the same with an Englishman, a Scotchman, an Irishman, an American, or any other man made in the image of God. Let us go with high hope in taking hold of this matter. To the people of Japan, of China, of Hawaii, of the Philippines, let us go with the idea that the common school system, adapted to their necessities and managed with skill and intelligence, will do for them what the school system of Massachusetts has done for the people of Massachusetts.

But in preparing this system do not let us forget that after provision has been made for the education of the masses, so that every boy and girl shall have a chance, that it is the education of the few, in a broad and all-round way, that is to do the great work for them. That which has made America what it is to-day has not been the public common schools alone. It has been Harvard, Brown, Yale, Amherst and Princeton and other colleges and universities that have filled our halls of Congress, our judicial benches and other important places with men of breadth, culture and power. I believe thoroughly in the common schools, but I do not believe in belittling education for ourselves, for the Indians, or for the Filipinos. We should make provision for all schools, for industrial education, for the high school, the college and the university. To the few among the Indians and other peoples who are destined for leadership the opportunity for the highest education should be given.

Gen. JAMES GRANT WILSON.—Two men in this broad land of ours have won the noble title of the Apostle to the Indians. It was first worn by Rev. John Elliott in the seventeenth century. The other was well known to this Conference and well loved, Henry B. Whipple. This morning I received from Mrs. Whipple a letter in which she gave me some touching details of her noble husband's

last hours and of his funeral, which more than two hundred Chippewa Indians came to attend four days after his death, some coming more than a hundred miles to look once more on the beautiful face of their ever-faithful friend, to whom they gave the appropriate title of "Straight Tongue." That was the name by which Henry B. Whipple was known throughout all the Indian tribes of his diocese in Minnesota. Mrs. Whipple says the most heart-rending and pathetic letters continue to come to her from Indians all over the country. May I read this one from the Chippewa Indians?

A TRIBUTE FROM INDIANS TO BISHOP WHIPPLE.

A tribute to Bishop Whipple by the Rev. J. J. Enmegahbowh (full-blooded Chippewa), ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Whipple in the early part of his Episcopate:—

"I write the language of my sorrowful heart. I cannot say much at this time—my heart is too heavy. When I heard that our bishop had died, I said, 'No, this cannot be;' I did not think our bishop *could* die. But in another hour a second messenger entered my house to assure me that the loved bishop had died truly. I and my wife wept aloud in our lonely room, and then for hours spoke not to one another.

"The Indians began to come from all directions, and to ask with startled faces what it meant. I said, 'My friends, the best friend our people ever had in this world,—the great warrior, the great bishop, the great loving man, has fallen.' The grief was terrible to see. They could not believe it. Some went away with bitter weeping; others stole to their homes stunned to silence.

"I went to Faribault for the last time with my sorrowing people. I said to them: 'This time we go to Faribault with feelings unlike any that we have ever had. Before, we have gone with bounding step and happy hearts. We have known that we were to look on the face of our loving bishop, the friend of our lives. It was our joy to see the face of the man who loved and sympathized with my people. Before, we have been going to get inspiration, courage, counsel. We have gone away full of hope and courage, blessing our bishop and with our hearts ready to go on as he had bidden us.'

"Our bishop was all LOVE. He preached always, from the beginning, LOVE! LOVE! 'My children, love the Great Spirit. Love one another. Love all other tribes.' His one great aim has been to unite us by close connection in Christian fellowship.

"He is no more here to give us these lessons. His loving face is hidden from us. His voice is silenced. Silenced do I say? Yes, and no. His voice shall sound, and be forever ringing in our ears. Yes; and it shall be ringing, as long as his red children live, throughout the Indian country.

"More than forty years ago, when I went with him through the forests, he carried his blanket, his robe case and other things, and many times the Indians said: 'We must not let him do this. He will kill himself. He cannot work in this way and live.' But he would smile—oh, how we loved that smile and every step he took

—and say: ‘Oh, this is nothing! This does not tire me;’ and his voice filled us with hope and courage.

“Our beloved bishop has stood for over forty years and defended the defenceless. He has spoken and written for the rights of his red children, and that when no man gave much thought to the forlorn outcast of the world. He alone the first bishop who entered into the Chippewa heathen land. To-day throughout the Chippewa country tears are blinding the eyes; hearts are heavy-loaded with sorrow, and are looking upward, crying, ‘My father! my father!’ like Elisha of old when his friend was taken away from him. In a loud voice he cried, ‘My father! my father!’ The double portion of Elijah’s spirit was given him. May the double portion of our departed bishop’s love be given us! His has been a long battle for us. His Indian work has been blessed in the conversion of many. He has built churches and has ordained many Indian deacons who are doing their work faithfully. How truly can he say in the language of St. Paul, ‘I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith.’

“But we, what are we to do? What courage can we take away? We are lost children. Our hearts are lead. I bid you farewell.”

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—It is not our custom to hold memorials of the dead in this Conference, but I think that Bishop Whipple should be an exception. He was one of the rarest men this country ever produced, most picturesque in appearance, as well as straightforward and noble in character.

On motion it was voted that the Business Committee should arrange for a suitable memorial minute in honor of Bishop Whipple.

Adjourned at 12.30.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 16, 1901.

After the singing of some Scotch songs by Mrs. Hector Hall, the Conference was called to order at eight o'clock by the Chair. Mrs. F. N. Doubleday was introduced.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES.

Mrs. F. N. DOUBLEDAY, New York.—Let us begin where I left off last year when I had been speaking to this Conference about basket-making and other Indian industries. Before I had reached the door Commissioner Jones came forward, and wanted to know what could be done to preserve them; how there could be co-operation through Washington. Miss Reel has been trying to get basketry introduced into Government schools, and in two of the larger ones it is now practiced. The following story throws some light on the slow progress made elsewhere. A graduate of Columbia had been highly recommended by his professors for industrial training, and Miss Reel would gladly engage him; but when he found the salary for teaching Indians is only \$600 a year, as there are more positions for from \$900 to \$2,000 in Eastern cities than Columbia can supply, the Indians are not likely to secure the best industrial teachers. There has been a beautiful spirit of co-operation in this work. A letter went from the Indian Office to the field matrons, urging them, as they went about among the tepees and wickiups, to do what they could to stimulate the old industries, and to prevent the women from using Germantown wool and aniline dyes, and to keep their work up to the old artistic standards. One matron writes that in six months the women on her reservation will have given up aniline altogether. It is already unpopular among the Indians, but unfortunately not among tourists. Most encouraging reports come in from various directions. People are becoming interested along different lines in the Indians' work—artistic, scientific, philanthropic, commercial, patriotic. A letter came to me from the president of a chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, in which she said: "We women have been glorifying our ancestresses, which is well, but it occurs to me that possibly we might serve our day and generation in as patriotic a way as they served theirs, if we could help the Indian industries." There are many ways in which help might be given. The Sunshine Society, with its hundred thousand members, has signified its interest promptly and practically. It has been sending help of a material kind through field matrons. Church fairs and women's clubs have ordered Indian goods. Various shops in the larger cities are opening Indian de-

partments. There are Indian stores in different parts of the country. An already large demand for Indian wares is increasing, and this increased interest is evident by the unusual number of articles relating to them which have appeared in periodicals and newspapers within this last year. Collections of baskets have been made by museums before, but apparently the collecting of Indian curios and handiwork by individuals is as much of a fad now as collecting old furniture or blue china. The ethnological interest in Indian arts and crafts has always been great among learned men, for the symbols that are embodied in the Indian handicrafts have a positive scientific value. The Indians had no literature, no architecture, no painting; they practiced none of the fine arts as we understand them, but all the aspirations of the tribe, all the spiritual and artistic inspirations of the people, went into the handicrafts of the women. They were the conservers and interpreters of the thought of their tribe, and that is being more generally recognized. The museums are now taking from their dry-as-dust corners the beautiful old baskets, rugs, weapons, canoes and other things, and giving popular lectures on them. In New York the American Museum of Natural History has given a series of lectures on Indian basketry alone, which attracted crowds of people. It was surprising how many turned out to hear about Indian baskets and the curious, interesting symbols on them.

Miss Collins spoke in an admirable way on the abolition of rations. It seems to me it would be an excellent thing to take some of the money now apportioned for rations to teach the people how to do without them, to give them industries by which they could feed themselves. Where seventeen women can earn \$1,100 by bead-work, as has been done this last year in one place, it seems as if from the basket-making, which has a much wider range of usefulness, a great deal more money could be earned in a congenial industry.

There is opportunity for Indian industry in many other ways. For instance, the sugar-beet men in Colorado are very anxious to get Indian laborers, because intensive farming of small plots by means of irrigation the Indians learned from the Spaniards and can do well. An agent has been employed to go to Arizona to bring young Indians from the arid desert into the sugar-beet land of plenty. The general testimony is that they are the most satisfactory labor yet introduced.

The Indian Industries League has helped the industrial work of Mohonk Lodge, which had its origin here, and so has the Women's National Indian Association. Some of you will remember how Mrs. Roe made an appeal to this Conference two years ago for the work in Oklahoma, which she and her husband straightway undertook. They opened the lodge, and took two returned students to live with them. They have been carrying on a magnificent work. Not only are they doing missionary work of a high order, but they are looking after both souls and bodies of the people. The bead-work industry of the Arapahoe and Cheyenne women has been carefully fostered. Mohonk Lodge has sent some beautiful work here.

Mr. and Mrs. Roe have adapted the Indian work to white people's needs, but retained the old symbolism and artistic value. Funds are needed to carry on their work, which is important, not only in Oklahoma, but as a source of information and inspiration to friends of the Indians in many distant places. The sum of \$650 would pay a teacher's salary and living expenses. The Roes are so much rushed with developing the industrial side of their work, that they must have another helper. I hope the incredibly small sum of money needed to advance their work will not be lacking this year.

Mrs. Candace Wheeler, of New York, who had charge of the Women's Exhibit at the World's Fair at Chicago, in 1893, was introduced as perhaps the foremost authority in this country as to what is worth perpetuating in Indian art.

DISTINCTIVE ELEMENTS IN INDIAN ART INDUSTRIES.

Mrs. CANDACE WHEELER, New York City.—There is a very general idea that Indian industries have small trade value, and, perhaps, less artistic value. It happens that my attention has been drawn to both sides of this question. The trade value is not only considerable now, but in proportion as we recognize the art of these industries, we shall find that it will increase until it will be a very important factor in the support and education of the Indian. The art which they have applied to their industries is, in many cases, absolutely unique. In two or three directions I think you will all recognize it. Perhaps the Navaho blanket is as good an illustration as I can give, and that, you know, from a technical point of view, is *the best weaving that has ever been done in the world*. It is the only weaving we know which will withstand the elements entirely. It will repel water, it will keep people warm in the coldest weather, and it will hold its color under all circumstances. The best of those blankets will bring from \$125 to \$150 in open market; and we can hardly find another variety of weaving, except Gobelin tapestry, which has as much trade value. The art value in them is less than we find in articles which are not so materially useful.

I think the next instance would be in the Indian canoe. I do not know how familiar you may be with the Indian canoe from an art point of view. Last year I was on Puget Sound, and saw some of the old canoes which had been in use fifty or sixty years, carved out of redwood, one hundred feet long, the borders stained in indelible colors in beautiful old Greek designs. No one knows how the Indian came to employ Greek designs, but there they are, the whole as symmetrical as an Etruscan vase, and almost deserving to be put under glass as specimens of absolute symmetry of form. These are scarcely made now even for the Indian's own use, and I wondered why all the manufacture of canoes—and it is a great fad among sporting men—why that should all go to the white man instead of to the original maker of canoes? Why cannot the Indian find employment in this direction and be encouraged? Why cannot capital be used to set them up in making canoes, which should be as much of a fad as the best racing horses or the automobile?

There is another thing I am familiar with in a small way. The Indians use a material in embroidery which might find its place in modern art, and that is embroidery upon leather and birch bark with porcupine quills. Now the porcupine quill is rather an unusual material. It is exceedingly decorative used as the Indians use it. It makes an embroidery that is absolutely indestructible. It would be beautiful used for altar cloths, for belts, for pockets, for almost any embroidery that is used for wear. It is not only in these directions that Indian art should be encouraged, but there are others. The Indian manipulation of leather, the dressing of leather, is as fine in its way as the celebrated Cordovan leather. These things belong to this people. They are absolutely theirs. It encourages in them the æsthetic, almost, I might say, the religious part of their nature, for I fully believe in the gospel of work with art. Art work seems to me to lift any people, to preserve them from barbarism; and I have felt for a long time, and am glad to have this opportunity of saying, that if more attention were paid to what the Indian has done and what he can do, the Indian would be very much better off to-day, and we as a people would be much richer, both in art and revenue.

Hon. Darwin R. James was introduced as one who could speak from past personal observation of the Philippines.

THE WORK IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY HON. DARWIN R. JAMES.

I have been asked to give some facts concerning the Philippines because I was once in those islands, and because during many years of my business career I was interested as a merchant and an importer of merchandise from that country. When there I was informed that the number of islands, large and small, comprised in this important group was nearly three thousand; possibly there may not be so many, for I have seen statements recently which put the number at two thousand, but whether the number be more or less it is an exceedingly interesting part of the world to visit, and its possession is opening to our nation questions which are quite new to us, and which must be settled for better or worse. Very few realize what a wonderful part of the world it is in its physical aspects, and of what great value in a commercial way to the nation which controls its trade.

Beautiful to look upon, with a soil of great fertility, and capable of producing immense crops of everything which grows in the torrid zone, it has never been developed in the four hundred years of Spanish rule. What success our American people will have in such a climate remains to be shown, but I see no reason why they cannot adapt themselves to the circumstances which surround them, and make a success of developing the vast resources of the islands.

The irrepressible Chinese are there in large numbers, and, as in other Eastern lands, are the workers to be depended upon. They have been there for centuries, although two or three times there have been uprisings against them, when thousands have been slaughtered in attempts to drive them from the islands, but they are still there; others came in place of those who perished, and the man with the "pig-tail" travels over the country doing the work or buying the products of native work, which he consigns to the Chinese merchant at a coast city. During many years the United States has had extensive business relations with the Philippines. In the beautiful harbor of Manila there were more American flags floating at the masthead than those of any other nation, when I was there twenty-five years or more ago. The merchant princes of Boston (for this city originally had the trade) and New York brought from those islands valuable cargoes of sugar, hemp, indigo and other products for which this rapidly growing country furnished a market. So much for the material side of the question. Upon arrival at Manila I made inquiry as to the customs investigation of travelers' luggage, and was informed that "pistols and Bibles were the only things not allowed entrance." As the house boat of the American firm with whom my firm transacted business came for me and put me ashore, regardless of customs officials, my belongings were not overhauled. It may be remarked in passing that the influence of this American firm was very great with the Spanish governing authorities, and it is an interesting commentary upon how things were done in those mis-governed islands.

The variety of nationalities met was very great, and afforded an interesting field for study to the ethnologist. There were gentle, refined and educated Spanish and Filipinos to be seen, but the great mass of the people were ignorant, degraded and priest-ridden, or perhaps pagan, addicted to gambling, cock-fighting and other sins. Religious fiestas occurred with great frequency, two or three a week at certain seasons of the year, in which the benighted people seemed to take intense delight. It was Spanish-American civilization in its lowest and intensest form. After the declaration of war with Spain in April, 1898, the order was issued from the Navy Department to Commodore Dewey, who was on the coast of China with his fleet, to proceed at once to Manila and destroy the Spanish fleet. As I read the order in a public journal, I was overwhelmed with a sense of its tremendous importance; of its great import to our nation, which for a hundred years had closely followed the teachings of the immortal Washington as outlined in his "Farewell Address." We were now cutting loose from our moorings, and launching out into new and unexplored fields. To me it seemed a crisis in our affairs as a nation; we were striking for the control of the trade of the Pacific Ocean, and yet in the mind of the average citizen, who was imbued with the humanitarian purpose of helping the oppressed Cuban at our door, no such purpose had been thought of. With many another, I had no longing for territorial acquisition, and most thoroughly regretted the war; yet, in all fairness, I can say that I fully believe that a Higher Power than our Government guided in

the matter, loading upon us new and unthought-of responsibilities, which this nation is bound to work out, and they are being worked out.

Not all of our citizens are in sympathy with the positions taken by the lamented McKinley, but to me his course has seemed the logical one, and in working it out he has sent to the Philippines, following close behind the military and naval forces, noble and intelligent statesmen, who are performing their part in preparing the inhabitants for self-government.

It is a mighty problem, worthy the great republic, and may require a longer time than some people think. It is an eminently appropriate theme for consideration by such an intelligent body of citizens as are assembled in this Conference. There are those, however, who point the finger of scorn at us, reminding us of the sad failure made during the two hundred and seventy-five years of our history upon this continent in civilizing and Christianizing the Red Man. This is discouraging; but I prefer to believe that we have learned something, and that no such wretched blunders will be made in the nation's efforts in behalf of the inhabitants of the newly acquired insular possessions.

Certainly there need be no such mistakes if we, the people, intelligently comprehend the question and resolutely undertake the task of settling it. Doubtless you have noticed in the public journals, within a few days, the fact of the landing at Manila of six hundred school-teachers, mostly women, young ladies, gathered from various parts of the country, who have gone there under the superintendence of Commissioner Atkinson to instruct in public schools, which the Government is opening as rapidly as possible. For a moment, pause and think of such an act and what it means to the Philippines in particular, and as an object lesson to the world. It is a marvelous act, and I am thankful because I am a citizen of such a Government. There are many transactions which we do not approve, but the intentions and purposes of the nation as a whole are for truth and righteousness. It cannot be expected that all the teachers who may be sent to those islands will make a success of their work; and from a Honolulu paper, which has come within my notice within a day or two, I learn that a few are dissatisfied and will not remain; but the mass of them will enter upon their work with genuine American pluck and will surmount the difficulties which will present themselves. Turn an army of such into those islands and sustain them in a proper manner, and they will work a revolution. These teachers, in an important sense, are missionaries! But in addition to their work, the Christian churches of our land are opening up religious work at several salient points, planting churches and establishing schools.

The Presbyterian body (with which I am connected) is developing work very rapidly, and other denominations are doing the same. You doubtless have noticed from the public prints, within a day or two, that at the great Convocation of the Episcopal Church, now in session at San Francisco, a bishop has been consecrated and set apart for this field of labor. One delightful feature of the mission-

any effort being put forth there by some of the denominations is the spirit of comity which prevails, and a proposition is being discussed and adopted to ignore denominational lines in the organization of native Protestant churches. The representatives of the Presbyterian Church who are working there are active in this movement, and, what is more, the efforts to that end have been approved in advance by the church at home. The representatives of that body, in their annual Assembly at St. Louis in May, 1900, approved the principle without a dissenting vote.

I take pleasure in mentioning it, as I consider that the effects of disinterested, undenominational religious work in the Philippines will be very helpful in the great moral uplift to go forward there. As to the subject of intemperance and the increased use of intoxicants, after our soldiers and sailors landed and other Americans flocked there, I can say that in Manila matters have much improved during the last year. Beyond all doubt, the condition of affairs was heart-sickening to every lover of his country. It weighed heavily upon the mind of Mr. McKinley, as I found in an interview had with him, at his request, rather more than a year ago. He watched the official reports which came from Manila with great care, and pointed out to me the decrease in the drinking saloons and the native vino shops with much satisfaction. The number of saloons of the American type, which had increased from half a score to several hundred in a few months after the American entry to that city, had been rapidly lessening after the issuance of the military order in January, 1900, which order increased the license to a thousand dollars or more on a certain class of saloons, with lesser rate for wines and beers, and a nominal rate for the vino shops. In June, 1900, less than six months after the issuance of the order, the published official report showed that the saloons had been reduced from 318 to 153, and the native vino shops from 4,000 to about 400. This same military order of January, 1900, permitted no licenses to be granted in certain plazas and important streets. Whatever may be said of the character of the Filipino or the Mestiza of those islands, they are not addicted to habits of intoxication. Later reports from Manila show still larger reductions in the licensed saloons of the American type and a better condition, as the ordinance is very thoroughly enforced.

Rev. Edward Abbott, D.D., was introduced as the next speaker.

Rev. EDWARD ABBOTT, D.D., Cambridge, Mass.—I am afraid that I owe the honor of the invitation to speak to-night to an impression that is not well founded, and to an expectation which will be disappointed. It is true that two years ago Mrs. Abbott and I, in completing the circuit of the globe, and in visiting India, Ceylon, Australia and New Zealand, also had the privilege of visiting Manila, China and Japan. I should not like to join issue with the distinguished speaker who has preceded me, in regard to the rights and wrongs of the situation in the Philippines. I do not propose to discuss what has been, but only to speak of what must be. For



better or for worse, the United States has planted its foot upon the Philippines, and the question of the Philippines is linked for a long time to come—unless unforeseen complications occur—with our attitude toward China and Japan. Those nations are not so remote from the question of our duty as American citizens to the North American Indian as might be supposed. When, this morning, a North American Indian, a member of this Conference, in his blue military suit, passed through this hall, and I saw his erect and manly bearing, I could not help saying to Mrs. Abbott, “If that Indian boy had on a white linen suit he would pass for a Filipino.” The great ethnological questions have not been decided yet which account for the presence of the North American Indian on this continent. Anyone who has seen the North American Indian, the Filipino and the Japanese side by side can hardly fail to be impressed with the community of visage and physique, and the outward expression of the mental and moral nature. If those three types of modern life have not at some past point of the world’s history sprung from some common root, then all signs fail. I do not speak of the man with the kinky hair, the Malay, the imported Chinaman, or the mingled strains that have sprung up in three centuries of foreign intrusion and possession, but of the native. He is another Japanese. He is not so far up hill on the ascent toward civilization, but he is on the same pathway, and I believe he has started from the same ethnological region.

The mission of the American people to the Filipino is, in my humble judgment, identical with that of the American people to the Japanese. It is not on so broad a scale; it is not characterized by so much intensity, but it is a problem of much the same character.

I suppose that for our purpose this evening it may be permitted me to class these three interesting Eastern nationalities together, the Filipino, the Japanese and the Chinese. It is very difficult for us in America to realize the physical elements and conditions of these three great national prospects that greet us as we turn our eyes across the Pacific. Take, for example, the territory of Ireland, increase it by one half and surround it with 3,000 islands, large and small,—for I believe the gentleman is right,—many of them comparatively insignificant, some no larger than the little lake upon whose hospitable shores we are gathered; that gives you a bird’s-eye view of the Philippines. It is a picturesque country, with a sunny, beautiful landscape, populated by ten or twelve million people. Now take California, cut off from its extremity territory equal to Maryland, swing it out into the Pacific, anchor it from the northeast to the southwest, and people it with half the population of the United States, and you have Japan. Then take the whole of the territory of the United States, add to it a territory equal to Mexico, and empty into it the population of the United States once, twice, three times, four times, five times, and you have China. Those are the three lands and peoples to whom we turn our eyes to-night. I speak with deference to the gentleman who has preceded me, who has had long commercial relations with the lands of the East, but I believe that it is the universal testimony of those who have had

such personal and commercial relations that the Chinaman's is far and away the superior type of manhood, intellectually and morally. I do not mean the Chinese laundryman. He is not a typical Chinaman any more than a mountaineer of Tennessee or Kentucky, in his illiteracy and degradation, is a typical American. The Chinese laundryman is a Cantonese. The mercantile Chinaman is a man of character. It is not too much to say that his culture, his methods of business, his probity, his integrity, his sense of truthfulness, are a pattern to every Christian nation on the face of the globe.

Mr. JAMES.—That is true.

Dr. ABBOTT.—I thank you, sir, for your testimony to the truth of what I have said. The Japanese is not the Chinaman's peer in these respects. The Japanese is the Frenchman of the East, the Chinaman is the Englishman. The one is solid, the other flighty; the one is a fixed star, the other a comet, a meteor; one is mercurial, the other granitic. You can make a Christian out of a Japanese to-day, but what he will be to-morrow you cannot tell. It may take twenty years to make a Chinaman into a Christian, but when he is once made he will stay. It is difficult for us to realize the fundamental contrasts in types of character, organization, political life and social aspect which exist between these two peoples, the Japanese and the Chinese. In their geographical contiguity there is a day or two's sail between them, so to speak, and yet there is absolutely not one characteristic held in common by those two peoples, saving the single exception of the written character in which they express their thought. The one only link that holds these two great peoples of the East together is their written character, and even that link is grudgingly conceded. Though you may know the character, you do not know the nature of the conversation hidden in it. China has no national consciousness; Japan has developed one of the noblest examples of national consciousness that the world has witnessed. China has no government; Japan has a government, admirably organized. There are no public schools worthy of the name in China; the streets of Japan are as full, on a bright morning, of boys and girls in uniform going to school with their bags of books under their arms, as are our American cities. The police department, the electric system, elevators, sleeping cars, dining cars, are as thoroughly organized as here. The post office has an almost ampler method of delivery than we have here. There are medical schools, hospitals, universities. It is wonderful, the way in which Japan has leaped to conclusions, though the slower process in China is not unlikely to result in a higher type of Christian civilization.

It seems to me that the Philippines present a situation not widely different from the situation presented by Japan; that the Filipinos are to be dealt with in much the same spirit and methods, with much the same results and probably the same dangers and difficulties as the Japanese. There is confusion of thought with regard to the Filipinos. There is a too common idea that they are barbarians and savages. Doubtless in some parts they are, but the educated Filipino is distinctly a man and a brother, intelligent, gentlemanly, refined and a perfect pattern of neatness. There are no more neatly

dressed men and women on the streets of New York than are to be seen among the native population in the streets of Manila.

Mr. JAMES.—You are quite right.

Dr. ABBOTT.—It is true that the Filipino does go about the streets with his fighting cock on his arm, but prize fights have not yet been banished from the United States of America; it is true that he is an inveterate gambler, but I doubt if there is more gambling among the Filipinos than among Anglo-Saxons and Americans, though it may be under another name. It does one good to leave his own city and state and country, and go beyond the seas, and to see how much that he boasts of at home is more than duplicated abroad, and how many weak places in his own national character and his own national life come into view on the other side of the world.

There are few or no saloons in Japan in the American sense of the word. There is little or no drinking and drunkenness in Japan in the American sense of the word. The only drunken persons whom we saw on that voyage round the world, with the exception of one Hindu in Calcutta, were Englishmen and Americans, and those were a disgrace to the names they bore.

The two industries that most impressed me in the city of Manila were the native manufacture of tobacco into cigarettes and cigars, and the sale of imported American whisky and "the beer that made Milwaukee famous." It was with a sense of humiliation that two American travelers spent ten days, in the spring of 1899, in the city of Manila, and witnessed the excesses in the direction of intemperance to be traced directly to the importation of American intoxicating liquors. I fear that when the accounts of the great day are brought up for settlement, and Christian America asks credit for her splendid missionary organizations, her enormous missionary contributions, and the devoted lives of her men and women that were laid down from one generation to another for the conversion and civilization of what we call the heathen, we shall find a much larger count on the other side in the vices and villainies and unnamable atrocities which have gone with what is known as "Western civilization" into the lands and islands on the other side of the world.

One aspect of this subject has not been touched upon which I think should be taken into account in any view that we spread before ourselves of the possibilities of the future owing to the opening of channels of influence in the East, and that is the probable hastening of the end of the long chapter of vice and bloodshed and nameless cruelty which belongs to the experience of the helpless populations of the Pacific islands at the hands of men-of-war's men, crews of merchantmen, and traders of England and France and America in the last hundred years of exploration, colonization and trade. Some of the darkest chapters which have defamed and disgraced humanity, have been written in these out-of-the-way lands and among those poor and helpless people, whose wrongs have reached only the ears of God. But with the new movement which the new century makes possible and probable, it does seem as if the shocking stories



which for years and years, in the opinion of those who have known the facts, have been too frightful to narrate, were now going to come to an end; and as if the enlarging and broadening power of the United States, linked with the power of England and the better sentiment of Europe, would be likely to police the Pacific and check in some measure the disorders and atrocities which have characterized the spread of Western peoples over the islands of the Eastern seas.

In conclusion, I must say that I am not so sanguine as the gentleman who preceded me with regard to the lines upon which strictly Christian work will be conducted in the Philippines any more than in China and Japan. I do not believe that at present that work can be successfully prosecuted upon the ideal undenominational line. It can be so started, but in my judgment it will not so continue. For the present I think we shall fight more effectively under our separate flags and in our separate organizations and by our separate methods. I may be wrong. I join in the enthusiasm of the ideal; I doubt its immediate practicability. The Triennial Convention of the church of which it is my privilege to be a minister has just appointed to the Episcopate in the Philippines and Porto Rico two men whose characters, attainments and records justify the amplest confidence in the wisdom, the efficiency, the Christlike spirit, and the measure of success which will stamp their administration. I refer to Rev. C. H. Brent, of Boston, bishop-elect of the Philippines, and Rev. W. C. Brown, of the Brazil Mission, bishop-elect of Porto Rico. Strangers as they must be to many of you, I would like to bespeak for them, in the difficult work to which they have been assigned, fraternal sympathy, a Christian interest, and the hearty co-operation and devout prayers of all who love our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. I can truthfully say that the appointment of those two men to these two important departments of new work, opened to the American Christian public by the events of the last few years, augurs the happiest results so far as the authority and influence of the body known as the Episcopal Church can go in surrounding these people with Christian influences, and leading them on and up to a higher plane of Christian civilization.

Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., was invited to follow his brother.

THE DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.

Every nation has its duty given to it by God as has every individual. The duty of this nation seems to me clearly to be indicated by its extraordinary history. This Anglo-Saxon people—for although the Anglo-Saxons are a minority in the United States, yet the United States is an Anglo-Saxon nation—had long centuries of education before it migrated to this country, and it came here endowed with a Christian faith. Not only had the Puritans this faith, but the Dutch

in New York, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Roman Catholics in Maryland, the Cavaliers in Virginia, the Huguenots in the Carolinas, all brought their Christian faith with them. And they found here a people who in all the elements of civilization, in all the elements of Christian culture and character, were their inferiors. They had hardly got a lodgment on these shores before there was brought over to them—certainly not by the wish of the great majority, but against the protest of many—a stream of migration from Africa; and another great inferior race was landed on their shores. This migration had hardly stopped when another migration began; there flocked hither from Europe the poor, the ignorant, the degraded, the superstitious,—a third inferior race. And we had not got through with our Indian, our Negro, or our immigrant problems when, whether by Providence or by our own design it is not my purpose now to inquire, the Porto Rican, the Philippine and the Hawaiian were added to our problem; and they are all one problem. That problem is this: What is the duty of a Christian, educated people, inheriting from a long ancestry a Christian faith and a Christian blood, what is their duty when they are set down under the same flag, within the same territory, side by side with the Indian, the African, the Mormon, the Spanish-American and the Malay? That is the question. And I am not going to answer it. But I am going to try to indicate what are some of the questions which this involves and some answers for your consideration. All that I shall attempt will be to formulate in words your own unspoken aspirations, your own desires, for this nation. I will be brief.

In the first place, so long as we govern an inferior people we must govern them in their interest, not in ours. How long this shall continue, when we can stop governing and can leave them entirely to their own government, when we can invite them to help govern us, are questions the answers to which I do not know, and upon which we are divided. I think my friend Dr. Ward is ready to invite them to govern us at once, and some think they will never be able to govern themselves at all. I stand between the two. I am generally a moderate. But so long as we exercise any function of government, it must be for their benefit and not for ours. That is the first principle of all justice,—Government is for the benefit of the governed. This is what we mean by civil service reform. It is not that by any device of man you can secure saints in office by examination any more than you can secure scholars in colleges, or perfect men even in the ministry. That is not what civil service reform examinations mean. The fundamental meaning is, that men ought to be put into office for the service they can render to the people to whom they are to minister, and every time we hear a man saying by word, as one man has said in New York, and by acts which speak louder than any words, as one man has in Philadelphia, “I am in politics for what I can make out of it,” there ought to be a flame of indignation from the people of every party, and of no party, so hot that after the cremation there would not be ashes enough left to gather up for a vase on the family mantelpiece.

Second: If this people is to be the rightly governed, it must be

governed not only for the benefit of the people, but it must also be for the purpose of making those people at the earliest possible moment self-governing. As the wise father governs his child so that as far as possible the child can learn to govern himself; as the wise teacher administers discipline in his schoolroom so that there shall be no need of discipline, so the true statesman organizes government so that at the earliest possible moment the necessity for government shall cease and the government shall be from within, not from without. But if there is not any governing power from within, then it is better to govern from without. Every man in America ought to be taught the difference between a wild beast and the President of the United States, and if he does not know it and draws his pistol upon the President, it shows that he has no power of self-government, and must be controlled from without. We cannot assume that men are wise and leave them ungoverned; but we must give them opportunity to prove their righteousness and their wisdom. We must give to these men laws.

Third: It is a fundamental principle of justice that there be the same penalties visited on the same crimes and administered by the same processes; that there shall be the same protection and the same rights secured by the same guaranties for every man, whether black or white or yellow, whether for the South or the North, the Yankee or the Filipino, the Indian or the Negro. We are beginning to learn that an Indian is entitled to be protected and punished like any other man. For my part, fully recognizing the shame and dishonor which every American must feel in the evils which American commerce has sometimes carried, and to which my brother has alluded, and whose allusion I heartily indorse, yet with the desire to look at the bright side, I rejoice that American justice is represented in the land of the Filipinos by such a man as Judge Taft. I think it is a great thing that we have selected one of our own judges, and sent him out to that archipelago to organize systems of justice for a people that never knew what the word meant in all the times that are past.

Fourth, is the land question. We solved it as regards the Indians by buying their lands from them, putting them on some of their own lands, or by sending them to other lands; sometimes sending them away from these lands again, and repeating the process from time to time until there is not much land problem left, because there is not much land. In another form the land problem is going to confront us in the Philippines. There are great tracts of unoccupied land, great regions, some fertile, perhaps the best in Luzon, in the hands of a great religious corporation, which will not be willing to use it for the greatest prosperity and advantage of the people of the islands. What are we to do with the land problem there? It seems to me that the recommendation which has come from the Taft Commission is the one which this country ought to carry out. We ought to ascertain how much of the land of the island really belongs to the friars. Is it theirs or not? I think it is safe to assume that we cannot undertake to do what Henry VIII did,—take the land away by any process of confiscation. We shall respect rights and

we shall enforce rights. When we have found out these rights we should purchase that land on the same principle on which land is taken from you or me for a railroad for instance,—purchase it by proper, legitimate, legal proceedings, and take possession of it in the name of the United States. We have treated the Indian in one way and the immigrant in another. We have said to the foreign immigrant, If you will come and take possession of one hundred and sixty acres of land, and fertilize and keep it and produce things on it, you may have it. We have a homestead law that will give the land to any man who dwells on it. I should like to see it the law that no land in the Philippines should be sold to any concern for ten years except to purchasers who comply with the homestead act, and occupy the land themselves. I want to see land preserved for the Filipinos until there is an opportunity for them to show what power of self-development they possess. Civilization in our time depends on franchises, and on this subject, with our experience in the past, we should have entirely adequate light. It may now be taken as a well-settled principle among the students of economics that no franchise ought to be granted that lasts over a generation. If that principle was adopted in Porto Rico and the Philippines no franchises would be granted for over fifty years, and that would give time for these people to develop power to take advantage of the franchises themselves, when the time of adequate self-development has arrived.

Fifth: Underlying all provisions of government, of law and of land is provision for education. It is now well settled that the State provides for the education of its citizens. In every democratic community this is the principle. As soon as England gets rid of feudalism she establishes the Board School system; as soon as France frees herself from the empire she establishes free schools; so, too, does Italy. In our own South there was not a free school until after slavery was abolished. It was then planted, and has grown with astonishing rapidity, so that now the free school exists throughout the United States. The first comers ought not to be required to establish schools. Certainly, they ought not to be left to do it alone. The schools in every Territory of the United States ought to be provided under government authority and control, and, in so far as necessary, at government expense, for the education of every school child. If we had adopted that principle fifty years ago, I venture to say that we should not be confronting any serious Mormon problem to-day.

Sixth: It has been pointed out here that the Indian is an intensely religious person. Mr. James has pointed out that the Filipino is an intensely religious person. If it seems inconsistent to you that he should have three religious festivals a week and walk with a gamecock under his arm, it is not more strange than some of the things done in orthodox circles in our own country. They are intensely religious persons, and the Christian church, to which most of us belong, ought to go to those people with the simple message with which Paul went to the intensely religious people of Athens: "I see that you are very religious. The God you do not know I have come to proclaim to you." Whether we shall go as Congregation-

alists, Baptists, Methodists; whether my brother shall go with his rubric and I shall go with my extemporaneous prayer, is a matter of detail. I do not care much provided that he and I go, provided that the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Baptist, go, not to preach Presbyterianism or Methodism or Baptism, the old theology or the new theology, but to show to a people who are profoundly religious, and are worshiping a God they do not know, who God really is. If we do believe, as most of us profoundly do, that Jesus Christ is God manifest in the flesh, that we have knowledge as to the real character of God, which no unchristian people primarily possesses, we should give to them that which is the best.

Government then for the benefit of the governed; designed, adapted and administered to make the people self-governing; equal laws for all the same; land so held and so sold that it can be kept for the people, and not pass into the possession of a few favorite individuals; schools provided at public expense for all the children; religion as simple and as profound as the religion of the four Gospels in our New Testament,—this is what we Anglo-Saxon people owe to the Indian, the Negro, the foreign immigrant, the Porto Rican, the Hawaiian and the Filipino.

There are some who are very sorry that we ever put our foot on Philippine soil. I am very glad we have gotten our arms around the Philippine people. I am glad because I count it a new occasion for congratulation when my God gives to me a new duty, and the harder it is and the more tremendous the responsibility, the more with trembling I rejoice, thanking him that he counts me worthy to take such a burden and enter upon such a path. I thank Him who, I believe, has called the American people to this splendid mission, and laid upon this American people this splendid responsibility.

Adjourned at 9:45 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 17.

After morning prayers, conducted by the Rev. James M. Bruce, the Conference was called to order by the President, Dr. Merrill E. Gates, who introduced Mr. Philip C. Garrett, of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Special Commission named by Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, when Governor of New York, to investigate the condition of the New York Indians.

THE RELATION OF THE NEW YORK INDIANS TO THE UNITED STATES.

BY PHILIP C. GARRETT.

The beautiful State of New York, among other picturesque objects, is decorated by a lot of old-time Indian reservations, scattered across and through the length and breadth of the State from Long Island, in the southeast, to the St. Lawrence River, where the St. Regis Indians are, through the lake valleys in the center to almost within sight of Niagara; and to Lake Erie and along the beautiful valley of the Allegheny, in the southwest. Those who have attended these sessions will remember that years ago the condition of these reservations was a source of interest and discussion. Bishop Huntington first brought it to the attention of the Conference. He had found at his door, south of Syracuse, the Onondaga reservation, one of the most backward of them all, still maintaining barbarous rites of worship. He was much scandalized by the condition of things there and the injury it caused to the surrounding country. Judge Draper, then superintendent of schools of the State of New York, made a powerful address here against them. From that time to this, the topic has claimed more or less attention, and the reservation system has received the condemnation of intelligent people throughout the State and country. The Indians insist on retaining pagan worship, about half of them being pagans with their old rites. Some of these are regarded as objectionable by those who know most about them. These reservations are like scars on the beautiful territory of this State. They are *imperia in imperio*; they are foreign countries in the midst of the State of New York. They ought to be removed.

Last year, while Mr. Roosevelt was still Governor of New York, a citizen wrote to him, calling attention to these reservations and asking him to consider what should be done with them. His nomination as Vice President followed in June, and I suspect that he forgot all about it during his six-hundred-speech stumping tour. I hap-

pened to be attending the first meeting of the State Conference of Charities and Correction at Albany last November, and I spoke to Mr. Roosevelt about the matter. He invited me to an interview in the Executive Chamber and showed that he was deeply interested in the subject, although he confessed that he had naturally lost sight of it for a time. That led to the appointment of a commission to investigate the whole subject. He selected a commission of five, four of whom were citizens of New York, and I felt honored and complimented, being outside of the State, to be appointed as the fifth. The other members were Bishop Walker, Mr. Darwin R. James, President of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Mr. Daniel Smiley and Hon. Oscar Straus, at that time minister to Turkey. We had a very short time to get the report in to the Governor, and it was rather brief and, perhaps, superficial. We were unable to obtain information about the legislation of the State of New York and other matters desirable, and which would require more time than the committee had at its disposal before the term of the Governor should expire. However, they did make their report, which will be found bound with the report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for last year. They reviewed the state of things and made some recommendations, stating that they had found on the reservation somewhat barbarous conditions not at all in keeping with the civilization of so great and old a State. Their main recommendation was that everything relating to the legislation for the New York Indians should be relegated to the United States. That was a principal point of discussion, whether the United States or the State of New York should deal with them. It was our conclusion that the United States should take charge of the matter and that proper legislation should be sought at the next session of Congress, extending the provisions of the Dawes Bill to the Indians of New York, who were specifically left out of its application.

The commission also discussed the subject of the leasing of Indian lands, to deal with which may require a Congressional Commission. I think the report was made December 20th. The consequence was that Mr. Roosevelt, whose gubernatorial term was to end December 31st, himself being about to assume the duties of the Vice President of the United States, having other matters to attend to, really did not have an opportunity, as Governor of New York, to give the subject much attention. It was our hope that, being in Washington, he would be able to further this legislation, and I trust that may prove to be the case yet. In his still higher exaltation to the Presidency of the United States, he will be able to further such legislation, and his study of this subject, albeit somewhat limited hitherto, will lead him to see that the same line of treatment is now needed for the Indians of the whole country; that is, the destruction of all reservations, and the conversion of the Indians into citizens, and their absorption as members of the entire body politic of the United States. That is what we now want. In my estimation the Indians are all nearly ready for citizenship. I believe the great majority might safely be made citizens. Of course there are backward tribes, but I believe that even in those cases

there would be less suffering from their conversion into citizens, and the destruction of the present old and complex system, than from the great expense to the people of the United States by the retention of that system. It would cause less injury to the country than we suffer all the time from a lot of rowdy, lazy, loafing white people in the Western country. If it were not for the patronage system, I think the Indians would have made much further preparation for citizenship. Patronage is the curse of the United States. You cannot get a reservation abolished, because some member of Congress wishes to hold on to it for those to whom he owes his position in Congress. This is the principal source of the retardation of the Indians in their progress toward citizenship. The Church may well add to her prayers, "From the evils of patronage, good Lord, deliver us; from the despotism of agencies, deliver us, good Lord."

The agent is an absolute autocrat on his reservation. The progress of the Indian toward civilization is blocked by the agency. Why can we not get rid of them? Toward that we should bend our energies. This question of the New York Indians is only a trifling illustration of the need of that. The reservation system is a hindrance to the advance of civilization. It is preposterous in a State like this. The Indians have made scarcely any progress in a hundred years, and yet some of them are as well prepared for citizenship as many of the farmers around them.

With Dr. Gates I enjoyed a visit to the reservations this last summer, and we were much interested to observe that among the best of the Indians there was manifest preparation for citizenship, almost equal to that of the white people about them. We visited a number of houses of farmers where the evidences of intelligence, of education and taste for art were manifest. Some of them had pianos in their parlors, and their conversation indicated that they had been to schools and colleges, and it really seemed absurd to think of them on any theory as savages, and as though these reservations must be kept up.

I am inclined to believe that we have reached a time when we ought to look forward to the entire abolition of the Indian system at an early day. We want an emancipation proclamation, which at a stroke can set free the Indian peoples, and let them be self-dependent and subject to all the penalties, privileges and immunities of the laws of the United States. I think we should do all we can to bring that about.

CONTINUING THE "INDIAN SYSTEM" INDEFINITELY WILL DO MORE HARM THAN WOULD FOLLOW ITS IMMEDIATE ABOLITION.

The PRESIDENT.—Each added week of attention to this subject convinces me that if the entire Indian Bureau could be speedily done away with we should risk vastly less than I used to think we should. I believe that we should risk less than we risk by perpetuating the present system, if within the next five years the whole Indian system could be swept away! I doubt if there is a tribe now

in any State or Territory in the Union which, within the next five years, could not be put under the operation of the laws of the State and Territory and the local administration of the counties where they now live, and have land allotted them, with better results upon the whole than will follow if they are left as they now are! We must certainly face the problem.

May I add a word about New York? I visited not only the Cataraugus and Allegheny reservations, but also the Tonawandas and the Onondagas last summer. While on this trip I was interested in looking up a little mission church, where a missionary whom I knew in my boyhood had earlier preached to the Indians sixty years ago and more. Fully three generations ago there was a little Presbyterian church for Indians in that neighborhood. But you can still find pagan customs there. You will find there many Indians as well qualified to manage their own property as are the members of this Conference. Still they are herded together there as Indians, and paganism is perpetuated in the heart of the Empire State! Let in the law! Establish homesteads and homes! Allot land, and make self-respecting citizens of these people, too long "coddled" by a special system!

Beside the gospel, we need law. We need to make these men worth something to the State, and to themselves as individual citizens. They need to manage their own property, and to learn to take their places as American citizens. Let the end come soon!

ADDRESS OF MR. A. K. SMILEY.

I think Mr. Garrett has struck the right chord—the great danger from a continuance of the reservations. The men in office in Washington, in the Indian Bureau, and in the Indian agencies want this system to be perpetual, and the politicians want it so that they can distribute positions for political work, for there are many offices to fill. We are going to have a tremendous struggle to get rid of the Indian reservation and of the Indian Bureau. We recommended last year that ten or more agencies should be given up, but we got rid of only three. I had a letter from Mr. Murray, who says the question has come up in Oklahoma. If an Indian has taken up land in severalty he has become a United States citizen, and can vote or do anything that any other citizen can do; yet in Oklahoma the agent takes those Indians and manages them as in the old times. He takes charge of their property, leases their land, prevents them from going off the reservation; they are not allowed to vote, and they are treated exactly as in old times, so that the Indians are worse off than before. That ought not to be. These Indians lease their land and go off and live in a tent, putting their children into boarding schools, and live themselves like savages. Such Indians should be thrown into deep water and left to swim. I wish the moneys that the Indians got from the sales of land could be lost this year, every penny, and let them work or starve, those who have able bodies. This pampering of Indians is an error. I am more and more con-

AK Smiley *

vinced of it. You can never civilize the Indians until they work for their own living. Colonel Pratt is right. The more I see the more I believe this. The tendency of benevolent people is to give them land. How many of our poor white people have land and homes? Why should they be treated in a different way? A man who can earn \$1.25 a day and will not do anything but smoke and drink and gamble, and lean against the fence in summer, then when winter comes let him starve; he deserves it. You will never make the Indian worth anything so long as you pamper and feed him. I don't believe in their renting their land. It ought to be stopped. Then there is the question of land for which there is no title. Out of eight hundred allotments to the Pawnees, over three hundred are now vacant. The United States must find some way of disposing of that land. I repeat that I believe in throwing the Indian into deep water and letting him swim.

The CHAIRMAN.—When you see this state of mind produced on this man of peace, you can imagine how deep the evils must be.

Mr. SMILEY.—If we had such women as Miss Collins, with her kind heart and good sense, all over the land, we should have little difficulty. The trouble is, we have to deal with politicians.

The subject of Hawaii was then taken up, and Rev. Dr. Twombly was asked to speak.

THE NATIVE HAWAIIAN OF YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.

BY REV. ALEXANDER S. TWOMBLY, NEWTON, MASS.

The dreamy, sunlit haze of legend and romance that surrounds the Hawaiian native of yesterday makes the description of him as he was in actual life a melancholy task. Why not allow him to lie under the waving fronds of the palm in indolent reverie, with aromatic odors in the air, and the surf gently rippling on the shore? Why drag him into the light of modern investigation, thus leaving one the less type on earth of a barbarian race, happy in its ignorance, and innocent of contact with contaminating civilization?

The islands, in all their fascinating beauty of semi-tropical verdure and variegated landscape, still suggest the domain of a favored race. Mysterious caverns, spouting caves, beetling crags, verdant slopes and snow-capped mountains inspire the imagination to people this isolated realm with a race undisturbed by care, cruelty or fear. Why then change the picture of this "Paradise of the Pacific" into an abode of indecorous pagans, and the roaming place of chiefs and tribes, unpleasant in their nudity, to the modern mind?

The answer is, We turn our searchlight back into the past and upon the present condition of these islanders because they have come under the authority of our Republic and are an integral part of our nation, and because grave problems confront us in relation

to their welfare and our own. To aid in solving these problems we must discard romance, and consider what the Hawaiians have been and what they now are. Hard, dry facts alone can enable us to see clearly by what action and legislation the United States Government can make this "Gem of the Tropics" sparkle in the new light of republican liberty.

What, then, was the native Hawaiian of yesterday? It is conceded that the early Hawaiians were better than any other Polynesian race in intelligence and the rude arts. They had astronomical knowledge, traditions of Noah and a supreme being. Antiquarians affirm that they are not to be classed as "savages," and that when the first migration came from the South Sea Islands to Hawaii they brought with them the possibilities of greatness as a nation. The second migration, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, increased those possibilities, and gave the islanders two hundred and fifty years of peace and prosperity. This was Hawaii's golden age. Relics of this age are extant in architectural and traditional tokens.

But when the next five centuries left the group in complete isolation from the outer world, the inhabitants lapsed into a state of degeneracy; war became chronic; sexual promiscuity was a general custom; the "organized instinct of morality" was greatly impaired; habit created an inferior code; the chiefs became despotic, and the priests invented a more cruel ritual, making the "tabu," which was at first a merciful provision, the nucleus of a most oppressive system.

When Captain Cook discovered the islands, in 1778, a stupefying intoxicant was in daily use; women gave away their infants, or buried them alive, to avoid the trouble of rearing them. Food was not abundant for the three hundred thousand or more inhabitants, on the islands of which the area is no larger than that of Massachusetts, and of which but a small portion was under cultivation. There were no four-footed animals except dogs, hogs and mice, unless lizards may be placed in that class. There were fowl, but flesh was eaten mainly by the chiefs and priests. Fishes were plentiful; *poi*, a root mashed and fermented, was the national food. Cereals were unknown, and women were forbidden, on pain of death by the tabu, to eat pork, turtles, certain kinds of fish, bananas and cocoanuts.

However, the inherent vitality of the race had thus far persisted in retarding any very rapid progress in physical deterioration. There was as yet no "morbid deviation from the original type, which made the Hawaiians as a race incapable of fulfilling their functions in the world." But the racial organism was debilitated in spite of remarkable individual exceptions. The population had begun to decrease in numbers. Progress in the rude arts was checked, and the course of the nation slowly tended downward.

War kept the national physique up to a fair standard, although it diminished the numbers of the male population and drained off the best blood. A single battle, called the Battle of the Sand Hills, on the island of Maui in 1776, was the most fatal blow the islands ever received in the loss of their high chiefs. The land never recovered from the effects of that sanguinary fight.

Yet the games, surf swimming and the natural cheerfulness of the natives preserved them in comparative cleanliness and strength. The chiefs lived on the best the land afforded, and were tall and stalwart. Their women were inclined to obesity, but when young were fair and well proportioned. The climate, which induced idleness, was favorable to health. Semi-nudity secured many physical advantages, and was not very detrimental to what we call morality. Nature provided cures in spite of native doctors. Leprosy was unknown. The Hawaiians were never guilty of cannibalism, or anything approaching that hideous custom.

There were traditional social customs in respect to marriage; even consanguineous union, by some strange exception to the accepted physiological law, was not so harmful as might be supposed. There were ties of natural affection, and humane kindness asserted itself, having always been a prominent trait of the Hawaiians.

Hospitality was universal and was often carried to extremes. The chief's exercise of authority was paternal as well as despotic. The priests were not given to cruelty. Prisoners of war and infirm natives were preferred as sacrifices to the gods, and the victims were seldom tortured. Places of refuge were provided for the vanquished. Praying to death was an influence over the mind, not the body; a sort of reversal of the modern mind cure.

Thus the Hawaiians, at the close of the eighteenth century, presented some marked contrasts. A mirthful people, they had a most sombre religion. They loved flowers, but worshiped hideous idols. Poetic in temperament, and delighting in their bards, they had no written language. Kindly, they propitiated their gods by bloody sacrifices. Holding women under strict tabu, their customs concerning kinship and inheritance were generally in favor of the female lineage. Docile and amiable, they delighted in warfare. Their weapons were rude but effective. They ate little meat and yet were strong.

Taking, then, into consideration the inherited ability and vitality of the Hawaiian race, it may be affirmed with a measure of confidence that, notwithstanding the tendency to a decline, they still possessed at the period of their discovery by Captain Cook the possibility of recuperation and progress which, under favorable auspices, might have given them a permanent foothold among the races and nations that survive and flourish in the great world of modern times.

If the white men who influenced their destiny between the years 1778 and 1820 had all been like Vancouver or John Young, the sovereignty of the group, as achieved by Kaméhaméha I in 1795, might have been moulded into a solidarity productive of rapid strides in national and social progress.

But from the date of Captain Cook's arrival to the coming of the American missionaries, a most debasing influence dominated their lives. The white man fastened on them an ineradicable curse. There have never been snakes on the islands, but the most venomous serpents would have been a merciful visitation in comparison with the vipers in human form that for more than thirty years poisoned their bodies and contaminated their minds.

Captain Cook himself impoverished the natives by his demands, and despoiled them of such virtue as they had, leaving behind him a strong hatred of the white man. Then followed men like Captain Metcalf, who, in revenge for the killing of a sailor, collected hundreds of the natives, ostensibly for purposes of friendly trade, and strewn the channel with their dead bodies.

A trade in sandalwood, which sprung up with China, laid intolerable burdens on the kanakas, and reduced them almost to the condition of slaves. Depraved white men remained on the islands; the few good commanders called at the ports, advised and departed; the resident whites, with few exceptions, broke down the ancient restraints of native customs and made the people restless and reckless. Gambling and rum ruined both chiefs and the common natives. The development of their worst, instead of the survival of their best traits, was immediately perceptible.

With the chiefs it was an era of inter-island strife and intrigue. Kaméhaméha I, the shrewdest and greatest native that modern Hawaii has produced, saw the danger and did his best to stem the tide. Isaac Davis, mate of a ship, and John Young, an intelligent sailor, being left on the islands, exerted themselves in favor of good order; but the distillation of the *kī* plant continued; large quantities of rum were imported, and chiefs and kanakas alike drank to excess.

The abolition of idolatry and the destruction of the temples followed almost immediately the death of the great king, in 1819; yet this radical departure from the old religion, with the overthrow of the tabu system, only left the people in superstitious skepticism and freedom from restraint. The most active agent in this change was the queen regent, who, coming into absolute authority, desired to free herself from the irksome limitations of the tabu.

In 1820 the American missionaries arrived. They came a generation too late. If they had preceded the flood of evil influences with which the bad whites had inundated the group, it is possible that they might have won the king, and persuaded him to withstand in a greater degree the vicious stimulation which swept over the islands. Even at their later coming, had their views respecting the education of heathen been those of Gen. S. C. Armstrong, of Hampton Institute, himself the son of a Hawaiian missionary; had they established, as he expresses it, "a routine of industrious habit," and been "more plastic in their conception of the true methods in dealing with this primitive and inferior people," they might have toughened the fibre and prolonged the life of the race. But "it seems doubtful," says the author of *The Making of Hawaii*, "whether they or any others (at the period of their arrival) would have had any profound or permanent effect."

The religious training given to the natives by these devoted American men and women produced a remarkable change in many respects, both among the chiefs and the people. The queen regent, Kaahumanu, truly converted to Christianity in 1825, seconded the new instruction. She had around her a fine array of chiefs, many of whom became genuine converts. She herself had been won by the patient gentleness of the unselfish missionaries, who were with her during a dangerous illness.

Other rulers, like Kaméhaméha III, desired mainly the valuable aid of the missionaries in such matters as resistance to encroachments of foreigners and the making of laws for the better government of the people. She encouraged the Christian workers in a higher spirit; all that was possible to do in religious instruction by the small band of pious teachers was done. But what could be achieved with a people in the condition of the Hawaiians at that time?

They were already enfeebled in their physical stamina; they were debilitated in mind by despotic government and generations of mental vacuity and their superstition persisted in its influence. With no ethical perspective, the primitive cult being abandoned, is it strange that, after half a century of Christian instruction, a female member of the church was very much surprised that she should be excommunicated for adultery, while a male communicant was only suspended for theft? Is it to be wondered at, that a race under these conditions should be unable to comprehend the need or the claims upon them of the rigid morality which the missionaries tried to inculcate?

Another impediment in the way of the religious instruction of the native was the lack of a medium in language for the expression of the lofty precepts and doctrines of Christianity. The letters of the Hawaiian alphabet are but twelve. The number of words in the language is a little short of sixteen thousand, and the foreign words introduced, mostly biblical, are one hundred and seventy-five. There are no words to express many shades of meaning common and plain to Americans. The average Hawaiian never had a strong desire to adopt the speech of civilization. To-day very many of the older natives, even members of the last legislature, do not speak or write the English language. The present generation of youths is compelled to learn it in the schools; but this is a modern innovation. Such being the case, how can it be supposed that the lofty ideas, aspirations, hopes, and especially the doctrines of Protestant or Catholic Christianity would be received and firmly held?

The people, therefore, while the missionaries were doing their best to instruct them, grew up with very little comprehension of the higher moral, social and religious standards of their teachers. The native children, under recent training, are able to learn spelling, geography, algebra and mathematical solutions; seldom, however, do they readily acquire any higher branches. It seems difficult to raise the intellectual grade among them. They have only lately been taught the history, literature, poetry or art of the wide world. The Hawaiians love flowers, as all primitive peoples do, for their color rather than for their delicate forms. They have been made passive and unheroic by a long period of peace.

The wonderful religious revivals of 1838 and 1839 had some remarkable results. "Over five thousand were admitted to the Protestant churches in 1839, and ten thousand the next year. Christianity became the national religion." "But," says Prof. W. D. Alexander, "the ancient beliefs of the people, though greatly modified by the changed conditions of the country, still continued to exert a powerful influence over their lives. There have always been

those who have clung to the faith of their fathers, and who, in secret, have kept up the worship of their ancestral gods. From time to time the outward manifestations of heathen worship have cropped out. Especially from the year 1863, when Kaméhaméha V began his reign, up to the death of Kalakaua in 1890 has this tendency been more apparent."

Some individuals among the Hawaiians have apprehended the truths of Christianity in a remarkable degree. One example was the queen regent. Another, Kapiolani, daughter of a great chief of Hilo. She at one time was intemperate and dissolute, but afterwards became an example of virtue and refinement to all her countrywomen. In order to break the spell of the fire goddess, Pele, she descended into the great crater of the volcano and defied the false deity, saying: "Jehovah is my God."

As an offset to such exceptional cases, by no means confined to the higher class of natives, was the action of Princess Ruth, a surviving sister of the third and fourth Kaméhaméhas. She was a proud old chiefess, who thought too little of the whites to attempt to acquire their language. On one occasion the village of Hilo was threatened by a broad stream of lava from Mauna Loa. It had reached within a mile or two of the village, when this woman declared: "I will save the fish ponds of Hilo. Pele will not refuse to listen to the prayer of a Kaméhaméha." The next day she stood facing the moving flow. Erecting an altar, she made offerings and supplications to the goddess. The stream ceased to move, and to-day its glistening front stands like a wall around Hilo.

This was as late as 1882, and no wonder that many natives renewed their faith in their discarded deities.

A most unfortunate move on the part of the American missionaries was when the American Board of Missions, in 1863, withdrew its paternal care and, in a degree, its financial support from the native churches. Native pastors were substituted for the missionaries, some of whom remained on the islands without the old authority and influence. As a natural result, the churches, left to themselves in large measure, relapsed into comparative indifference and surrendered to some of the old forms of superstition. The influence of the court, added to the example of vicious foreigners, was on the side of irreligion, and the original native churches have by degrees diminished in the number of members and in zeal.

At the present time, while four fifths of the natives are able to read and write, the census of 1896, giving a total of 31,019 pure natives, reports 12,842 as nominally Protestant, 8,427 Roman Catholics, and 4,368 Mormons. The actual native membership in the Protestant churches to-day is 4,642. The Sunday schools of these churches contain 588 natives, old and young.

The reasons for this religious decline may be summed up as follows:—

1. The death of many of the older missionaries, to whom the natives looked up as to fathers and chiefs.
2. The withdrawal of the American Board of Missions.
3. The decay and disappearance of the old royal family, which in the main favored the missionaries.

4. The encouragement of heathen practices by the last two sovereigns, who were opposed to the leadership in church and state of the so-called "Missionary party," now a political rather than a religious designation.

5. The new generation, ignorant of the older missionaries, readily lost the earlier strict standards; intoxication increased; vast quantities of liquor were imported under King Kalakaua; heathenish practices and the *kahunas* (medicine men) were licensed, and resorted to without hindrance.

6. Descendants of the missionaries and other white men, with Anglo-Saxon energy in various pursuits, grew richer and the natives poorer, thus widening the breach between the two classes, while designing white men led the natives to believe that the "Missionary party," in spite of its efforts to improve the condition of the natives, was wholly selfish and careless of any interests but its own.

7. Lastly, when Kalakaua, in 1887, was forced by the whites to accept a revised constitutional limit to his authority, and when, in 1893, Queen Liliuokalani attempted to obtain absolute power, the Royalist party became avowedly hostile to the "Missionary party," and the natives in large numbers left the churches, religion and politics being connected in their minds with the watchword "Hawaii for the Hawaiians." Therefore, when, in 1900, the United States Congress consigned legislation in Hawaii to the weak and incensed natives, their first thought was to destroy the power and override the policy of the detested whites.

The readiness of the kanakas to be beguiled by smooth-tongued leaders, and the results which followed the election (as will be seen further on in this paper), have proved that the average Hawaiian of to-day has no true conception of self-government, and no capacity for the exercise of the duties of American citizenship.

The line of chiefs legitimately descended from the great Kaméhaméha had aspirations and abilities which promised much for the establishment of a nation on a permanent and prosperous foundation. The early missionaries deserve great honor for their desire and effort to cultivate the desire for Hawaiian nationality and independence. In those days it was a struggle of a Liliputian kingdom against all the nations of the world. In the teeth of hostile foreign officials, with naval forces at their command, and often inspired by the basest motives, the little monarchy, after many surrenders, outrages, threats and blows, held its ground; it had given rights to the common people; enacted laws and a constitution; made treaties with great powers, until, the great chiefs having died, the natives forgot, under evil advisers, that but for their friends, the missionaries, they would long ago have lost all semblance of a nation. They even turned against these tried helpers, and made it necessary in self-defense for the best element among the whites to assume the sole management of affairs of state.

It was with reluctance that many leading Americans relinquished the idea of a monarchy under native rulers, and turned to the doubtful experiment of annexation as the only salvation of the land.

It is not claimed that the American descendants of missionaries,

and holding their traditions, have not been apt at a bargain and ready to seize an opportunity; but it has never been proved that they acquired wealth or power by the oppression of the natives, or by any underhanded dealings by which the natives have been defrauded of their rights. The assessed valuations of the islands show an increase of wealth in ten years (1892-1901) from thirty-three to one hundred and twenty-one millions of dollars, and of this large real and personal property from two thirds to three quarters are owned by the whites, many of whom are children of the early Christian teachers, and born on the islands.

The natives have been urged to acquire freeholds without cost. In 1860 much desirable land was sold to them. The missionaries made strenuous efforts to have the common people secure homes of their own, and in course of time 11,000 natives have become proprietors of land. But to-day the native owns far less than he might own, because of indolence and improvidence. He is careless even of his rights in property. He allows the land to slip easily out of his hands. Too lazy to work the soil, he mortgages his holding in order to build a house, which soon, with the land, is lost.

It is a sign of the tendency to degenerate when men care little for the possession of land. In 1896 full-blood natives owned in severalty only six per cent of the soil of the islands. Since 1884 President Dole has actively promoted the acquisition by natives of small holdings, and the legislature of 1895 passed an admirable land act in their favor. But not much advantage has been taken by the kanakas of these privileges.

The result is, that gradually real property in large acreage has come into the possession of great corporations. This has been fatal to the natives, so far as their agricultural progress is concerned. Their chance is lost forever. Even as laborers on plantations they are a failure. Their unreliable services have not been wanted by the planters. Asiatics have supplanted them because of their negligence. As the Chinese have displaced them in the industries, so have the Chinese and Japanese taken their place in agricultural pursuits. In 1899 there were 1,329 Hawaiians, 25,644 Japanese and 5,979 Chinese at work on the plantations.

A race like this, whose aboriginal soil is held by others, cannot have strong and persistent national aspirations. The justice or injustice of this possession by the whites may be an open question, but the fact remains that capacity and conditions for citizenship, as Americans understand it, do not exist among the native Hawaiians of to-day. The hope of the race as regards true citizenship exists, if anywhere, at the present time, in the few thousands of half natives (8,485, census of 1896) who inherit what is left of the ancestral stamina reinforced by foreign stock.

This does not imply that there are no examples among the full-blood natives of a higher grade of qualities than their heathen ancestors possessed. It does not imply that some Hawaiians have not given evidence of the good qualities of the best original specimens of their race. It does mean, however, that the average native, in the midst of a civilization of the best modern type, is not taking the

position which might properly be expected of him. Whatever the causes, he has not advanced proportionally with his environment. On the other hand, he has deteriorated during the last half century, in comparison with the advance of the white people among whom he has lived.

Perhaps degeneracy is too strong a word for the situation. The Hawaiian of to-day is far in advance, in many respects, of his pagan ancestry. In a degree he is a civilized man. In many ways he is an attractive specimen. He is clothed; he attends church in considerable numbers; he generally lives in a frame house; he enjoys, to a certain extent, the diet and some of the amenities of modern life; he reads, writes and has a pleasing address. But he is not at all what he might be with his advantages.

He knows far less than he might know by the aid of schools, open to him for more than two generations. He is apparently indifferent to the larger educational privileges offered to him. There is much to encourage effort to raise individuals to a higher level, but very little hope of arousing the race to accept and act upon a new view of life, with its social and civil responsibilities.

The work among the children of this generation is along the lines of general and industrial training, but the large expenditure of money and labor in educational work must look for its main returns to other than the pupils of pure Hawaiian parentage. Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a cultivated, Christian woman, the last of the Kaméhaméha line, bequeathed more than a million dollars to educate the offspring of her race, yet from this large sum the increasing half-caste children will reap the richest harvest. Of the 15,490 youths enrolled in the 189 public and private schools, only 5,043 are Hawaiians and 2,721 part Hawaiians, and it is stated that "the most interesting and successful students in the 143 public schools are the children of Chinese and Hawaiian parents."

In all conditions of citizenship, therefore, it must be conceded that in no respect are the native Hawaiians holding their own or making progress. The kanaka is contented with the arrest of his physical, mental and moral development. The queen, in 1893, could not arouse sufficient zeal in her own behalf to make her cause a probable success. To be sure, she was personally unpopular with the mass of her own race, but the majority were indifferent and ignorant in governmental matters, although the cry, "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," had some little talismanic effect. In the insurrection that followed, in 1895, the natives joined only in small numbers, and some of these were coerced, or stimulated by drink, to take part in the feeble hostile demonstrations.

It required an unusual amount of urging to bring out the native vote in favor of the native and half-white candidates in the recent election of 1900, although the demagogues who harangued the kanakas took every advantage of the native repugnance to the "Missionary party," and promised impossible rewards, suited to the ignorance of the average voter.

Add, then, to these religious, intellectual and political conditions of the native the continued numerical decrease of that class of the

population, and to what can we look for his improvement? No patriotic spirit, even when enlightened, is worth much, unless mental energy, combined with physical sturdiness, is prepared to confirm the national compact by sacrifices and force. The Hawaiian native of to-day is the last person to stand up at any cost to himself, either to suffer or to fight for the consolidation of his race into an efficient or permanent state. The idea itself is too abstract for his comprehension. He is as ignorant of the fundamental ideas of American liberty as a child.

The natives congregated in numbers at the polling booths in Honolulu, at the election in November, 1900. Hundreds stood in a zigzag line under the algeroba and palm trees, but the names of the candidates, familiar enough as spoken, seemed strange on the printed slip. The formidable appearance of the paper impressed the native tremendously and he averaged from three to twenty minutes in marking his ballot. One white-haired native wore an ancient, bell-crowned hat, a survival of the old régime; he was plentifully bedecked with flowers in true native style, and he puzzled and perspired well over the marking of his ballot.

These things are only incidents, but the grotesque gives way to the pathetic as one realizes that this picturesque, amiable race will soon appear no more, either at the polls or in the cities and villages of Hawaii. The decline in native population is no recent matter. The census of 1832 gave, in round numbers, 130,000 natives; that of 1836, 108,500; 1850, 84,000; 1897, 35,000, not including half-whites. There is no recuperative power in the native such as most white races possess. Advance in civilization enables the Anglo-Saxon to overcome even hereditary tendency to disease. Hawaiians die when the white man lives. The latter exercises a measure of self-control for selfish ends. The former shows little or no self-control for any ends.

To sum up, the native Hawaiian of to-day is an anomaly in civilization. He cannot understand its significance or adjust himself to its requirements. Citizenship is only a condition to him, not an inspiration. The half-caste has not the same obstacles to contend with, and assimilates in greater degree with modern progress. But for the native proper, it seems almost a dead lift to try to raise him up to the level of the present age. He adds little or nothing to the common wealth. He represents a heavy burden on the State, which could get on better without him.

His present status lacks even a dramatic interest, because of the inertia of the native actors on the stage of events. The revolutionary days of 1893 in Honolulu had no tragic background and no bloodshed. The native neither fights his destiny nor his enemies. These happy people laugh and sing. They deck themselves with flowers, without a thought of the future, and not much more for the present hour. It is not fatalism, but a want of mental and physical energy.

Such, then, are the thirty thousand natives, invested by the Congress of the United States with a political power which no other Polynesian race has ever possessed, and which their own kings

denied them. They are a partially developed, hopelessly inferior majority of voters in the new territory; * a majority at present controlled by the idea that the overthrow of the monarchy and the annexation of Hawaii to the United States were outrages perpetrated upon the natives by white people of Hawaii, aided and abetted by the Republican party of the States.

There is not a representative or senatorial district on the islands in which the native Hawaiian voters are not in the majority; in most of the districts they now outnumber the whites three or five to one. There are a few leaders among the part Hawaiians deserving of great respect, and a few full-blood natives have made creditable records in legislative offices. Also in both classes of Hawaiians there are some who believe that leadership in State affairs may be safely left in the hands of their white friends, who have in days past used their power moderately and for the welfare of the aboriginal race.

Many sons of these whites have been and now are in our colleges and schools; most of them have returned or expect to return to Hawaii. They may find it difficult, under the changed conditions, to acquire the positions which their fathers have nobly filled, but they will strive manfully to maintain American ideas in the government of their native land, which they fondly love.

To them, at present, the outlook is not reassuring. The natives still call the ex-queen "mother," and she addressed them during the election days as "my children," and bade them "stand firm, my people."

So far as the elections of 1900 forecast the future, they show that the extension of the suffrage, contrary to the recommendation of the commissioners, instead of helping the native, leaves him helpless in the hands of demagogues and politicians and elevates designing adventurers to places of power.

The elections also resulted in filling the Hawaiian legislature with a large proportion of native senators and representatives, ignorant not only of parliamentary usages, but also of the fundamental ideas of a free government. Many of them do not write or speak English.

It is a menace to any State when the majority of electors are children in thought and volition. Manhood suffrage implies manhood, not merely the coming of age. When we classify the males of twenty-one years of age and over belonging to the race of the native Hawaiian of to-day, we find a few educated young men who are clerks in government offices; a good number of policemen in the city of Honolulu; quite an array of drivers of "expresses," as the hacks are called; many sailors and stevedores, as the native loves to work on or near the water; a multitude of natives who fish and hunt wild cattle and goats, and some who have small shops or work at trades.

* The census of 1900 gives the population of Hawaii as 154,000; Chinese, 27,000; 62,000 Japanese, or 89,000 Asiatics. (Between 1898 and 1900, 40,000 "contract laborers" were imported from Japan.) The census of 1896 gives 31,019 native and 8,485 part Hawaiians; Americans, 2,266; Hawaiian-born foreigners, 13,733.

On the plantations less than fourteen hundred, as we have said, are employed. Of the lepers on the island of Molokai, all but fifty of the nine hundred are native Hawaiians; only fifteen are whites, and there are thirty Chinese. The Hawaiians in the leper settlement have their proportion of voters, and it has been proposed by members of the recent legislature that the local government be placed in their hands.

Probably one half of the remainder of natives outside these classes work just enough to get food for each day for themselves and families. When out of supplies, they often plant themselves on less needy neighbors or relatives, according to the old custom of Hawaiians. Great numbers are seen lounging about as one travels over the islands. They are generally chatting together, and as horses are abundant, they ride around aimlessly, for the Hawaiian, male and female, loves to be on horseback. A few are teachers or preachers, and some of the best of them, trained in a theological school supported by the American Board of Missions, have been sent as missionaries to Micronesia, and do good work in the South Sea Islands.

The question, then, is, will the suffrage, without more than a nominal restriction, benefit the native, or on the contrary hamper legislation in his behalf, and retard the general progress of the islands?

There are grave problems confronting legislators concerning Hawaii. There is the greatest necessity of cautious and wise legislation in and for the new territory. Honolulu, with a rapidly increasing population, needs the fostering care of the best government by men of original American stock and tried ability, aided by American statesmanship in the Congress of the United States. There are immense industrial and corporate interests located in all parts of the group; internal improvements are needed, calling for economical expenditure of revenue; the labor question is one that cannot be settled on a sound basis by the United States without the aid of the planters themselves, who at present have little representation in the legislation and management of the territory.

The great questions of prohibition and license must be attended to, and very speedily. The natives are prone to drink to excess, and many drunken foreigners are found in the ports. The social evil needs delicate handling, and the leper settlement, which many of the natives regard with distrust and dislike, must be permanently continued. The political status of the overwhelming foreign population and the laws concerning immigration demand immediate attention. These are only the beginning of the list of problems which will tax the ingenuity of the wisest minds, and which cannot be left for their solution to adventurers, carpet-baggers, or, least of all, to the native Hawaiian majority of voters.

Our republic cannot afford to repeat in Hawaii the experience of the Southern people during the reconstruction period and the recent "Undoing of Reconstruction." The significant lessons taught by enfranchising the negro and by subsequent events ought to make those responsible for our future policy in Hawaii open-minded and

cautious, lest the same grave errors trouble for many years to come the brown as well as the white population of the group.

Shall, then, the dream of the future brightness of this "Gem of the Pacific" be allowed to vanish, leaving gloom and helplessness like a dark pall to rest over these distracted isles? It must not be said of our enlightened land that it postponed the wise consideration of the Hawaiian native's welfare till none survived to enjoy the blessing of true liberty under the restraints of righteous law.

The breezes of the past have wafted words of cheer from our American shores to the islands when threatened with ruin by foreign invaders. The trade winds have convoyed our warships to protect the native monarchs from ruthless aggression. Seabirds have migrated from our great continent, as harbingers of happier days for these distressed dwellers in mid-ocean, and the clear waters of Hawaii have reflected the bright colors of our protecting flag, giving promise of security and peace.

Shall, then, the care and guardianship they have always needed be now withheld from these wards of the republic because of a false sentiment, or of ignorance concerning the islanders and their true well-being? If so, then the expansion of our territory beyond the sea will prove to be a curse to the races we gather in from the oceans of the West, and the annexation of Hawaii will be little less than a crime.

Mr. Daniel Smiley was invited to speak concerning Hawaii.

Mr. DANIEL SMILEY.—I shall be glad to say a few words in regard to some of the problems which we are called upon to meet in Hawaii, and which will be of importance in showing us what we shall meet in other possessions where we must decide what is to be done. Perhaps we shall not be able to influence very much what is to be done in Hawaii, but we are quite certain that the same influences which have been brought to bear in those islands will have the same results in other possessions. There will come up the same question of possession of land, the same question of contract labor, the same Chinese question, the same Japanese question, the same question of holding lands in large bodies, that we witness in Hawaii, for it is impossible in a tropical country to expect the same conditions which we have here at home. The demands of agriculture make it necessary that the land should be in extremely large holdings, from ten to twenty thousand acres. In Hawaii, for instance, practically no other crop than sugar is raised. Everything that is eaten, all sorts of fruits and other things which that country could produce in enormous quantities, is brought from elsewhere, and everything has given way to sugar. That renders it necessary to have large holdings in land. This will very likely happen in Porto Rico and the Philippines. It means a large amount of labor. The question is where to obtain that labor, and we shall soon see that it is not an easy question to settle. The question of Chinese labor in Hawaii gives us a different idea from what we have had in this country. The quality of the Chinese who are going to those islands

is very different from what it is in this country. We have considered the Japanese here very desirable citizens. I am sorry to say that in Hawaii they are not always such desirable people as we find them here, and the time may come when that class which we now see in Hawaii may come here. I might say a great deal about the beautiful climate and wonderful scenery which delighted me on my visit there, but the main thing which seems to me necessary to be considered in this Conference is the lesson which we can learn from the islands there, and how to apply it to those other islands in which we shall soon come into immediate contact with the people.

Rev. Douglas P. Birnie was next introduced.

THE QUESTION OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

BY REV. DOUGLAS P. BIRNIE, OF RYE, N. Y.

Many of us thought when annexation was accomplished that the Hawaiian question was answered. As a matter of fact, it is merely put in a new form, and as Mr. Smiley has indicated it is important not only in itself, but in connection with the larger problem of the Philippines. It is our first point of contact with the Orient, and it is essential that we give an intelligent and a righteous answer to this question. This morning I wish to give you a picture of what has been accomplished in the Hawaiian Islands in the last year; then to state three general principles, and by these principles measure the temper and quality of the changes that have taken place.

What has been the change in the population? Dr. Twombly has given the figures. More than half the people are Asiatics. The Hawaiian is a small factor, yet a great factor when you realize that into his hands the United States has put the power to control the political situation. A year ago only five languages were spoken on the street, now the Porto Rican has added the Spanish. There has been no change in the Chinese population. No more have been allowed to come into the islands. I agree cordially with Mr. Smiley when he says that they are the best laborers in the population. The introduction to-day of five or ten thousand Chinese of the better class would be a great blessing. They are home lovers and good citizens. They marry the Hawaiian women, and the children of such unions are the finest children in the islands. They are best adapted to climatic and economic conditions. The Japanese are not increasing in numbers, as their government has forbidden further emigration. They are a source of trouble to-day. Restless and discontented, they are a disturbing element. The number of Portuguese is about the same as it has been. Porto Ricans and Negroes have recently been brought into the islands as laborers, and the racial question is more complex and diversified than ever before.

What of the changes that have been accomplished politically? We have made a territory. A governor has been appointed, and suffrage has been put into the hands of the people; but into whose

hands? Do not deceive yourselves. Those in Congress who voted for that measure believed that they were acting in harmony with Republican ideals. In a population of one hundred and fifty thousand, they have put the control into the hands of an ignorant minority, into the hands of the Hawaiian, on the ground of mere sentiment,—into the hands of a people whom we all love, but a people who are racially children, and utterly incompetent to wield wisely and well the power which the United States has given to them. A very few of the Chinese are allowed to vote. There are more Japanese males in the islands than those of all other races put together, yet they have no vote. Is this democracy? The political power is in the hands of an unintelligent minority. What is the result? Constant trouble and turmoil. There has been quarreling and wrangling and dissatisfaction on all sides. Investors from the United States are holding back, waiting to see the outcome.

What has been the change ethically? I regret to say that there has been a decline. I do not believe that the standards of morality, temperance and purity are as high as they were a year ago. With annexation came a crowd of speculators—men from all quarters of the States, expecting to make money in a hurry and leave; men who left the Ten Commandments behind. Vice has increased, saloons have multiplied, and trouble has ensued. Governor Dole is a man of pure purpose and spotless integrity. His task has been a difficult one. Under the existing laws, I do not believe that any man in his position can bring peace and order and righteousness out of the present turmoil.

A year ago I stated three principles which should be observed in dealing with the Hawaiian Islands. May I apply these standards to events of the last twelve months?

The first general principle was that there must be no haste. God's movements are slow and sure, but we Americans are in a hurry. We take out our watches and expect to elevate a race by a time-table. When the islands came into our possession we proceeded to make these Hawaiians intelligent American citizens by Act of Congress, and the thing hasn't been done. If we had acted with more deliberation and intelligence, the result would have been better. In the Philippines to-day the progress will be slower yet; but here in America there are men who would say to Governor Taft, "Why is not something definite accomplished?" The thing cannot be hurried. Mistakes in Hawaii have been due to the fact that we have not kept pace with our Heavenly Father. We have been in too much of a hurry to place power where people were not competent to handle it. The second general principle is this: If we are to share the plan and effort of Providence in elevating the children of earth, we must at least take time and patience to find out what God has already done for those children. We must not assume that the boys are all of age. We must understand what the Hawaiian is. We must know something of the ethical standard of the Chinaman. We must know what the Japanese can do, and what he has done. We must devise some plan by which we can utilize and harmonize them all. We must be able to work

intelligently with them. We sometimes send out as leaders good men and true in a sort of haphazard fashion. I knew a splendidly educated man of much ability who offered himself as a missionary. They asked him where he wanted to go, and he replied, with fine spirit, that he was ready to go anywhere; and they put him "anywhere." It was charming, but not very intelligent. It reminds me of a young Englishman whom I met on an Atlantic steamer, who said he was going to America to take up farming. I asked him what sort of farming, whether he was interested in raising grapes in California, or oranges in Florida, or wheat in the Northwest, or cattle on the ranches in the Southwest. He said he hadn't looked into that very carefully. "Well," I said, "what sort of farming are you going to take up?" "Oh," he said, "I think I shall go onto an agricultural farm." If we have made a mistake in dealing with the Hawaiians, and have placed the ballot in the hands of those not wise enough to use it, we ought to have the courage of our conviction and take it away. Give it only to men who are competent.

A third principle is the reflex influence of race contact. When you bring the Anglo-Saxon into touch with the Oriental the question usually is, What will America do for the East? There is another question, What is the East going to do with America? Each affects the other. There is opportunity in meeting these races for cruelty, oppression and abuse. They are down, and there is a chance to push them further down and fill pockets with gold; and there is also a chance to lift them higher toward God. The touch of the Anglo-Saxon has been a blessing and a curse.

A word about the "Missionary party." This is a political term, and signifies nothing religiously. It was the annexation party. Many of the descendants of the missionaries are members of it, and many who have no connection with the religious life of the islands. The carpetbaggers, in the time of the republic, joined the "Missionary party." Those who land now with all their possessions in a hand satchel unite themselves with the anti-missionary forces. They cry to the natives: "Down with the missionaries! they have stolen your land and robbed you. Place me in power and I will lead you to prosperity; will put you back where you were in the old days." There is an opportunity now for an unscrupulous demagogue to do a wicked thing, and we have made it possible by putting the ballot into the hands of an unintelligent minority.

Now what of the future? If the American people will learn to possess their souls in patience; if we are willing to believe with all our hearts that there is a strong and wise God over all, and that he has laid this burden on our shoulders; if we are willing to wait and work,—the burden can be lifted and the work can be done. It must be done. If we are willing, as Dr. Abbott has suggested in regard to the Filipinos, not only to put our foot upon the land of Hawaii, but to put our arm of love round about the people,—willing to study intelligently and earnestly and carefully the material that God has put into our hands; and if, when we have made a blunder, we acknowledge it and seek to do the right thing,—then we can work with

God, and lift his children higher and higher in the days that are to come. We need not only to watch over the people whom God has put into our care, but to watch over our own hearts and lives. We need to send our strongest, cleanest and best men, inspired by faith in God, to those islands, and then this country can be a blessing and never a curse to those beautiful islands in the far-away Pacific.

Two verses of "America" were sung at the close of the address. He was followed by Rev. H. B. Frissell, D.D.

Rev. H. B. FRISSELL, D.D.—I think the wisdom of Mr. Smiley in opening this Conference to the consideration of the needs of other peoples beside the Indian is evidenced by this morning's session. Certainly what has occurred in Hawaii ought to help us in our dealing with the Negro and Indian races of our own land. My illustrious predecessor, General Armstrong, gained this thought through long years of experience, and the wisdom of his method of education was due very largely to the fact that he knew this Hawaiian child race, and understood the needs of similar races. I am glad of the last word that was spoken, that we cannot do these things all at once. We speak of the Hawaiians as a nation born in a day. They were, in a sense. They were easily converted to Christianity, but we must realize that the civilization of a race is a long, long process. One of the most difficult things which we have to deal with in trying to civilize a race is the condition of our own people. We need to be a great deal more civilized than we are. A little Indian girl was once asked by a Hampton visitor, "Are you civilized?" "No," said she; "are you?" And it is very questionable which had the most civilization. With all these undeveloped races we feel that we have not got to fight against their barbarism so much as against the barbarism of the Anglo-Saxon.

A great deal has been said here in regard to the matter of religion. I feel that not too much has been said. I believe that the awful crime that has lately been committed in this country has emphasized the fact as never before that our religion has got to go into every part of our life. We have fought in this country for the separation of Church and State, and, I believe, rightly. We must understand, however, that there is to be no separation between religion and State; that religion has got to go into every part of the State, into all our life. I believe that to-day our Government Indian schools ought to have more of the religious life. I am sure this is the feeling of our Superintendent, Miss Reel. I believe, from my observations at the Conference in Detroit, that that is the feeling of almost all the superintendents. Religion ought to go into our common schools, too. When Mr. Sherman's Indian Committee came to Hampton, one of the committee said to me when he left, "I like Hampton because there is so much religion here." We are most of us Protestants, but I do think that we teach the religion of Christ just so far as possible. We at Hampton, with our undenominational church, are trying to show what can be done along the line of Christian undenominational teaching.

Gen. JOHN EATON.—What will you do in the Government schools with that constitutional clause that forbids Congress to appropriate money for the establishment of any religion?

Dr. FRISSELL.—We are not establishing a religion. Religion comes in as part of our life there; we are not establishing it; we are trying to live it out.

General EATON.—It was on that ground that they tried to exclude Hampton from receiving Government aid, on account of that clause in the Constitution.

Dr. FRISSELL.—Senator Pettigrew did try to fight it, but we have conquered. We have said that it was right that an undenominational school should have help from the Government, and I believe the principle is right. Senator Pettigrew has brought up year after year what we have done at Hampton in our Sunday-school work, and in our missionary work, and we have been glad to say, "Yes, we have done it all, and more than you have said, but we are undenominational, and it is right that we should have the help of the United States in our Christian work for the Indians."

I am sure that we were all grateful for the word said to us last night by our illustrious friend, General Morgan. I think that the system of Indian schools that he established is of great advantage to us. These schools have much to do with every-day life. General Morgan said that all this educational work ought to be adapted to the people for whom it is carried on. He did not mean to say that the Massachusetts High School ought to go to Porto Rico or the Philippines or even to the Indians. We have got to study these various races, and meet their individual needs. We have got to teach them how to live, how to get out of the old ways into the new.

I am very glad of the words spoken by the ladies in regard to native industries. Each of these races has something to bring to us, —something in art, something in religion, something in life, and something in native industry. One other thought. If we are going to encourage these native arts we must have more freedom. The man in the store at the agency has control of everything. We want to open up these industries on all the reservations. A little while ago even the Government found that it could not get hold of certain baskets because they were all in the hands of a single man. We want freedom to buy and to sell. We must have more freedom for the Indian that he may be more of a man.

The following letter from Hon. Henry L. Dawes, who was unable to attend the Conference, was read by Dr. Foster :—

PITTSFIELD, MASS., Oct. 15, 1901.

MY DEAR MR. SMILEY: I had anticipated much pleasure in meeting at another of your delightful Conferences co-workers in the cause, and in renewing most valuable friendships there formed; but an unexpected delay in business connected with the Indian Territory compels me to remain at home. I cannot, however, keep out of mind the range of discussion and the importance of questions likely to come before that body for discussion. Since I cannot listen, I

venture to put on paper briefly some few words expressive of my views of what has been and what is yet to be done before the work shall be complete.

In the first place, permit me to congratulate the Conference upon the most gratifying evidence, coming from all quarters, of healthy progress and important results attendant upon efforts that have been put forth in recent years for the care of the Indian race in our midst. Results are the best test of wisdom in all effort. A retrospect of less than twenty-five years covers the entire period since the work in which you are engaged, of making a self-supporting citizenship of the Indian race in this country, was begun. And history nowhere records more gratifying results. It was in 1877 that the nation took from its own money in the Treasury the first dollar and applied it in aid of this work for Indian education. It was but \$20,000, but it was a beginning; and every year results have stimulated an increase of the amount, till last year there was appropriated for the support of Indian schools \$3,184,250. That first appropriation of \$20,000, with the help of benevolent contributions and the interest on a few Indian funds that could not be otherwise used, maintained 48 small boarding schools, 102 day schools, with 3,398 scholars all told. There were a year ago 148 well-equipped boarding schools and 295 day schools engaged in the education of 25,202 Indian children, with an average attendance of 20,522. This does not include those outside institutions of Carlisle, Hampton, Haskell, Genoa and others like them, which send forth yearly large numbers of young men and women fully equipped to take their places and discharge the duties incumbent on the average citizen. This, in a total Indian population of less than a quarter of a million all told, approximates very nearly to the school facilities in the newly organized Western States.

Statistics also make it plain that seventy-six per cent of the pupils who yearly leave these schools to take upon themselves the duties of practical life do, in the language of the present broad-minded and devoted Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "go forth equipped for the part of good average men and women, capable of dealing with the ordinary problems, and of taking their place in the great body politic of the country."

The next step was the Severalty Act. Up to 1887, less than fifteen years ago, there was not an Indian on a reservation who owned the hut he lived in or a foot of the land over which he had raised a tepee for a night's shelter. That Act, made possible by aid of these Conferences, has called into being a home and a farm of 160 acres for each of 55,457 allotted Indians, aggregating 6,708,628 acres of farms. Each farm is set apart to its Indian owner, with a title warranted to him by the United States, and which he cannot part with, if he would, for twenty-five years. These thus become so many home centers, where all the forces of future character and influence must take root and bring forth the first fruits of civilized life. Before the passage of that Act not an Indian on a reservation had any defined legal status among his fellow-men. He was in law an incompetent ward of the nation, incapable of making a binding

contract, to whom the very courts open to you and me were closed; and he could neither maintain nor defend any right secured by the Constitution to us. He had no voice in the making of the laws he was bound to obey, or in the choice of those who were to enforce upon him their penalties. There is no human being so helpless and at the mercy of irresponsible selfishness as such a ward under a guardian no one can call to account for his stewardship. Instead, under this law each one of those fifty-five thousand allottees stands up among his fellow-citizens clothed with all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizenship of which you and I boast and are proud. Each one of them walks to the polls side by side with the proudest of us, and to him are open, equally with the haughtiest millionaire, every court of justice in the land. Every door of opportunity in all the pursuits of active life is as wide open to him as to every other citizen of the United States.

Thus much of the past, if there were nothing more to record, is sufficient for encouragement and continuance with renewed zeal in the still unfinished work. But that indirect influence upon the Indian still on the reservation, undisturbed as all were before the work you are engaged in was begun, has been no less marked and is no less hopeful. I cannot now do more than allude to the changes which have come over Indian life on the reservations themselves, traceable directly to the policy your Conferences have done so much to promote. We no longer hear of bloody Indian wars, of the slaughter of warring clans, or the scalping of women and children fleeing from burning wigwams. The pioneer can now go forth to trade with the red man as safely as he does with his white neighbor, and return at night to his defenseless home with less apprehension of peril to those within than when scouts and sentinels mounted guard over it. The Indian no longer doubts and distrusts. It is dawning upon him that he is made for something, and he is beginning to care for the morrow. He is daily growing more and more sure that the hand held out to him is for his guidance and help, and not for betrayal and spoliation.

There can be no more striking proof of this great change than the touching tribute to a life consecrated to the elevation of their race by forty Sioux Indians and sixty Chippewas journeying on foot a hundred miles, that they might walk beside the bier and sing hymns of praise in their own language over the grave of the late Bishop Whipple, whom they had trusted, and who had trusted them. It was a tribute to a noble life work worth more than all the pomp and display of a royal funeral.

But you will not assemble to contemplate the rich legacy of the past alone. The work is not yet finished, and new demands upon zeal and energy confront you to which what has been already gained will incite to still more untiring effort. Mistakes of the past are to be corrected, and new needs developed by its experiences are to be provided for. As tribal organizations are dissolving into individuality, tribal funds now amounting to many millions in the Treasury must be used. Great care should be taken that these funds be devoted to those needs of that higher civilization for which tribal

organizations are being exchanged, and which call for new expenditures hitherto unknown. These should, as far as possible, be in lieu of local taxes for these necessities, from which all allottees are exempt for the first twenty-five years. Any distribution of such funds per capita would be worse than waste. Allottees should not be permitted to barter away all the educational and preparatory teaching for self-supporting citizenship, derived from occupancy alone, for a mere mess of pottage in the form of a lease to a white man. The process of leasing now so alarmingly prevalent is sure, if persisted in, to work the ruin of the lessor, turning him back in the end to that barbarism from which his only sure rescue is the preparatory school of personal occupancy.

Another question involved in the allotment system not contemplated in the beginning has grown in importance till its solution has become imperative; and that is the disposition of the lands fit only for grazing, now occupied in large quantities by the Indians, not as yet allotted. These lands are unfitted for small holdings for ordinary farming purposes, but are a great source of profit to large herders of cattle, who have heretofore rented them in large areas from the Indians for small rentals, usually effected through agents, who make more than the Indians by the transaction. Much of this has, unfortunately, been already allotted, to the great injury of the allottee, unable as he is to utilize it except by sub-rental, leaving him without other means of support,—a citizen of the United States whose contracts are as binding as those of any other citizen, but who knows no more how to make a contract than a puling infant. Independent individual ownership and occupancy of such lands, so as to be a school of preparation for an independent life, makes some change in the allotment system necessary to save the land and the allottee alike from ruin. I am sure that it will not escape your attention.

A situation for immediate and honorable employment for those who go out yearly from those institutions which are doing so much to fit the Indians under their care for their part in the multiplied activities of actual life is another great need of that work. It will do much to protect them from the taunts and jeers of those they have left behind, from discouragement sure to come of waiting for employment, and temptation to return to the companionship they have left. Every day that witnesses increasing numbers of the unemployed, calls louder on the friends of the Indian to take care of their apprentices in the ways of civilization.

I would gladly dwell at more length upon the work of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory, in which I am more especially engaged of late. It will suffice to say that work is progressing satisfactorily along the lines I had the opportunity to present at your last meeting, though very slowly, in consequence of new and complicated questions arising there, as among the other tribes. The most difficult of all these proves to be the discovery of natural oil and gas in different parts of the Territory. The conditions of land there make altogether different methods of allotment necessary from those on the reservations.

There unoccupied and unimproved lands of comparatively equal value, by a list of Indian names furnished at the agency, were to be allotted, a given number of acres to each one. The Indian Territory, however, has been occupied for seventy-five years by a people considerably advanced in civilization when they came there. They have taken in since three hundred thousand white residents. Almost all business enterprises common to civilization have been carried on there. Towns and railroads have been built, and coal and other minerals discovered, disadjusting and destroying relative values till there are scarcely two acres of equal value side by side. To allot equally among the Indian owners to whom it belonged—to one as much as to any other, the same number of acres to each—had to be displaced by equality of value. The commission has been compelled, therefore, to acquaint itself with the value of every acre, so that the allotment to each when it is done, whether it be ten acres or fifty, would be worth as much as that of any other. That work, covering an area as large as the whole State of Indiana, was drawing to a close when, during the past year, oil and natural gas were discovered in different parts, overthrowing all relative values and appraisements yet made. Ten acres in one place are deemed worth a thousand in another. The law does not provide for the allotment of an oil well. Other parts of the work are approximating a close, and the people are fast adjusting themselves to the new order of things awaiting them.

There is, however, here, as well as on the reservations, much to be done in clearing away entanglements and pitfalls from the way leading to the goal of self-supporting citizenship, now opening so auspiciously to the race.

But that work will not be complete till self-respecting manhood shall stand guard over and modest womanhood adorn every Indian home in the land.

Truly yours, H. L. DAWES.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—I should like to have the Secretary send a letter to Senator Dawes, expressing our hearty approval of this fine paper.

Mr. GARRETT.—I move that the paper be referred to the Business Committee, that it may be used in connection with the platform.

It was voted that the thanks and appreciation of the Conference should be sent to Senator Dawes for his paper, and that the paper should be referred to the Business Committee. It was also moved that a letter of sympathy with Senator Dawes in the loss of his wife, and deploring his absence, should be sent to him by the Secretary.

Hon. William Dudley Foulke was then introduced as the next speaker.

INDIAN AGENTS AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

BY HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE.

I cannot conceive of any time more favorable for effective work than the present. There is now at the head of the Indian Bureau a man whom you know well, and in whom you have confidence. There is at the head of the Interior Department a man whom I know to be conscientiously desirous of doing his duty, whether to his own advantage or disadvantage, in regard to the red man as well as the white; and there is at the head of our Government—the chief Executive of the United States—a man who has appeared at previous Conferences, and shown his interest in the Indians; a man whose name stands as the synonym for civic righteousness. So this is the time for work.

The spoils system has been the lion in the way. I had occasion not long ago to look over the list of changes of Indian agents made during the past three or four administrations, and I found that in Mr. Cleveland's first administration, among sixty agents, all were changed but two; in Mr. Harrison's administration there were seventy-six changes, and only eight were suffered to remain; during Mr. Cleveland's second term there were eighty-one changes, and only four were suffered to remain; in Mr. McKinley's first administration, among fifty-eight agencies, there were seventy-nine changes, only nine being suffered to remain, and only one reappointed. That would indicate that Indian agents were a pretty bad set of men to require so many changes, and many of them have been bad men, but once in a while a good man was turned out to make way for a bad man.

The reason is, that under the spoils system of distributing offices the fitness of the man for the place is hardly considered. The thing that is considered is the number of votes his influence can secure for the Senator or member of Congress who secures his appointment. That is a very bad system. Mr. Garrett spoke of the desirability of doing away with Indian agents, but you cannot do away with them now. No law for that purpose would pass, for the reason that members of Congress desire to keep the patronage, and would vote against a law for abolishing agencies.

These numerous changes of agents have an evil effect upon the Indians. If the Indians are to respect the Government, they should have men representing the Government permanently, who are worthy of their respect. Moreover, any schemes for the amelioration of the condition of the Indian are certain to come to naught if the agent who plans them is dismissed before they can be carried out. You cannot do any good thing while the spoils system remains. There are bad agents now who perhaps will be removed, but other bad agents may take their places. It is the system that is wrong.

How, then, shall we get a better system? I would not apply to Congress, because I do not think we would get the result we desire. Congress is the bulwark of the spoils system. But the President of

the United States does not desire patronage. I think I can say that the Secretary of the Interior does not care for patronage. Such men are above it. It is through their instrumentality that the reform must take place. How can it be done? The Constitution provides that Indian agents are to be nominated by the President of the United States, and confirmed by the Senate. You cannot escape that. But the President has the right, in conjunction with the Civil Service Commission, to provide rules for his own guidance, and to say that he will nominate no man unless that man has proved his qualifications for the office by prescribed tests. If the President will adopt rules of this description, it will practically eliminate patronage appointments. If the office were a consulship, he could provide that a candidate should be appointed only after a competitive examination, showing that he understood the duties of the place better than any of his competitors; but the office of Indian agent is one where the qualifications are different. An agent should have tact and business capacity,—qualities which cannot so well be shown by competitive examinations. They can be shown, however, by long experience in the service; and it seems to me that if the rules adopted should provide that Indian agents could only be appointed by promotion from superintendents of schools, and from the higher grades of the classified service, or detailed from the army, it would exclude all others, and patronage would be extinct. Senators could no longer recommend their henchmen, because they are not in those places. We might not always get the best men, but we would get men of experience whose positions were a guaranty of good character. But even if we did not get any better men than at present, still, if we could destroy patronage, and thus eliminate the motive which Congressmen have for opposing good legislation, we would do a great deal. I have reason to think this may be accomplished. I had a conversation last week with the President regarding the importance of applying civil service reform principles to the appointment of Indian agents. I am not authorized to speak for him, but I am sure his mind is not inhospitable to a plan something like that suggested.

I remember that once out in Indiana a man and his wife were crossing a rapid stream. They had a strong horse and a little horse. They were in danger of floating down the river, and the man was whipping the small horse, but his wife cried, "John, whip the strong horse." He did so, and they got safely over the stream. The thing for the friends of the Indian to do is to whip the strong horse,—to establish the merit system and destroy the spoils system. If you can do that, a good deal of the work for the Indian will have been done.

Miss Collins was invited to speak.

Miss MARY COLLINS.—The question of leasing lands has come to us at Standing Rock Agency. We had a council of our Indians to consider the question. A great cattle company wanted to hire the land, and the Indians, without a single exception, voted against

it, and their speeches were very interesting and strong. They said: "If we begin renting our lands, and depending on the income which we shall receive in this way, then we begin to pauperize our young men. We old ones have had to live off the Government, but we do not want our young men to do that." The vote was unanimous. The Indians were sent back to their homes; but we received word that there was to be another council, because the thing had to be put through, as the Indian Commissioner wanted it done. At the next council Dr. Ward and Dr. Warner of New York were present, and they heard the whole thing. Again the Indians all were opposed to leasing the lands. Before I came away I heard a man say that the thing would be put through. I said it could not if the Indians voted against it, as the Indians had treaty rights. I was answered it was a very easy thing; that the Indian agent could not lease the land, but he could permit men to come in with their cattle. The land asked by the agent was the northwest corner, but the land referred to in the telegram, I understand, was all land north of Grand River. As that valley is where all our Indians in the western part of the reservation live, it would practically ruin all their farms, and drive their cattle from water. There is little water on the reservation.

Miss REEL.—The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is opposed to having the Indians lease lands. In the Indian Territory land is leased for thirty cents an acre, where it used to be leased for three cents. Cattle men cannot pay thirty cents an acre and make money. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is anxious to have the Indians live on their own land.

Mr. C. F. MESERVE.—A word in regard to this matter. I refer, not to what is termed cattle land, but such as our English friend would call an "agricultural" farm. I do not believe we shall ever get this problem settled until the Indian is got upon his land, until he will stay upon it and work upon it; but there are individual holdings of from five hundred to a thousand acres, and I would have a large portion of these holdings rented, and not allow the rent to be paid in money, but in labor, and the Indian should be taught by the white man how to plow, to cultivate, and to do all kinds of farm work.

The CHAIR.—A note comes to me, asking me to inquire why the Indian agent thought the Commissioner wished to have the land leased to the cattle men. Miss Collins will perhaps tell us about it.

Miss COLLINS.—A telegram was received from Washington telling them to put the thing through, signed by the Assistant Commissioner. I cannot quote the exact words of the telegram, but that was the substance. The Indians are just beginning to become accustomed to the idea of allotments, and the speakers at the council all spoke of the necessity of the young Indians learning to keep herds. They said: "Our land is large and grass is plentiful, but there is but little water. We desire to have our herds increased, giving cows to our young men out of the money due us."

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—I wish some one would suggest a method by which Indian lands and tribal funds can be allotted so as to bene-

fit, not harm, the Indian. There is a difference among the Indians as among white people. Some could carry on a cattle ranch better than I could. I wish some one would tell us what the Indian is to do who has land which he does not wish to cultivate. He does not wish to be anchored to the soil; he wishes to be an engineer, a teacher, a lawyer, a doctor. What is he to do with his land then? How can he get the benefit of his land if he has no right to lease it? At the same time, how is the Indian who leases his land to be guided so that he shall not spend the money he gets from it in drink?

General Morgan was asked to reply to Dr. Abbott.

General MORGAN.—I am not prepared to answer these questions. This matter was carefully considered in the Indian office, and we found that there are many aged people who cannot cultivate the land; a number who are physically unable to do it; there are a number of minors, infants, children up to eighteen years of age, who could not; there is a large body of women who cannot possibly take a farm and cultivate it. There are quite a number who wish to teach or preach or follow some other profession or some other business who have no taste for agriculture. It is impossible that they should take this raw land and make farms of it, unless they abandon all other pursuits. Then there are many to whom land has been assigned who have no money, no farming utensils, no experience. What shall they do? What shall be done for those people who own these large bodies of land which they themselves by no possibility can use? That is the practical question, and it must be recognized in any scheme adopted by the Government. It makes it unwise and irrational to condemn the whole leasing system as in itself vicious.

Major BRIGHT.—To what extent is the matter of leasing subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs or the Secretary of the Interior?

The CHAIR.—Absolutely and altogether. No lease on a reservation before allotment can be made without the authority and approval of the Secretary of the Interior exercised through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Major BRIGHT.—Would it not be easy to devise a system by which the proper information could be given to him?

The CHAIR.—Much could be done to check the evils, and our Board has year by year recommended that this loose way of leasing should be stopped.

Miss SCOVILLE.—Dr. Abbott asks a question that I have been studying for some time, and while I know there are many details to be considered, it seems to me that the answer must be found in some system for homesteading Indian lands. In such a plan, every allotment of tribal land would have to be proved up by the Indian by three to five years' use of his land before he received his final deed for it. This would not throw open the reservations as rapidly, but it would teach the Indian the value of his land and check his roving habits, which are the root of the harmful form of leasing. The trouble with the Omaha and Winnebago Indians was that their land was handed over to them whether they wanted it or not. To a wild

Indian it is less than nothing to have one hundred and sixty acres, since it deprives him of the right to use many thousands, and he must learn to value land by working for it. Many an educated Indian, as Dr. Abbott says, may do something better than "agricultural farming." For such could there not be a time limit set when he must decide whether he will take it himself or not, say at the age of thirty? If he will not take the land then, or finds some other work, there should be a certain payment to him from the funds of the tribe, or by the leasing of the land, to help him in his chosen business. When it comes to leasing, there should be a preference given to leasing to Indians. At Pine Ridge this summer, with eight million acres of land, white men said there was not enough to support seven thousand Indians. Yet in the White Clay district there were Indians, with good herds of cattle, who already had in use much more land than any allotment could give them, and the missionaries say that if you deprive those Indians of the land you will deprive them of any future in the cattle business. I think they are better on a cattle ranch than Dr. Abbott would be. There are men who cannot read and write who would gladly hire a good many acres, and use it for cattle; and the tendency is to bring the Indians into that cattle life as the first step toward business relations.

Mr. DENNIS, Secretary of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration.—Whether we believe that the United States ought to retain possession of the Philippines or not; whether we believe the islanders capable of self-government, or think that they must be governed by men sent out from the United States,—we can all agree that if we are going to send out men to govern the Philippines, they ought to be the best men we can find. I wish to call the attention of the Conference to the plan proposed by Prof. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard, for securing the best men. It is an adaptation of the methods used by England for the last hundred years.

The men sent out must be young, in order that they may become inured to the tropical climate, and proficient in the native tongues. A middle-aged man is either a success or a failure. If he is a success, he does not want to go to the Philippines to begin life over. If he is a failure, we do not want to send him. England has experimented for many years, and has decided on from twenty-one to twenty-three as the best age to send men to India. For about fifty years the men who governed India were the graduates of the college at Haileybury. Later, England adopted the method of competitive examinations, designed to test the general education of the candidate, followed by special training in technical subjects. It is proposed to combine these methods here: to have a college designed to give a liberal education, to which each Congressman is allowed to appoint three men for every man that is expected to graduate. The incompetent would be weeded out, and the graduates sent to govern the Philippines. The plan is a selection of all that is best in the English system, adapted to the exigencies of American political conditions.

Rev. Frank Wright, a Choctaw Indian, was introduced as the next speaker.

Rev. FRANK WRIGHT.—With the Choctaws the land question is, When shall we get hold of our land? All we want is the land. We were the first of the five tribes to agree to take it in severalty, and we are the last to get our allotments,—I do not know why. So far as making farmers of the Indians, in dealing with a man you have got to take him as you find him. You cannot make blacksmiths of all the Indians, and you cannot make farmers of them all. Some will turn to the ministry, some to medicine, and some to law. You can make no hard and fast rule about it. But the first principle to teach him is that he must labor to take care of himself. The Indian must become self-dependent. We have been giving them rations till they are pauperized. It is a scandal and a shame, and I shall be glad when rations are absolutely cut off and the Indians must work or starve. I have worked among the Apaches, who were held as prisoners, and have established missions among them, and I want to tell you what I have found there. These prisoners were compelled to work, and it had a wonderful influence on them. It gave them an incentive; it took away their aimless life; it took them away from gambling; it showed them how to do things. I am in favor of compelling Indians to work. These Apaches worked eight hours a day. They lived in houses; they had plenty to eat every day, and I rejoiced with them. They raise corn and cattle, and are compelled to save their money. They have over two thousand head of cattle, and they are taught to breed and take care of them, like any other person. The result is that they are getting along, and when they are free they will know how to take care of themselves.

If you could go down to the Cheyenne camp and build a guard-house, and compel the men to work, and teach them how, it would be a good thing. But they must be taught and helped, or they become discouraged. They are not in touch with the whites. The missionaries build their houses near the railroads. I believe if farmers would go among them and live near them the Indians would learn to work, but as it is there is no one to show them how. They must be taught to work and then thrown on their own resources. That alone will give them independence of character.

Mr. MESERVE.—Mr. Wright has been a missionary for some time, and has established missions among the Indians. He had a station where the Mohonk Lodge is. I have traveled for days with him, and I wish there were hundreds of such missionary workers.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 17.

After some singing by Rev. Frank Wright, the Conference was called to order by the Chair at 8 P. M.

Miss Frances Sparhawk was invited to speak on Indian industries.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIES LEAGUE.

BY FRANCES SPARHAWK.

The object of the League is to open individual opportunities of work to individual Indians, and to build up self-supporting industries in Indian communities.

In many communities the native Indian industries are especially adapted to this purpose. The League, in fostering these and other industries, holds it of the first importance to replace the desultory work of the Indians by the regularity of the white man's occupation, that habits of industry may be attained. And it will labor to that end.

The League has been in communication with the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with Government matrons and with missionaries upon the reservations, and others, to learn the opportunities for systematic industrial work among the Indians.

In 1899, by a loan of money to the famous workers among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Colony, Oklahoma,—the Rev. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe,—the League stimulated that industry just at the time that it most needed help. Since then the League has secured for this beadwork, from a large Boston firm, orders to the amount of almost one thousand dollars, with prospect of continuance of orders. Also, by teaching the Indians how to adapt the moccasin to the white man's instep, it has developed the moccasin among the whites from an article for curio lovers to a practical foot gear, and so, a constant industry.

The League has built an industrial room among the Navahoes, and for a time paid a matron in charge there, furnishing the room with a range for the instruction of the Indians in cookery, also with sewing machines. This room was intended for rug-weaving, and further development in industries.

The League gave a young Indian member, who had learned something of carpentry at Hampton, a course of study by correspondence, and, at his request, books on architecture, enabling him to become an efficient industrial teacher in a large Government Indian school. It has loaned money to Indians for industrial pur-



poses; has spent money for tools for Indians; has several times sent contributions of money to Miss Carter for her lace industry; and done other work on these lines.

It has bought Indian goods—at the Indians' prices—from the Pimas, the mission Indians, from the Navahoes, and beautiful baskets from the Indians of Washington State. Through friends of the cause it has been enabled to offer several prizes for excellence in basketry. It has sent materials for work to Mrs. Annie M. Sayre among the Pueblos, who are very poor; and it hopes by this means to be able to make a market for their needlework. It has also arranged for other needlework, and it has been prospecting among the Hopis, Paiutes, Pawnees, Kickapoos, Poncas, Walapais, Piegans and Northern Cheyennes.

Since a reservation, in its evil sense, is a condition rather than a place, the systematic labor of the Indians will, of itself, abolish the reservations; for what a man has outgrown, that is he freed from.

Mr. John Lolorias, an Indian student from Hampton, was invited to speak.

Mr. LOLORIAS.—My being called on to speak before these great men and public speakers reminds me of a story. An old Indian was once invited to a prayer meeting, and the white men made him understand that they wanted him to pray. So the old Indian got up and said, "O Lord, January, February; January, February," and he kept on repeating those two names of the months, till finally some one motioned to him to sit down. Then a white man said, "We have seen how honestly and earnestly our Indian friend has tried to take part in this meeting, and even if those two words which he spoke do not make us understand what is in his mind, we do understand that he no longer means to shoot anyone with his bows and arrows or to scalp anyone; that he is our friend." So while I shall try to tell you in a few and simple words a little about my own people, I hope, in spite of the imperfection of my speech, you will catch some idea of what I shall try to tell you.

My people, the Papagos, live in Arizona. Nothing was known about them till a few years ago, when they got into trouble with the Mexicans. They lived on their own land. I call it my home because I was raised there; but any white man has as much right to call that place his home as I have, because that land is open to him, and he can go there and build his house. The Indians used to have cattle, and when they wanted money for food or clothing they sold some cattle. Some who did not have any cattle would work in the mines. Ever since I can remember, the Indians have been writing to the Indian Commissioner to ask that they might have land that they could call their own, for their own homes; but he never has done anything yet. Not a loaf of bread, not a shovel, a hoe or a plow, or anything else, has been given to these Papagos. What they have, they have earned it. All the help they have received from Government is the Indian school. As I think of my school

days I can almost remember the exact words in which my teacher taught me to read, and my first teacher was a Hampton student. As we looked at the little book we saw the picture of a cat, and then a picture of the cat running, and then where it had caught a mouse. My teacher said to me in the Indian language, "The first row of black marks tells the color of the cat, the second what he can do, and the third what he has done." Then she began to read: "This is a black cat. The black cat can run. The black cat has caught a mouse." When I went home the first thing I did was to show the book and the pictures to my father, and I said, "The first row of black marks tells the color of the cat, the second what he can do, and the third what he has done." And I read to him: "This is a black cat. The black cat can run. The black cat has caught a mouse." My father said: "That is very interesting, my boy. Return again to the school, and stay till you have learned to explain to me the man in the newspaper, tell me his color, what he can do and what he has done." I did not know then, that to be able to explain the man in the newspaper was a step toward civilization, and that nearly everything in the newspaper was a description of the color of the man, of what he can do, and what he has done.

In 1894 I said to my father, "I cannot learn much more in this school among my own people," and he told me to go wherever I could learn most.

The same year others were asking to leave their homes and come East to "struggle for better things." For this reason a meeting was called; the Indians came, smoked, and talked about the white man. Up rose an old man and said: "It seems to me that our general opinion of the white people is that every one of them is great in some way. There is a man who performs many wonderful things; we see them with our eyes, and when we cannot understand them we say, 'Here is a great man, let us follow.' We allow ourselves and our children to try the white man's tricks, and when one is successful we gather around him and amuse ourselves by seeing the tricks once performed by the white man and now by one of our own people.

"There is another man who writes, reads books and makes pictures; we say, 'Here is a great man, let us follow.' We send our children away from home to learn these things. How many of them have returned and amused us, made our lives and our homes happier with the knowledge of those things for which we send them abroad?

"There is another man who comes and says, 'This is right and that is wrong; you work to-day, rest to-morrow, and listen to the story of the Maker of all things, and of his Son who came here, worked and died for you.' We say, 'Here is a great man, let us follow.' We go into Mexico to learn the Mexican songs and prayers, and when we return home we sing and pray. Now, are we a better people than we were years ago when we sang our own songs, when we spoke to the Great Spirit in our own language? We asked then for rain, good health and long life; now what more do we want? What is that thought so great and so sacred that can-

not be expressed in our own language, that we should seek to use the white man's words?

"We have seen men who seemed to be our friends, and we have told them our stories and our best thoughts. They said we will do this and that for you, but some unexpected time they are gone; we know then that we were deceived. Never did we say, 'Here is a great liar, let us follow,' but still we longed for a chance to come when we might return the same deceitfulness to that man, and make him feel as we felt when he deceived us."

So the older Indians talked of what their children learned from the white man when they were sent away to school. It seems to me that the Indian teacher or missionary must know the thoughts which lie deep in the hearts and minds of the old Indians, in order to be successful. We need not follow the white man just because he is white, and can be seen in the night as well as in the day. It is right that the Indian should amuse himself by the white man's tricks. He who writes books and makes pictures is a great man, and the Indian must follow. But it is the part of the teacher to encourage the students to return to their homes, and explain to their people those thoughts in Christianity which are so high, so great and so sacred, which the old Indian does not yet know.

Rev. Egerton R. Young was asked to speak five minutes.

Rev. E. R. YOUNG, Toronto, Canada.—We had a glorious camp meeting this summer among the Indians. I invited you to come, and I invite you again. There were about thirty white people there with us. When we heard of the news about your beloved President I was with the Indians, and more than a thousand of them fell on their knees while we prayed for his restoration.

We were all filled with sorrow over the terrible news. We people of Canada have felt his death as a personal loss. Our cities were draped in black, our flags were at half-mast, and at the time of the funeral, services were held in all of our chief churches. We rejoice and thank God for this mighty republic, whose heart during these later years has learned to beat more and more in sympathy with the motherland. Both lands are doing the great work of giving the gospel and liberty and freedom to the different races which come under them in this great world of ours.

I should like to have referred to the English method of dealing with the Indians, and tell you how it is that we have never had a war with any Indian tribe or spent a dollar in feeding Indians, and politics is forever banished from the selection of Indian agents,—but there is no time. Let me give you one incident in connection with our camp meeting this summer in closing. Two or three drunken Indians came to the camp ground one day, and some of the white people said, "Send them to jail;" but there were some Christian Indians gathered there, and they said, There is a little house out beyond the village, and there are some good beds and plenty of food, and we will send some of our people with these drunken young fellows to keep them quiet and sober; and when they are sober we

will bring them to the prayer meeting, and try to get the spirit of Christ in them instead of the spirit of fire water. That is the sort of thing that Christian Indians will do.

Mrs. A. S. Quinton was invited to speak for the women of the country and their work for Indians.

Mrs. A. S. QUINTON, President of the Women's National Indian Association.—I cannot speak for the women of the whole country, of course, but I have a message to this Conference from the women of the Women's National Indian Association, and I believe I speak for the women of the missionary societies of the churches. We all believe in what has been said in regard to land. We long for the destruction of the reservation system. We should be grateful to see the unnecessary reservations abolished at once, and it would be according to the thought of all the workers if Indian agents could be instructed to keep in view as the end of the Indian service, the winding up of all that is peculiarly Indian, and the placing Indians fully as citizens. Most of the Indians, we believe, are ready for the change. Those not ready the women would desire to have protected carefully, and prepared for citizenship as rapidly as possible.

In regard to the New York Indians, we women believe that they are ready for citizenship, and that their reservations ought to be divided in severalty. Among the Senecas not a few have libraries, musical instruments, and are already truly civilized.

In the realm of law we should be very glad if genuine citizenship could be given to all, thus letting the Indians realize that they are free citizens in fact. Citizenship should and could be made real, by giving them all the privileges and protections that belong to citizenship. The women believe in the last appeal,—the appeal to the President; and we have felt for years that there was sufficient discretionary power in the hands of the President to reform many, if not most, of the evils of the administration of Indian affairs, and we should be glad to make that last appeal.

In the matter of funds there is great interest. We most heartily endorse what the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has said in his report. We should be delighted to see all the funds due the Indian tribes paid over to their individual members. Of course some money would be wasted and lost, but it seems clear that the great proportion of the funds would be more wisely used than now. When one sees that the Indians have earned a million and a half a year by civilized industries, one cannot be afraid that they would be left helpless. The Osages have been hindered in their industrial and moral development by their riches. The payment of their funds could be in such wise as to promote and hasten their civilization.

In regard to missions, what more can be said than has been said? If anything is to be achieved for any people, the wise thing is to do that which will best help them. The whole power of the man is secured if he recognizes his relation to God, heartily accepts that relationship and makes right doing the rule of his life. Christian

missions certainly do thus persuade men. Missionaries do much secular work also. We rejoice that in Manila they are doing work in an undenominational way. That seems like a clarion note of the millennium. The women wish that all Christian work for pagans could be done in that way; that we might teach Christianity pure and simple, and not churchianity. I can assure you that the women of the churches are interested in the evangelization of all these peoples named in this Conference, and that they believe in combined effort, the combined efforts of all Christian workers, and especially in this Indian service. The service which is now most needed is the consecrated service of those who can work along undenominational lines. And what privilege is there so great as to be permitted to share the divine work of the world's evangelization by the methods laid down in the New Testament.

Hon. William A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was invited to speak. Mr. Jones asked that first General Whittlesey might be allowed to read a paper with certain facts relating to the present condition of the Indians.

General WHITTLESEY.—I take pleasure in reading this paper, which has been compiled by that capable little woman known to many of you as "Miss Minnie Cook."

MEMORANDA.

FINANCE.—The appropriations for the Indian service for the current fiscal year aggregate \$9,736,186.09, an increase of nearly \$700,000 over last year. The increase is caused by payments for Indian land and the capitalization of annuity funds.

EDUCATION.—The need of a compulsory school law applicable to Indians is reiterated. Not that force would be frequently resorted to, or that it would be harshly used, but to give a more authoritative backing to the moral suasion now used. The Superintendent of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, reports that 176 out of 180 agents, school superintendents and school supervisors favor such a law. Idaho has already passed an act "compelling the attendance of children at schools where tuition, lodging, food and clothing are furnished at the expense of the United States or the State of Idaho." Punishment for non-compliance is to be by fines varying from \$5.00 to \$30.00. This law, passed last March, has not yet been tested.

In the Government schools (25 non-reservation, 88 reservation boarding and 138 day) 23,332 pupils have been enrolled, an increase of 1,208 over last year. In the mission schools, including Hampton (the only existing contract school), the enrollment has been 3,933. Twenty-one public schools have had 257 pupils, a very small increase over last year. Thus the whole number of Indian pupils in schools last year was 27,522, and an average attendance of over 83 per cent was secured. Notwithstanding the discontinuance of Indian school contracts, the total number of pupils cared for last year was 1,071,—greater than any previous year. The school employees numbered 2,208, nearly one third of them being Indians.

Neighborhood institutes at Keams Canon, Arizona; Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and Puyallup, Washington, and a general institute of Indian teachers at Detroit in connection with the National Education Association, and afterwards at Buffalo, have been ably conducted. They are very helpful in improving methods, getting teachers out of ruts, and developing *esprit de corps*.

The Massachusetts Indian Association is rejoicing over the fact that the boarding school for the Walapai at Truzton Cañon has been opened. A new school at Hayward, Wisconsin, is almost ready; also one long promised the Southern Utes. A new school at Riverside, California, is under contract. Many other schools have been enlarged, and quite a number have had extensive improvements, especially in the way of water supply, sewerage, heating and lighting.

MARRIAGE.—Without further waiting for legislation on the subject, the Indian Office during the current year has issued instructions to agents in regard to regulating, licensing and recording marriages among Indians. These instructions require that before marriage an Indian shall obtain a license from some source, either the Indian agent or a civil magistrate. Agents are authorized to issue marriage licenses, and they must do so without charge; and they must conform, so far as practicable, to the legal forms and requirements of the State and Territory, and thus familiarize the Indians with them. Blanks have been furnished agencies for licenses, marriage records and certificates of marriage. Also, books have just been shipped to agencies for a permanent register of the Indians, showing family relations, so that it will be possible to trace relationship from two to four generations back. This record will be of special value for future reference in determining the heirs of deceased allottees.

IRRIGATION.—For the current fiscal year Congress has provided \$100,000 for irrigation work on Indian reservations, twice the amount appropriated last year. During the past year irrigation work has been confined mostly to Pueblo, Southern Ute and Navaho reservations, besides the continuance of ditch construction on the Crow reservation, which is paid for out of Crow funds. Much of the \$52,000 thus expended last year has gone back to the Crow Indians in the shape of wages paid them for work on the canals.

ALLOTMENTS AND PATENTS.—Patents have been issued during the year to 3,265 Indians. Allotments have been made (and approved) to 8,696 Indians, mostly White Earth Chippewas, and to the Kiowas and Wichitas prior to the opening of their reservation to settlement.

It has been decided that the jurisdiction of the Department over an Indian allotment does not cease until the time of trust has expired, and the final patent been issued. Meantime trust patents based on erroneous allotments may be canceled.

CESSIONS OF LAND.—The Grande Ronde Indians, in Oregon, and the Lower Brule Sioux in South Dakota, have ceded to the United States surplus lands, twenty-six thousand and fifty-six thousand acres at \$1.10 and \$1.25 per acre respectively; the former to receive their pay in cash, the latter in stock cattle and the fencing of the reservation.

LOGGING ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS.—The logging of dead and down timber on the White Earth and Red Lake reservations, and on lands in Minnesota ceded by the Chippewas, was resumed last winter, under the direction of Captain Mercer. Sixty-one million feet were cut and were sold for \$364,000, netting the Indians above all expenses \$127,000.

Logging on the reservations in the La Pointe Agency and Menominee reservation has been continued satisfactorily as heretofore. Under the La Pointe plan, the timber is cut under contracts made with allottees; under the Menominee plan, the Indians cut the timber under supervision of the agent, and it is sold on the bank by public advertisement.

LEASES.—Leases of both tribal and allotted lands continue to be made,—sometimes to the advantage, and often to the disadvantage, of the Indian lessor.

RAILROADS, TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH LINES.—Applications for right of way through Indian lands for railroads and telephone and telegraph lines are numerous, especially in the Indian Territory, and particularly since general right of way Acts were passed in 1899 and 1901. Prior to 1899 every such right of way was acquired by special Act of Congress. Now the matter is left to the Secretary of the Interior. Care is taken to have Indian tribes and Indian allottees duly compensated by the railroads for rights of way through their possessions.

PIMA INDIANS IN MOENCOPI COUNTY, ARIZONA.—The attempt of white men to file on lands cultivated for twenty-seven years by two villages of Indians, numbering some one hundred, has been frustrated by the Land Office, but not before white trespassers had cut some of the valuable timber. The General Land Office has been directed to cancel the entries made by white men on these tracts.

MISSION INDIANS ON WARNER'S RANCH.—It is a matter of great regret that the long pending and twice appealed case of the occupation by some mission Indians of the tract in California known as Warner's Ranch, or Agua Caliente, has gone against the Indians in the United States Supreme Court. Thus some two hundred Indians go empty handed from the lands which their ancestors have cultivated for generations. An arrangement has been made by which they will be allowed to remain at Agua Caliente until Congress meets and can make some provision for establishing them elsewhere. As a partial, temporary expedient, all vacant lands in one of the California townships have been withdrawn from entry and settlement by white people, and will be devoted to the use of these Indians; most unfortunately, most of these vacant lands are worthless, and the few scattered arable areas will support but few families.

INDIAN TERRITORY UNDER THE CURTIS ACT AND SUBSEQUENT LEGISLATION.

EDUCATION.—Under the Government supervision which has been exercised for three years, great improvements have been made in the schools among the Cherokees, Creek's, Choctaws and Chickasaws,

and the antagonism with which Government oversight was at first received is growing less. Normal schools and examinations have raised the grade of teachers; manual training has been encouraged; school funds have been honestly and fairly disbursed; and better schools have cost less per capita than under the old régime. A few towns have been able to raise funds by taxation to support public schools, but, as a rule, the one hundred and nineteen thousand white children in the Indian Territory are without any chance for schooling.

MINERAL LEASES.—Under seventy-one leases approved by the Department, coal is being mined in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, and the royalties collected during the year, at the rate of eight cents per ton, have amounted to \$198,449. There are also ten other companies operating under contracts made directly with the tribes before the passage of the Curtis Act. A small amount of asphalt is also being mined there. Some coal, under temporary permission, is being mined on Cherokee lands.

TOWN SITES.—Are being surveyed and platted in all the nations except the Seminoles.

TIMBER AND STONE.—Are being taken out by contract from the Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek Nations.

SEMINOLES.—The roll of the Seminoles has been made, their lands have been appraised, and more than half of the tribe have received allotments.

AGREEMENTS.—An agreement made with the Creeks, relative to the distribution of their lands, has been confirmed by that nation. A similar one made with representatives of the Cherokee Nation failed of confirmation by the tribe. An agreement with the Choctaws and Chickasaws is still pending before Congress.

The Commission is completing rolls of the various nations, determining citizenship cases, and classifying and appraising lands.

CHIPPEWAS AND MUNSEES IN KANSAS.—The small band of Chippewa and Munsee Indians in Kansas have at last had their funds capitalized and their lands patented or sold, and they are no longer wards of the Government, except such minors as must still wait until they are twenty-one to receive their share of the funds, which is meantime held for them in the United States Treasury.

NORTHERN CHEYENNES.—Most of the white settlers on the Tongue River reservation in Montana have been paid for their improvements and have left the reservation, thus leaving for the Northern Cheyennes much needed agricultural land.

Largely through the persistence of the Indian Rights Association, Little Whirlwind was last July released from the Montana penitentiary. He was sentenced for life, and his brother, Spotted Hawk, to be hanged, as accomplices in the murder of a white sheep-herder in 1897; while the self-confessed, real murderer, Stanley, was sentenced to only five years' imprisonment. On a new trial Spotted Hawk was acquitted, but Little Whirlwind was still held in confinement, notwithstanding that Stanley, just before his death in prison, stated that he alone was concerned in the murder, and that he had implicated the other two in order to lighten his own sentence.

Among the Northern Cheyennes a revival of the Messiah craze has been suppressed. Porcupine began with the same methods which were so successful two years ago, convincing his followers of his own supernatural powers, and assuring them of the speedy resurrection of all Cheyennes, and disappearance of all white men. Arrest and confinement at Fort Keough for four months so modified Porcupine's theory of inspiration that he was released.

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM A. JONES.

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

I asked General Whittlesey to read to you the résumé of the work done by the Indian Office during the last year, as he had already been furnished by the Office with data bearing on the subject. However, upon listening to the reading of his paper, I notice one important omission of what has been done, and that is the inauguration of a system for keeping records of marriages, births and deaths. This I consider one of the most important steps taken for some time, and it was largely owing to the persistent efforts of Dr. Gates, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. This system is as nearly complete as we could make it under existing conditions. While it does not have the force of a statute, it is a great step in advance, and if faithfully adhered to by the agents it will answer all immediate necessities.

An effort will be made during the coming session of Congress to have some law enacted embodying the principal features of this system. Very many of the agents have indorsed their approval, and are doing their utmost to carry out faithfully the instructions issued. Some have written in somewhat of a discouraging spirit as to their ability to enforce these regulations, but I feel sure that after they have once started, good results will be obtained.

Before entering upon any general discussion of the Indian question, I would like to impose upon your time for a few minutes, in order to reply to some questions that I understand were asked at a former meeting of this session.

I have been told that there has been some discussion concerning the leasing of some portions of the Sioux reservation, and some implied criticism was made as to the policy of the Office.

I do not want to shirk the responsibility for this policy, as it was inaugurated by me after a full investigation of the conditions that existed upon the Sioux reservation, and after testing it for the last eight or ten months I am more than ever convinced of its advisability. I want to state at the outset that I am utterly opposed to leasing allotments except in rare cases, where the allottee is totally unable to work his own land; but there is a vast difference between leasing allotments and leasing tribal lands. As a matter of fact, we have not leased an acre on the Sioux reservation; we have simply permitted the grazing of a limited number of cattle on these reservations, levying a tax of \$1.00 per head a year for the privilege.

There are millions of acres on the Sioux reservation unoccupied, except by squawmen and white cattle men living on the border. These people have for years been using the grazing lands of the Indians without paying either to the Indians directly, or to the Government, one cent for the privilege. Many of these squawmen have become wealthy by this practice.

Under the present system, all squawmen and Indians who have rights on the reservation are permitted to graze, not to exceed one hundred head free, but are required to pay \$1.00 per head for everything in excess of that amount. A very large proportion of the Sioux Indians do not own cattle, and cannot avail themselves of this grazing privilege, and it is eminently unfair to permit a few favorite individuals to reap the benefit of the grazing lands without any recompense to those less fortunate or less energetic full-bloods.

Upon investigation I have found that the dissatisfaction with this system comes almost entirely from these squawmen, and a few cattle men, who have been cut off from the free use of the range; in fact, a delegation of these squawmen called upon me at the Office a few months ago, protesting against the system.

I have also received several communications from people who are identified more or less with the Mohonk Conference, protesting against the system, claiming that it was unfair to these progressive Indians, who are doing what they can to become self-supporting. This reason seems to be very plausible, but I cannot conceive any good reason for rewarding an Indian for supporting himself and family. And fight here I want to enter my protest against the conduct of some members of the Mohonk Conference concerning policies that have been adopted by the Office. As an illustration, I might state that a short time ago the Office stopped the indiscriminate issue of hides to the Indians of the Sioux and other reservations. The order had no more than gone out before the mail was loaded with letters protesting against the hardship imposed upon the Indians by such a course. The Indians had no right whatever to the hides, as their treaty simply provided for a pound and a half of net beef as a ration. The issuing of hides was a concession made to them during the Harrison administration, when it was thought it would avert a threatened outbreak at the time. I think it was a mistake in the first place, but I can see no good reason why the Government should continue the mistake.

Again, when the indiscriminate issue of rations was discontinued a few months ago and instructions were sent to the agents to cut off from the ration roll all squawmen and their families, returned students and Indians who were capable of supporting themselves, the same thing was repeated. I was burdened with a daily mail from our good friends of the Mohonk Conference, setting out the great hardships that would be brought about by such a course. If there is any one thing more than another that the Mohonk Conference deserves credit for, it has been its persistent and consistent opposition to these indiscriminate issues of rations; but I submit if it is fair for you to meet here for several days annually, advocating this policy, and then as soon as you return to your homes to belabor the Office for carrying out what you have advocated at the Conference?

You have also consistently advocated the breaking up of reservations, with which I am in full sympathy and have done all I could to bring this condition of affairs about by advocating the cutting up of the reservations and permitting the building of railroads, towns and villages upon the reservations, so that the Indians would have the benefit of the example of the whites, and also an opportunity to do work for the whites if they chose to do so; but these same good friends are writing continuously to the Office, asking me to protect the Indians and to keep out the whites from settling and encroaching upon these reservations.

In this one item of the issuing of hides alone, the Government has saved from \$70,000 to \$80,000 a year, a large proportion of which has in the past been simply wasted by the Indians, as the women were required to take care of the hide and turn it over to the men, who traded it for tobacco, whiskey and other worthless articles.

Mr. SMILEY.—I never wrote you such a letter.

Commissioner JONES.—No, nor any other member of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

In the matter of cutting down of rations, I will state that the indiscriminate issue of rations has been discontinued for the last three months. It was found that the Indian agents in their annual estimate would send in requisitions for the full number on their roll. As an illustration, the agent at Pine Ridge would send in a requisition for over six thousand rations. When the list was checked up and compared with the Office record, we found that there were hundreds of children from this reservation in non-reservation and other schools. Hundreds of others were not on the reservation at all, and not entitled to a ration. There are also hundreds of squawmen and their children, and wealthy Indians, who come regularly twice a month to the agency to get their pound and a half of beef, to the detriment of the poor and needy; and, as I stated before, instructions were issued to cut off every able-bodied Indian who could make his own living, provided he were given the opportunity to do so. Many of them own hundreds of head of cattle, and are no more entitled to a ration than a white man.

A report has been received from the Rosebud Agency after these instructions were issued, stating that only sixty-two per cent of the Indians who received rations last year were now receiving them; and now I ask you, my good friends, do not begin to send in protests against this discontinuance of rations, claiming that the Indians are being starved. That is not consistent. I ask you to stick to the principles that you are advocating here. If you are right here, you are wrong when you get home.

In considering Indian affairs at the last Conference, some attention was given to the obstacles in the way of the Indian toward independence and self-support, and three of the most important were pointed out and made the subject of discussion. It was shown that the indiscriminate issue of rations was an effectual barrier to civilization; that the periodical distribution of large sums of money was demoralizing in the extreme; and that the general leasing of allot-

ments, instead of benefiting the Indians as originally intended, only contributed to their demoralization.

Further observation and reflection lead to the unwelcome conviction that another obstacle may be added to those already named, and that is education. It is to be distinctly understood that it is not meant by this to condemn education in the abstract. Far from it. Its advantages are too many and too apparent to need any demonstration here. Neither is it meant as a criticism upon the conduct or management of any particular school or schools now in operation. What I mean is, that the present Indian educational system taken as a whole is not calculated to produce the results so earnestly claimed for it, and so hopefully anticipated when it was begun.

No doubt this idea will be received with some surprise, and expressions of dissent will doubtless spring at once to the lips of many of those engaged or interested in Indian work. Nevertheless, I believe that a brief view of the plan in vogue will convince the most skeptical that the idea is correct.

There are in operation at the present time one hundred and thirteen boarding schools, with an average attendance of something over sixteen thousand pupils, ranging from five to twenty-one years old. These pupils are gathered from the cabin, the wickiup and the tepee. Partly by cajolery and partly by threats, partly by bribery and partly by fraud, partly by persuasion and partly by force, they are induced to leave their homes and their kindred, to enter these schools and take upon themselves the outward semblance of civilized life. They are chosen, not on account of any particular merit of their own, not by reason of mental fitness, but solely because they have Indian blood in their veins. Without regard to their worldly condition, without any previous training, without any preparation whatever, they are transported to the schools—sometimes thousands of miles away—without the slightest expense or trouble to themselves or their people. The Indian youth finds himself at once, as if by magic, translated from a state of poverty to one of affluence. He is well fed and clothed and lodged. Books and all the accessories of learning are given him, and teachers provided to instruct him. He is educated in the industrial arts on the one hand, and not only in the rudiments but in the liberal arts on the other. Beyond “the three R’s” he is instructed in geography, grammar and history; he is taught drawing, algebra and geometry, music and astronomy; and receives lessons in physiology, botany and entomology. Matrons wait on him while he is well, and physicians and nurses tend him when he is sick. A steam laundry does his washing, and the latest modern appliances do his cooking. A library affords him relaxation for his leisure hours; athletic sports and the gymnasium furnish him with exercise and recreation, while music entertains him in the evening. He has hot and cold baths, steam heat and electric light, and all the modern conveniences. All of the necessities of life are given him and many of the luxuries. All of this without money and without price, or the contribution of a single effort of his own or of his people. His wants are all supplied al-

most for the wish. The child of the wigwam becomes a modern Aladdin, who has only to rub the Government lamp to gratify his desires.

Here he remains until his education is finished, when he is returned to his home, which by contrast must seem squalid indeed; to the parents whom his education must make it impossible to honor; and left to make his way against the ignorance and bigotry of his tribe. Is it any wonder he fails? Is it surprising if he lapses into barbarism? Not having earned his education, it is not appreciated; having made no sacrifice to obtain it, it is not valued. It is looked upon as a right and not as a privilege; it is accepted as a favor to the Government and not to the recipient; and the almost inevitable tendency is to encourage dependence, foster pride, and create a spirit of arrogance and selfishness. The testimony on this point of those closely connected with the Indian employees of the service would, it is believed, be interesting.

It is not denied that some good flows from this system. It would be singular if there did not, after all the effort that has been made and the money that has been lavished. In the last twenty years fully forty-five millions of dollars have been spent by the Government alone for the education of Indian pupils, and it is a liberal estimate to put the number of those so educated at not over twenty-five thousand. If the present rate is continued for another twenty years, it will take over seventy millions more.

But while it is not denied that the system has produced some good results, it is seriously questioned whether it is calculated to accomplish the great end in view, which is not so much the education of the individual as the lifting up of the race. It is contended, and with some reason, that with the same effort and much less expenditure applied locally, or to the family circle, far greater and much more beneficent results could have been obtained, and the tribes would have been in a much more advanced stage of civilization than at present.

On the other hand, it is said that the stream of returning pupils carries with it the refining influence of the schools, and operates to elevate the people. Doubtless this is true of individual cases, and it may have some faint influence on the tribes. But will it ever sufficiently leaven the entire mass? It is doubtful. It may be possible in time to purify a fountain by cleansing its turbid waters as they pour forth, and then returning them to their original source. But experience is against it. For centuries pure, fresh water streams have poured their floods into the Great Salt Lake, and its waters are still salt.

What, then, shall be done? And this inquiry brings into prominence at once the whole Indian question.

It may be well first to take a glance at what has been done. For about a generation the Government has been taking a very active interest in the welfare of the Indian. In that time he has been located on reservations and fed and clothed. He has been supplied lavishly with utensils and means to earn his living, with materials for his dwelling and articles to furnish it; his children have been

educated and money has been paid him; farmers and mechanics have been supplied him; and he has received aid in a multitude of different ways. In the last thirty-three years over two hundred and forty millions of dollars have been spent upon an Indian population not exceeding one hundred and eighty thousand; enough, if equitably divided, to build each one a house suitable to his condition and furnish it throughout; to fence his land and build him a barn; to buy him a wagon, team and harness; to furnish him plows and other implements necessary to cultivate the ground; and to give him something besides to embellish and beautify his home. It is not pretended that this amount is exact, but it is sufficiently so for the purposes of this discussion.

What is his condition to-day? He is still on his reservation; he is still being fed; his children are still being educated, and money is still being paid him; he is still dependent upon the Government for existence; mechanics wait on him, and farmers still aid him; he is little, if any, nearer the goal of independence than he was thirty years ago; and if the present policy is continued, he will get little, if any, nearer in thirty years to come. It is not denied that under this, as under the school system, there has been some progress; but it has not been commensurate with the money spent and effort made.

It is easy to point out difficulties, but it is not so easy to overcome them. Nevertheless, an attempt will now be made to indicate a policy which, if steadfastly adhered to, will not only relieve the Government of an enormous burden, but, it is believed, will practically settle the entire Indian question within the space usually allotted to a generation. Certainly it is time to make a move toward terminating the guardianship which has so long been exercised over the Indians, and putting them upon an equal footing with the white man so far as their relations with the Government are concerned. Under the present system the Indian ward never attains his majority. The guardianship goes on in an unbroken line from father to son, and generation after generation the Indian lives and dies a ward.

To begin at the beginning, then, it is freely admitted that education is essential. But it must be remembered that there is a vital difference between white and Indian education. When a white youth goes away to school or college his moral character and habits are already formed and well defined. In his home, at his mother's knee, from his earliest moments, he has imbibed those elements of civilization which, developing as he grows up, distinguish him from the savage. He goes to school not to acquire a moral character, but to prepare himself for some business or profession by which he can make his way in after life.

With the Indian youth it is different. Born a savage, and raised in an atmosphere of superstition and ignorance, he lacks at the outset those advantages inherited by his white brother and enjoyed from the cradle. His moral character has yet to be formed. If he is to rise from his low estate, the germs of a nobler existence must be implanted in him and cultivated. He must be taught to lay aside his savage customs like a garment, and take upon himself the habits of civilized life.

In a word, the primary object of a white school is to educate the mind; the primary essential of Indian education is to enlighten the soul. Under our system of Government the latter is not the function of the State.

What, then, is the function of the State? Briefly this. To see that the Indian has the opportunity for self support, and that he is afforded the same protection of his person and property as is given to others. That being done, he should be thrown entirely upon his own resources, to become a useful member of the community in which he lives or not, according as he exerts himself or fails to make an effort; he should be located where the conditions are such that by the exercise of ordinary industry and prudence he can support himself and family; he must be made to realize that in the sweat of his face he shall earn his bread; he must be brought to recognize the dignity of labor and the importance of building and maintaining a home; he must understand that the more useful he is there, the more useful he will be to society; it is there he must find the incentive to work, and from it must come the uplifting of his race.

As I stated before, in the beginning of his undertaking he should have aid and instruction. He is entitled to that. Necessaries of life, also, will doubtless have to be furnished him for a time, at least until his labor becomes productive. More than this, so long as the Indians are wards of the General Government, and until they have been absorbed by and become a part of the community in which they live, day schools should be established at convenient places where they may learn enough to transact the ordinary business of life. Beyond this in the way of schools it is not necessary to go; beyond this it is a detriment to go. The key to the whole situation is the home. Improvement must begin there. The first and most important object to be attained is the elevation of the domestic life. Until that is accomplished it is futile to talk of higher education.

This is a mere outline. There are innumerable details to be considered and many difficulties to overcome. Of course, it cannot all be done at once. Different conditions prevail in different sections of the country. In some places the conditions are already ripe for the surrender of Government control; in others the natural conditions are such and the Indians are so situated that, if protected in their rights, they should soon be ready for independence. But in other places the question assumes a more serious aspect. Located in an arid region, upon unproductive reservations, often in a rigorous climate, there is no chance for the Indian to make a living even if he would. The larger and more powerful tribes are so situated. So long as this state of things exists the ration system with all its evils must continue. There can be little or no further reduction in that direction than that already made without violating the dictates of humanity. Already in several quarters there is suffering and want. In these cases something should be done toward placing such Indians in a position where they can support themselves, and that something should be done quickly.

But whatever the condition of the Indian may be, he should be

removed from a state of dependence to one of independence. And the only way to do this is to take away those things that encourage him to lead an idle life, and, after giving him a fair start, leave him to take care of himself. To that it must come in the end, and the sooner steps are taken to bring it about the better. That there will be many failures and much suffering is inevitable in the very nature of things, for it is only by sacrifice and suffering that the heights of civilization are reached.

ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN.

Mr. Moderator, for there seems to be so much of the Christian spirit in this Conference that I think I may address you as such, without meaning in the least to criticise what in legislative parlance we would call "the Steering Committee," I desire to say that the position in which they put me—first to speak yesterday morning, then in the evening and then this morning, and at last to be introduced at fourteen minutes before ten this evening—reminds me somewhat of an anecdote I heard of a German member of an orchestra who was criticised by his manager for being habitually tardy. The manager told him that there was too much of "dis tardy beesnes," and he threatened him that unless he could be prompt he would be discharged. The man appeared on time for a week, when the manager said to him, "Hans, I discover vat you turn over those other leaf. I notice you was early of late. You vas always been behind before; I am glad you vas first at last."

Introduced in the complimentary way in which I have been by your Chairman, calls to my mind a circumstance that a charming guest of Mr. Smiley's related to me this afternoon of her embarrassment in not being able to discover whether Mr. Smiley was himself or his brother, and Mr. Smiley relieved her of that embarrassment by saying that that was once a question that had troubled him. At one time in Philadelphia, but for the strength of a mirror, he would have injured himself in shaking hands, as he supposed, with his own brother! Mr. Thomas B. Reed once described a statesman as a politician who was dead. I cannot very well, with my style of architecture, claim to be deceased, and having been for a dozen or fifteen years a member of the House of Representatives, I cannot claim to be entirely aloof from politics; and when I take into consideration the somewhat uncomplimentary remarks that have been now and then made during these two days about politicians and Congressmen, I am somewhat uncertain whether I am myself or somebody else.

It has not been my pleasure to attend a Mohonk Conference before, although our good friend, Mr. Smiley, has frequently honored me with invitations. I came this year because I wanted to, and that statement has the novelty of being a true statement from a politician. I think I can prove my desire to come when I say that I took the train at one o'clock in the night, got into Kingston at five

in the morning, and struggled with a restaurant breakfast before I came up here. But before I got here, as I rode up this beautiful driveway, over these matchless hills, painted as they are to day by God as no artist could reproduce them, I felt more than repaid for coming even before the Conference met. There came to my mind, as we drove up in the early morning and looked down on that beautiful valley before us, that little verse by Eugene Field :—

“ Sometimes I think I'd like to go
Where bells don't ring nor whistles blow,
And clocks don't strike, and gongs don't sound,
And there is stillness all around.

“ If 'tweren't for sights, and sounds and smell,
I'd like the city pretty well;
But when it comes to getting rest,
I think the country's lots the best.

“ Sometimes I feel as if I must
Just quit the city's din and dust,
And get out where the sky is blue:
And say, now, how does it seem to you?”

Dr. Abbott asked me yesterday morning, when he said that he would like to have me occupy a little time, what I would like to speak about, and I told him that if I had to speak at all, and had my choice, I would like to speak about a minute; that I had come here rather to listen and to learn than to talk and to teach. And I have listened, and I have learned. I have learned much to-night from the Commissioner. I have learned that he can preach one doctrine, and that in the estimates which he sends to us he can make a very different one. He tells you to-night that the way to civilize the Indian, and to do away with the present conditions, is practically to do away with the schools; and yet, next month he will send a book of estimates, asking us to appropriate \$4,000,000 for the continuance of the schools, and we will do it. We will do it because we believe, as you believe and he believes, that we must get at the minds of men and educate them, cultivate them, before we can civilize and Christianize them, no matter whether they are white or black or red. I agree in part with the Commissioner in many things, the same as I do with this Conference. I came here to find out what you desire, and Dr. Abbott suggested to me that I might give you some notion of how you might assist the legislative or law-making power, and it was that to which I intended to address myself, and that briefly. You can aid the law-making power by holding these Conferences just as you have been doing. I rather guess that so long as Brother Smiley intends to invite us here, and entertain us in this royal way, that there will be quite a little gathering here annually.

• President GATES.—He never can stop these Conferences until he cuts off rations!

Mr. SHERMAN.—I thought when I listened to Mr. Gates's opening address yesterday that I had seldom heard a man who could express himself so beautifully, and he has proved it again now. What we desire to do, we who make the laws, is to do that which makes for the public good and the public weal, and we desire to be assisted in

reaching that end by the best thought of the best minds of the best people under the sun. You can assist us, you of the Mohonk Conference, and you friends of the Indian, by discussing dispassionately what we do, criticising where we deserve criticism. Neither Brother Jones nor most of the members of the Indian Committee will hesitate to acknowledge the correctness of your criticism when you are right. We are not infallible, neither are you. You make some mistakes, and we know some things about the Indian question ourselves. We come in contact with the Indian; we know something of his wants. You can assist us by discussing dispassionately the various phases of the Indian question, and suggesting remedies for evils, remedies for mistakes, corrections of wrongs. It would be an easy matter for one of Mr. Smiley's men to go out and tear down this old building, but it is a very different proposition when it comes to building up the magnificent structure that is to take its place. It is very easy to tear down, but not easy to build up. It is very easy to talk about taking away the rations of the Indian and doing away with their school system, but how are you going to do that without giving them something to take the place of all this? Commissioner Jones, in his suggestion about changes, has not only suggested taking away, but he has suggested putting something in the place of that which was taken away. If the Commissioner be right in all his suggestions, I hope he will follow them up by making these same recommendations, not here at Mohonk only, but to the legislative body of this Government which has the right to act upon such matters. That is the practical way to do it, and I shall expect next winter, when you (turning to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs) come before the Indian Committee, to ask you if you believe then all that you have stated here to-night.

Commissioner JONES.—I will put it in writing.

Mr. SHERMAN.—We want all the light we can get from every source and we want new light. We want not only the light of this Conference, but the light of all other Conferences. Of course, there has been fraud in the Indian service; but there are men there who are as honest as any in the land, and here sits one of them in the person of Commissioner Jones. Dishonest men are not only in the Indian service, but in other branches of the Government service and everywhere else, in private as well as in public places. The millennium is more than three months and seven eighths of a mile distant. Someone has paraphrased the lines of Goldsmith to read:—

“ They used to sing some time ago
A rather plaintive song,
Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long;
But nowadays the song is set
To a different rhyme,
Man wants as much as he can get,
And wants it all the time.”

That is the fact to-day all over the land. Cupidity is in all places, public and private. It is in the Indian service; but that service to-day is vastly purer, vastly better, than it was twenty or thirty

years ago. The condition of the Indian race to-day is infinitely better than it was thirty years ago. ★ It seems to me that in all the history of the world there has never been a more remarkable advance in the condition of any people than there has been in the North American Indians of the United States from 1869 up to the present time; and I think that, differing somewhat from the Commissioner in that respect, but happily coinciding with Colonel Pratt, that that changed condition is largely due to the educational system which we have inaugurated and extended and perfected for the Indians throughout the country. That being so, I want to see that educational system continued. I want to see the tribal relations broken up, and I want to see that begun in New York just as soon as possible. ★ There are difficulties in the way which have not been mentioned. Some of the New York Indians have a title to their land only so long as tribal relations exist. The Cattaraugus reservation is owned by a private corporation called the Ogden Land Company. The Senecas have only a tribal claim. The Ogden Company's claim must be wiped out before we can allot the land on that reservation. That is a thought that probably had not occurred to most of you, because probably you did not know the fact. I want to see the tribal relations broken up and the rations done away with, but not prematurely. Indians are not the only people who require help. The per cent of the population of Great Britain that are to-day paupers is not inconsiderable. Every county throughout this State and throughout this country has its poorhouse to support indigent whites. In every tax levy there is an item for the support of the poor in every little town throughout this State and every State. Are you going to strike those all out and let the poor, the halt and the blind starve to death? Why then do it with the Indians? Do away with the rations as quickly as you can. Make the Indians work, and you must make them work, since they do not work because they want to. The Indian is not naturally an industrious man. Naturally he would derive his support from sports, not from labor like the white man. We have got to work up to this thing gradually. We cannot do away with the Indian Office in three years. I hope we can in ten, but I don't believe it.

The PRESIDENT.—It takes faith and works.

Mr. SHERMAN.—I have the faith, but not so great faith as yours; but I am willing to put in just as hard work as you, my dear sir, to accomplish this, and I will do so; but the end I think is in sight, though a long way off—so long that I do not expect to live to see it, but I think my children will. The end will be expedited by the good wishes, the thought, and the work of the Christian people throughout the country, and especially by those who come year by year to the Mohonk Conference.

ADDRESS BY COLONEL PRATT.

I feel greatly honored by being allowed to speak after my chief. I shall not talk long. If I had prepared a paper to read here, as I had intended, after listening to what I have heard I would not read it.

I invite the attention of the older members of the Conference to the fact that in the earliest days, when we had long discussions on land in severalty, I advocated the allotment of alternate sections to Indians and whites. I have never changed my mind about that. All said here to-night has been helpful to that view. The example, the association, the contact of the Indian with our white farmers, our industries, our life, produce the most rapid civilization. It breaks up prejudice and brings the two races into sympathy with each other. In the general arrangement, public schools where Indians and whites attend bring the children of the two races together, and soon the need for special Indian schools will pass away. I do not agree with my chief about the usefulness of reservation schools, nor that material uplift can be accomplished in the home on the reservation. All our experiences prove the folly of such hopes. Go to the reservations in this great Empire State, where they have had schools for eight years, and look at the conditions there. Knowing the situation almost everywhere, because dealing directly with almost all tribes through their children, I assure you the conditions among the Indians of this great state of New York are really worse than in many of our wild tribes.

Commissioner JONES.—I want to interrupt Colonel Pratt. I am unwilling to give the impression that I said anything about homes on the reservation. I said homes. I do not believe in the homes on the reservation.

Colonel PRATT.—As you know, I have an Indian school about as remote from the tribe as any we have. I went to Carlisle on purpose, and for a purpose. General Sherman said I was wrong, and that he would give me Fort Riley, Kansas, near the Indians, with five thousand acres of the best land and almost new buildings. I said to him: "General, we must bring the Indians into contact with the white people. We have to educate the Indian, but we have also to educate the white people to the fact that the Indian can be educated, and we can't do that out of sight and on theory." What I mean is,—to bring the Indians to live in homes as we do, to be citizens as we are, they must come into actual contact with our homes and our citizenship. I understand that to be the burden of the Commissioner's paper, of his contention, and that is all of mine. We do not differ.

It is cruel to put a man into a position where it is impossible for him to succeed. We give an Indian an allotment of one hundred and sixty acres of land and expect him to be an independent farmer, when he has never struggled with the business before. We put our boys on a farm, and through prolonged daily contact with farm work they grow up farmers. In order to know how to run a farm a man must grow into it. That is the policy we should pursue not

only about farming, but all industries, schools, citizenship and everything else we want the Indians to engage in. I do not believe in reservation schools. All Indian schools should be remote from the tribes, and used only as a means of introducing the Indian to our civilization through putting him into contact with it, into participation in it, so that he will gradually get the courage of the language, the industry, the competition, and so grow into our civilization. That is the whole of it. I have not contended for less than this all these years. I do not think it cruel to place the Indian where he can learn quickest and best. It would not be harsh to do that by force, but force would not be necessary if the people in control on and off the reservations were of one mind about it and worked toward it.

Our experience at Carlisle entitles us to some compassion as against the allegations made by those who are against us. Within four days there has come to the Carlisle school from a reservation a party of boys brought because the agent could not keep them in the home school or nearby schools. They were constantly running away. They were kept in the guard house while the party was being made up to prevent their running away. They send such to Carlisle, and expect us to overcome habits cultivated and grown in the home schools to a point beyond their control. We undertake them and do the best we can, and when we fail take the blame. How much better for the youth and the Government if we could undertake the work without this false, bad, preliminary training! We have received in the Carlisle school from Western schools criminals of the worst sort, male and female, and some badly diseased. In a party of eight received not long ago, we had to send five back immediately. In another party of the same number received some time before, four had to enter the hospital for treatment for the vilest of all diseases.

We are trying to bring these young people into our Christian civilization. The Commissioner says the Government is not to consider religious matters. I think it is. I believe that the Government school that is not a Christian school ought not to exist. I believe, with the Chairman of this Conference, that the changes to bring relief necessary can be made quickly and ought to be made.

Every school exclusively for Indians is helping to create Indianism. I have had hundreds of applications from people having a very small proportion of Indian blood to send their children to Carlisle, who lived off the reservation; and sometimes both parents and children were born away from the tribes, and where the children had the fullest advantages of excellent local public schools. They want relief from the responsibility of supporting and training their children. In every such case I insist that the public schools are better for them than Carlisle. The great need is to get the Indian and the white children together, so that there shall be no separate schools, and each may measure the other's abilities, and so come to have competing power. The Indians are just like white people in their desire to get rid of responsibilities. Thirty-six years after the War we have the sad spectacle, in Pennsylvania, of a system

of soldiers' orphans' schools. These children are clothed, fed and educated by the State without expense to their parents. The parents are made to believe that they have done some great service that entitles their children to that education; politicians have led them to believe that. Recently, within twenty-five miles of Carlisle, an institution of this kind has been built. The system tells these young people that the State owes them a living, and by that it does them the greatest possible harm. It takes away their manhood, their power as real, independent Americans. The system of Indian schools is doing exactly the same thing for the Indians. We are teaching them to believe that the Government at Washington will look after them and their children forever. We are too paternal in the matter, and I am in favor of doing away with Indian schools, with Carlisle itself, as soon as possible; and I do not think it need be such a long time either, if we go about it in the right way. The Indian children ought to be made competitively industrious, to learn English, to adopt cleanliness, to have common sense; and to do this right, only the very beginning work can be the real mission of the Indian school. As I said here at Mohonk very early, when Carlisle was young and this Conference was young, I would use Carlisle simply as a place to clean up the children, to give them a little industry, a little insight into our life, and then pass them out to struggle for the good things in that life, and the very struggle would make them useful men and women and worthy citizens. I know that an Indian boy properly started can go into our life and easily take care of himself, and do something in addition; and, in doing that, he will grow into useful American manhood, and can then help his father and mother most by staying from the reservation and being a man.

I blame the church in these matters. The church has never said "Come" to the Indian. It has always said, "Stay where you are, and I will send some one out there to give you our religion." We do not say that to the people of any other land. Our message to all others is, "Come and live with us." Why not say, "Come and live with us," to the Indian, and give him the same chance to be of us we do the foreigner?

At the request of Dr. Lyman Abbott, Commissioner Jones was invited to speak five minutes at the conclusion of Colonel Pratt's address.

Commissioner JONES.—I want to thank Dr. Abbott for this courtesy, and will detain you but for a moment.

I am sorry that Colonel Pratt understood me as he seems to have done in connection with the discussion of school matters. While the colonel and I agree in the main as to the education of Indians, I confess that sometimes we disagree as to its details. I did not intend to give my unqualified indorsement to a reservation school. I believe that they accomplish considerable good, but as long as we persist in educating the Indian in his community home it will be a long time before we see much progress. What I would like to see

is the complete breaking up of reservations, and the distribution of a white community among the Indians, so that the Indian could attend the schools with the whites. Establish country district schools, as we have in all the States, and give the Indians the same privileges, but no more, than the whites are receiving. The sooner we do away with Indian schools distinctively as such, the better off we will be and the sooner the Indians will be absorbed by the body politic.

The Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House states that, in spite of all my economic theories advanced here this evening, I will come before his committee this winter asking for three or four million dollars to educate the Indians. That is true, but I submit that I am not responsible for the policy that has brought about these conditions.

I would not, if I could, tumble down at once this edifice that has been built up for thirty years. It would be very unwise and impossible for me to do so. It will be necessary to continue these conditions at least for some time, but I am heartily in favor of the gradual diminution of appropriations for Indian schools; neither do I believe that it is feasible nor wise to do away entirely with the issuing of rations, but I do believe and insist that when an Indian is able to make his own living when given an opportunity to do so and refuses, the only thing the Government can do consistently is to let him starve. I am firmly of the opinion that the time is with us when at least three fourths of the rations can be discontinued.

Mr. SHERMAN.—What will we do where there is a treaty?

Commissioner JONES.—There is no question in my mind that when a treaty has been made with the Indians its terms ought to be carried out, but I do not know of a single treaty that provides absolutely for the permanent continuation of rations.

The tribe most interested in the issuing of rations, as he knows, is the Sioux, for whom by far the greatest and largest amount of appropriations is made. The language of the treaty is, that the rations shall be continued "until the Indians become self-supporting." This does not mean that the whole tribe shall become self-supporting before they are discontinued, but that the rations shall be withheld from every individual who has become or can be made self-supporting.

I have received many letters from the Indians themselves, who have come forward voluntarily, stating that it is the proper thing to do and that they were glad the rations were cut off. Humanity demands and the treaties provide for the maintenance of the old and decrepit, but there is a far more economic and humane way of taking care of this class than by indiscriminate issues of rations to their friends in their tepees and wigwams. I would be in favor of having some system of poorhouses similar to those used among the whites.

We have one or two instances of that kind: one I recall in particular at the Leech Lake Agency, inaugurated by Captain Mercer for the old and decrepit, where they are cared for in this way. They are far better and more economically handled than they would be if the rations were issued to them and permitted to take it into their

camps, where the greater portion would be appropriated by the younger element of the tribe.

Again, very many of the agencies are ripe for their discontinuance, and the Indians under such agencies are in a position to take care of their own affairs. This is especially true of the Chippewas of Wisconsin, many in Minnesota, and also on the Pacific coast. I am firmly of the opinion that if we should withdraw our support and guardianship from the Indians of those States, they would be far better off than they are now. They may have property interests that would be necessary to be looked after for some time, but that could be done without any direct supervision of their individual affairs.

While I am called somewhat of an iconoclast in such matters, I do not want to break down the whole edifice at once; but I am heartily in favor of cutting down these appropriations, and will ask the Chairman of the Committee to aid me in such matters.

I will say this much in justice to Mr. Sherman, that he has always stood for the best in the administration of Indian affairs, and his course has always been intelligent and conservative. I will say that he has been liberal in all appropriations asked for, and there is not a member in Congress to whom I can go with more confidence that I will be treated fairly in matters pertaining to Indian affairs.

Miss Scoville was asked for a word on this subject.

MISS SCOVILLE.—When I was going over the reservation last summer I met a group of people; and one man, who had had some connection with the politics of the reservation, said that the nine hundred men who had lost their rations this year would have them back again at the end of the year. He said, "Your Indian Rights Society has tried this before, but they can't do it; there's too much money in it." I came back and reported it as a *dare* sent from that reservation by cattle men and men of that type. The cutting down of rations was a very interesting thing to watch, and it was a very good thing. There is no question that it will lessen suffering if there can be more for the people who really need it, but cattle men and white men and returned students are capable of taking care of themselves, and their rations should be cut off. I am sorry to say that some of those who have a chance to get on without the rations made the strongest fight for them.

THE CHAIR.—There has been much misunderstanding about the Mission Indians of California. People can hardly understand how reports from good people can differ so much. Do not be alarmed when you see some one new to the situation who tells you that all the Mission Indians are going to die of starvation, when such careful observers as Mr. Smiley, special commissioner on different occasions to look into the conditions of these very Indians, tells us that their needs are very slight. And do not be carried off your feet by reports of people who do not know.

Adjourned at 10.50 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 18.

The Conference was called to order at the usual time, and Mr. Smiley stated that about sixty Cuban teachers, who are now studying at the State Normal School at New Paltz, would be the guests of the Conference for the morning.

The teachers arrived in carriages and were given seats near the presiding officer. They were accompanied by the principal of the school and some of the other teachers from New Paltz. Mr. Smiley made a short address, of which the following is a summary:—

About sixty Cuban teachers have been received at the State Normal School under a contract between the military government of Cuba and the trustees of the school. A number of persons have come with these young women to act as chaperones. Some of these teachers studied in Cambridge last year. At home they have been receiving \$400 a year as salary. After the two or three years which they will spend here they are to receive \$700. The best teachers have been provided for them; one especially has had long experience as a teacher in Buenos Ayres.

The young ladies sang the Cuban national hymn, while one of them accompanied on the piano, after which Mr. Smiley introduced Mr. Myron T. Scudder, the principal of the Normal School, who spoke as follows.

MR. MYRON T. SCUDDER.—Mr. Smiley has asked me to tell you briefly some of the plans that we have in mind in connection with this band of teachers who have been sent from Cuba to the United States for professional training.

Last April, Lieut. Matthew E. Hanna, U. S. A., Acting Commissioner of Public Schools, wrote, under the direction of General Wood, to the leading normal schools of the Eastern part of the United States, to ask if they would be willing to undertake the training of a number of Cuban teachers selected from the whole island of Cuba, to be sent to this country at the expense of the Cuban government. The schools that were to receive them were to contract with the Government to furnish instruction, text-books, school supplies, board and lodging. It was expected that these teachers would be distributed in groups in various schools, but the upshot of the matter is they have all come to New Paltz. I will allow you to infer how much of this was due to the fact that the president of our board of managers is Mr. Smiley, whose name is recognized all over the world as a first-class guarantee of any project he may be back of.

I may say of these young people that it is a perfect delight to work with them in school, and a sincere pleasure to meet them socially; and

if they are as pleased with us as we are with them, and if this spirit continues through the two or three years they may be with us, then I think we may believe that a tremendous influence for good in our relations with Cuba will thus be generated. It cannot be otherwise.

In our school work it is not the three R's alone that we are giving to these young ladies. They have already passed examinations in elementary branches in Cuba, which entitle them to admission to the school. When it was proposed that they should come we replied that we would be willing to take them if we could agree on an educational policy. I, for one, was not willing to take a Cuban teacher into our school and give her only the old traditional routine of school work, and send her back to say that that represented the educational theories of the United States. It is a firm conviction with me that school life should consist of something more than the mere mastery of subject matter as presented in text-books. We are still ignoring in our schools many of the vital things of life. Most of our common schools, for instance, have little or nothing to do with the industrial arts, manual training, domestic science and art, and proper physical training. It does seem to me that a school that claims to fit young people to live, and yet ignores such matters, is recreant to its duty. But the school that deals with sufficient force with the three R's and the cultural studies, and in addition lays suitable emphasis on physical culture, industrial art, manual training, domestic science and art, painting and drawing,—that school is in some measure living up to the opportunities of this century.

Now, our ideas with regard to these things met with the hearty approval of General Wood and Lieutenant Hanna, so we propose to put these Cuban teachers through this kind of training and instruction,—the kind we believe that the twentieth century school calls for. Thus they will not only have thorough reviews in the elementary branches, but they are to study grammar, history, the elements of algebra and geometry, physics, chemistry and biology, also drawing and painting, and perhaps one or two foreign languages. Then there is the domestic or home science, including cooking, cleaning, and housekeeping in general; sewing, cutting and fitting,—in short, all those things that enter so largely into daily living. In manual training and industrial art come spinning, weaving, basket making, cord work, sloyd, bench work, bent iron work, and possibly typesetting and printing. Then, since they are to be trained to teach, they must have psychology, history of education, school economy, and methods of teaching. The psychology is studied under the direction of a teacher who has done university work in Germany, France, Switzerland and Austria, and who has a fine equipment for carrying on psychological investigations, including such apparatus as the ergograph, dynamometer, æsthesiometer, kymograph, sphygmograph, etc.

On the physical side of school work, the young ladies undergo careful physical examination at the hands of those who have had training in physiology as well as in gymnastics, and special corrective exercises are prescribed where necessary. In connection with their physical culture work they play the various games popular amongst

our young people. This is for amusement as well as for physical development, for we believe that the art of amusement should be fostered in schools as a means of profitably occupying leisure hours. To know how to play intelligently is one of the vital concerns of life. So five Cuban basketball teams are organized, and there is a fine rivalry growing up between them and the Northern girls. To be sure, they have not been accustomed to rugged exercise, and they are somewhat short-winded and weak of muscle; but by dressing and living hygienically, and by exercising and playing under expert supervision, we are sure these Cuban girls will give the Northern girls some very lively contests.

So much for their school work. Now as to the significance of this project.

Dr. Lyman Abbott said last year at this Conference, "If America, in the new path on which she is entering, undertakes to make self-governing communities of the nations that come under her authority, and if she uses that authority, that administration, her appointments, her educational systems, always, constantly and continuously for this one purpose, she will show herself the supreme nation among the nations of the earth." I assure you that the members of our board of management and the faculty, in opening our school to the Cubans, have not been devoid of the sentiment of patriotism and missionary zeal that are breathed throughout this quotation. As the newness of this movement wears off, as the heavy drag of steady work tells on us with the inevitable accompaniment of periods of depression and discouragement, it is only by constantly appealing to this sentiment of patriotism and missionary zeal that we shall be able to bring our enterprise to a cheerful and successful conclusion. We are full of courage and hope, notwithstanding that the tremendous responsibility sometimes appalls us, and the discouragements are occasionally staggering. One of our teachers voiced a sentiment that occasionally takes possession of us when she said one day, in semi-comical despair over plans gone awry, "The people who died for Cuba did not begin to suffer with those who are living for Cuba." There is a whole lot of truth in that, but of one thing I am sure, and that is that she will live as gloriously for Cuba as others have died, and that is true of all who are associated with Mr. Smiley in the work at New Paltz.

Gen. T. J. Morgan was asked to speak the word of welcome to the Cuban teachers.

General MORGAN.—These teachers are all welcome without any expression of that welcome on my part. We are glad they have come to this Conference. The men and women of this Conference are interested in them, interested in those coming from the newest born of republics. They believe that Cuba has a great future before it; that as a free republic, under wise administration, Cuba will make one of the most interesting places in the world, and we congratulate you as teachers that you are to have a hand in making a great and wonderful republic there in that beautiful Pearl of the

Antilles. We congratulate you that you have been permitted to come under the training that Mr. Scudder has outlined. Our best wishes and prayers are with you young ladies.

General Morgan's speech was translated into Spanish by Mrs. Armstrong, of the Normal School, for the benefit of the Cuban ladies who did not understand English.

Mr. Smiley added a word of welcome and told the young ladies that he hoped they would not only learn all that they could, but that they would teach the American pupils some of their ways.

The father of one of the ladies, a Spanish gentleman who had come with them, asked Mrs. Armstrong to express his gratitude for the cordial reception that his countrywomen had received, and to say that it was another tie added to the bonds of gratitude that bind Cuba to the United States.

Miss Hortensia Diaz, one of the young teachers, stepped forward and said, "All the Cuban girls have asked me to express their most sincere thanks for the kind welcome you have given them."

The teachers then withdrew, and the proceedings of the Conference were resumed. The first address was by Rev. A. F. Beard.

EDUCATION IN PORTO RICO.

BY REV. A. F. BEARD, D.D., SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

I am asked to speak about Cuba's little sister, Porto Rico. Porto Rico is a part of our national family now, and it is right that we should take a little time for her consideration.

Porto Rico is not as large as Cuba, of which we have just heard, but has nearly the same number of people. In the way of missionary service I have visited Porto Rico three times. I studied it somewhat thoroughly after it came into our possession. I saw it once again under our military government, and I made my third visit a little more than a half year ago, after it had come under civil government. With some special facilities to investigate its conditions and its institutions, I think I can bring to you something more than impressions. I am well aware that impressions are not facts.

In these several visits I have seen changes in Porto Rico. There are some things there which never change. One, for example, is the scenery. This reminds one of Dr. Watt's idea of heaven, "Where everlasting spring abides and never-fading flowers." But with all its beauty, Porto Rico has not the scenery of Mohonk. You cannot look out as we do now and see the glory which the world is putting on over these mountains with the wonderful autumn foliage, nor will you rejoice in the glorious opening springtime. No poet in Porto Rico has ever written for a prize on the "beautiful spring," nor has any one celebrated its "beautiful snow." As there are no changes in the appearance of the landscape, so there is no change in the

climate. The climate, like the scenery, is everlasting. The mercury ranges at an average from seventy to eighty degrees. Once, when it scaled sixty-eight degrees, the newspapers called it the "remarkable cold wave."

In such a country as this, and in such a climate of perpetual summer, there is little call for the vigor of the people. You will therefore not expect to find a sturdy or pushing race, nor will you expect to see marked changes among such a people within a short time; no, nor great changes even in a long time. You will not expect to find this people with ideas which they have held for four hundred years changing their ingrained habits rapidly, or, perhaps, visibly. The changes, except those which are imported, will come very slowly. It is not easy to efface an original stamp. For example, Boston has become an Irish city in these latter days, but all Ireland might be poured into Boston and it would not be Cork; it would still be Boston. Philadelphia has lost some of its Quaker ways, and is not following William Penn altogether lately; but, after all, when you get way down to the bottom of it, Philadelphia is a Quaker city, and always will be. New York is not supposed to have any character at present; but the old original Dutch stamp remains upon New York, and immigrations do not efface it. We have an illustration of this in the Dutch descent of the President of the United States to-day. We shall not easily change these Porto Rico people, except in outward seeming. You may take a silver coin with the American eagle upon it, and by constant use through the years make it a simple silver token with no eagle remaining, and yet if you will take that worn and smooth silver token and put it under an intense heat, just before it will come to the melting point you will find that the American eagle is there all right, and the original stamp will be in full view. We know perfectly well that where the die strikes it hits every particle, and that the die strikes way through. So it is with people and their ways. Hence, I say, we need not expect great changes in the people of Porto Rico within this generation. Those now living will doubtless live on in about the same ways, and mainly with the same qualities.

How do they live? Not well. Out of a million people, eight hundred and fifty thousand, at least, can neither read nor write. In the cities the masses are crowded together in a fearful condition, and with all that may be done for them, thousands will continue to live more like animals than like civilized people. When we get out into the rural districts among the great majority of the people, we find them living in shacks not worth ten dollars apiece, without what we should call the bare necessities of life; women sitting upon the floor idling their vacant hours away, or cultivating their little patches of garden about their doors. There, with the mother in absolute ignorance of what life means, and the father as ignorant, they are rearing their large families.

When you come into the larger life of people who are better off, life is better; but in the homes of wealthy families you will seldom see a book. Indeed, people who live in tropical countries are not likely to be a book people. An open-air people are not a reading

people. Our winter times, when we are shut in, make for our reading habit. Therefore, we may not expect very soon a literary or reading habit among the people of Porto Rico. It must all be acquired, and with the climate against it.

When General Henry went to Porto Rico the people were in this deplorable condition. During his administration General Eaton went down on his educational errand, and he found an educational chaos. In fact, it was worse than chaos. He had the débris of centuries to clear away before he got down to chaos. But with wisdom and his large experience he laid the foundation of a modern system of public instruction there. The very able Commissioner of Public Education, Doctor Brumbaugh,—formerly Professor of Pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania,—is developing the educational work of the island, until there appears a splendid beginning of an excellent public school system in Porto Rico.

When I traversed the island for the first time, as far as I could learn there was but one schoolhouse in the whole island erected for school purposes. Now worthy schoolhouses are being erected in many places. Then in schoolrooms there were seldom any appointments for school work. The pupils were without text-books. The teacher taught largely by rote, and the pupils memorized and recited like parrots. In one of the most advanced schools I found a map of North America. Asking a pupil to locate New York, it was pointed out in Alaska. As I live in New York, I was glad that the pupil had made a mistake. I would not care to have New York in Alaska.

Our hope for Porto Rico is not to be in the present generation. It is in the coming generations and in their education. Those who are coming forward are to answer the questions of Porto Rico's future. I hope I have not spoken discouragingly, for I rejoice in the possibilities there. Our Government has made no mistakes in its dealing with Porto Rico. We have nothing to be sorry over. We have no ground to retrace. The island has been wisely governed in every direction.

When Governor Allen as Civil Governor took charge of the island he had a great problem before him in the transition from a military to a civil government. He met it splendidly. It was a difficult task to make those people believe that a government could be just and equal and honest; that it could not be bribed; that it was sure, and could be relied on; and those who had their own axes to grind tried their methods of complaint and machinery, but without avail. With Governor Allen and Treasurer Hollander civil government was established, which I believe now has the confidence of the people of Porto Rico. When Governor Allen left the island, the people of San Juan honored him by changing the name of one of its principal streets, and calling it "Calle Allen."

The island now is in the way of a new development, but we must remember that the great majority of the people of this island are undeveloped, ignorant and superstitious, and that it must be time that will work the desired changes.

In addition to the public school system now being successfully in-

troduced, the Christian denominations, with perfect harmony and co-operation, have entered upon their specific missions. Several denominations have established distinctively Christian schools, as well as churches. In the two missionary schools, one at Santurce and one at Lares, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, I could call out some young people who two years ago had never seen a Bible, who can now recite more verses from the Bible than most of the children of the families represented here would be likely to do; and this is true of all the missionary schools in Porto Rico. We find that many are ready for something better than they have had in the way of Christian faith. As to government, I believe that Porto Rico is on the way to a political prosperity wholly new to its people, and I also believe that the people will be found hospitable toward a true Christian faith, which alone can insure their permanent security and happiness.

The platform was presented by Dr. Lyman Abbott, chairman of the Business Committee. For convenience of reference it is printed as adopted on page v.

President W. F. Slocum, of Colorado, seconded the motion to adopt the platform.

President W. F. SLOCUM.—I take great pleasure in moving the adoption of these resolutions. Since coming here there has grown upon me during the hours of this Conference the feeling that it is perhaps one of the most important that has been held in this place. Certainly no other has impressed me so strongly as this one, partly because of the seriousness of the problems that confront us, and also because we have looked into the heart of certain questions as perhaps never before. I am sure that none of us can have listened to the addresses that have been given without feeling that in reference to the Indian question we have discovered not only the secret of the success that has been achieved, but that we have also discovered the ground of failure at certain points. When Mr. Smiley said yesterday that the time had come for the banishment of the reservation and the reservation idea, it seemed to me that with that peculiar insight which he has in regard to all these matters, he had reached the point which needs to be maintained for the sake of the larger solution of our problems. One of the most significant facts that has appeared in the study of penology and the charitable movements, is a principle that was recognized in the State of New York by perhaps the most remarkable investigation ever carried on for the purpose of discovering the cause of pauperism. When Mr. Dugdale issued the book concerning the Dukes, the results of the examination of between seven and eight hundred cases of pauperism and crime, he drew this conclusion, which has been accepted by every student of charity and crime ever since, that pauperism is a more dangerous condition than criminality. In other words, there is more hope for the criminal than for the pauper. There would be more hope to-day for the regeneration of a blanket Indian if he were a thief than if he were a pauper. Our policy has been one which

has thrust our red brother into a condition where the odds have been strongly against him, and the marvel is that with our schools and Christian missions we have been able to accomplish so much in spite of the violation of one of the most fundamental principles in all philanthropy. I think that is the most startling fact that we have to deal with, and this Conference up here on the hilltop, independent of any political influence, has discovered the fundamental fact in regard to our Indian question. With the acceptance of that discovery made by Mr. Dugdale, that pauperism is more dangerous than criminality, we shall be able to go forward into larger conceptions of our work. We support the position of Mr. Smiley, wishing the reservation to go; and this hope is also expressed by one of the members of an Indian tribe here, who says that the only hope of his race is in the abolition of the reservation.

I was much impressed, as you all were, by the suggestion made by Mr. Daniel Smiley. I think it is very well for us at times to plan our movements out of humility rather than from our pride. As we go forward into the larger field, are we to profit by the lesson from the failures of the past? I am sure our souls were wrung as we heard the remarkable paper telling us of the condition of things in the Hawaiian Islands, and the failure that has come there in the handling of the native races. We have witnessed the failure that has come to a certain extent because of the wrong principles enunciated with regard to our American Indians. . . . It is a significant thing, as we turn back to the history of the education of our Negro, that there had to be raised up a man from the colored race itself—a new Washington—to show us what the education of the Negro really involves. We should not be too proud of our achievements. If out of our successes and our failures we can learn the lesson that is thrust upon us for the future, we shall do our work vastly better than if we applaud ourselves and say, “We are so good and so successful that failure never has come to us.”

Now, the fact is that we are facing one of the most stupendous opportunities as well as one of the most serious conditions that ever confronted an earnest people. Here are these millions of people in the far-off islands of the Pacific. What are we going to do with them? As we listened to that memorable address by Dr. Abbott I said to myself, “Almost thou persuadest me to be an imperialist.” Certainly if we can catch that larger vision of my good friend, if we can lift our thought to the conception that these people are put in our hands by a destiny above us for some great and good purpose, then whether we be imperialists or not, we can stand shoulder to shoulder, listening and giving heed to the strongest appeal that has ever come to an earnest, thoughtful people. What are we to do then with our Filipinos? Surely we must educate them. But do you understand what a complicated problem you have before you there? I think it is well for us and those who criticise this movement to realize that we are dealing with human souls possessed with moral and intellectual and religious capacities. I was very much struck in Washington in a conference in regard to certain conditions of the Filipinos, to hear one of the officers who had been in com-

mand at the Philippines say to another gentlemen from there, "Did you ever notice that every squash and pumpkin and melon raised in the Philippines tastes exactly alike?" The officer observed that that was a scientific conclusion. I can but feel that that represents the moral condition in the Philippines. My wife's sister, who has been there for three years, said to me the other day, that when she was forced to leave Manila with the wives of other officers on account of the dangerous conditions existing there, she left her washing in the hands of her laundry woman. She had to hurry away so fast that she was not able to take it to Japan with her. After nine months she returned to Manila, and one of the first smiling faces that greeted her was this laundry woman, who returned all her linen washed and ironed and in excellent condition. This poor woman was delighted that she could safely return it, and my sister was delighted to find one whom she could trust so well. I have thought a great many times of the faithfulness of that Filipino washer-woman holding for nine months, in all that turmoil and trouble, the washing of the wife of an American officer. On the other hand, my sister's coachman took the opportunity to take her purse and disappear. I think that represents the conditions there,—the tangling up of the moral conditions. Can you wonder at it? Do you wonder that under the oppression of the Spaniard all moral and intellectual matters should be tangled up? But it is our business to straighten them out. It is our business to teach them what morality means, what a true education really is. We must master that difficulty just as Dr. Abbott said, by rising to the occasion and praying God that our shoulders shall be broad enough to bear the burden that the Almighty seems to have placed upon them.

There is one other thing that should give us encouragement. We have discovered that we have made mistakes. Let us profit by them. We are ready, I believe, as never before to take up our burden. I heard some one quote here that passage, "Possess your souls in patience." That is a wrong interpretation of a beautiful passage. The real translation of the Greek is, "In your patience win your souls." The Master was looking into the faces of his disciples before they went out to their work, and instead of telling them to win other men's souls, he told them to win their own souls. He had just told them of the destruction of their nation and city and temple. In the midst of that, in the midst of all these troubles and the difficulties which they involved, they were to win their souls. To our American people has come a stupendous problem. The God of nations has put into our keeping the doing of that which may be not only for the saving of the Filipino, but for the development of the moral, political and social advancement of our nation and of us as individuals.

One other sign of encouragement has come: I am sure that there never was a time in the history of our country when we had such a number of earnest people who will stand by civil service as there are to-day. We have a man independent of political promises, a man of high ideals, who has come under peculiar conditions to occupy the chair of the chief Executive of the nation. He is saying

to himself, he is saying to all of us: "If I know my own heart I will not make any appointment for a political reason. I will make it for merit only." He means it. But he has on hand one of the most difficult battles that ever came to an earnest man, and he will be defeated if the good people of America do not rise up as one man and stand by him; not because he belongs to this or that party, but because as an earnest man he is trying to win the battle not only for our American nation but for all that pertains to the Indians, to the Filipinos, to the Hawaiians, to every one of those dependent races. The door is open. It is a far-reaching opportunity, and if from the seriousness of this meeting there comes the determination on our part that we will stand by the President just so far as he maintains that policy, we shall find that this meeting has brought to pass one of the best things ever accomplished in the history of this Conference.

Mr. D. W. McWILLIAMS, Brooklyn.—I very heartily second the motion to adopt the platform offered by the Business Committee. That platform has the right ring; the Mohonk platform always has. I do not look upon Lake Mohonk as a mere hotel. I look upon it, and have for two decades and a half, as a great educational institution. Its influence is felt in the political, social and Christian life of America, and it has its influence beyond the sea. That platform was framed by experienced men of heart and brain.

This thought comes to me in regard to the necessity for patience in dealing with these subject nations. Fifteen or twenty years ago Rev. Dr. Jessup was delivering a missionary address in Dr. Cuyler's church in Brooklyn when a man asked, "How long will it take to convert the Mohammedans?" Dr. Jessup looked down from the pulpit to the inquirer and asked, "How long has it taken to Christianize the Anglo-Saxon race?" Let us reflect upon that aspect of the case while we are studying these interesting questions, and as we are passing from the scene of action without seeing these great questions solved, let us train our boys and girls, the young men and women of our schools, churches and Sabbath schools to help solve these problems which God has laid upon the heart of the people of the twentieth century. Very heartily I second the motion to adopt the resolution.

After a little discussion between Mr. Joshua W. Davis, Dr. Abbott, Mr. Hamilton and the Chair on the wording of the platform with reference to law for the Indians and treasury payments, the platform was unanimously adopted.

A paper on education in the Philippines was read by Gen. John Eaton.

EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY GEN. JOHN EATON.

The army in extending its operations began to illustrate the United States' interest in education. Facts about what had been done were ascertained. Under Spanish rule education was mostly on paper. A population variously estimated from six million to twelve million in the archipelago was found with the usual proportion of youth requiring education, numbering not less than a million and a half of souls. These were of different races, and spoke a variety of languages or dialects, and, aside from a general prevalence of Spanish authority, were subject to a variety of local laws or regulations of their own. Their different customs present a curious study,—from the extremes of savagery to the prevalence of Spanish notions of civilization in all that constitutes social conditions, including industry, commerce, social intercourse, education and religion. The religion of the Spanish type was Roman Catholic, Mohammedan and pagan. The ministrations of religion were by members of the religious orders,—Augustinians and barefoot Augustinians claiming over three million under their direction, the Franciscans over a million under their order, and the Jesuits and Dominicans about nine hundred thousand, and the secular clergy about nine hundred and fifty thousand under their ministrations. The Spanish administration was substantially in the hands of these orders and priests, who acquired great wealth in lands and in deposits in the banks of Europe. They carried things with a high hand, with great selfishness, and by the most corrupt methods, which won for them the hatred of the people. The spirit of Christ was everywhere a stranger. The army is not organized for the promotion of piety, yet battalions had hardly taken possession of Manila when the altruistic Christian spirit began to manifest itself. Christian officers began to see what could be done to remedy this condition among the people in spite of the evils, disorders and intemperance of the vicious element in and around the soldiery. All saw that education was the one need. Reports were called for. Our officers found a semblance of a system of instruction. To a very limited extent native dialects had been reduced to printed forms, and children taught, but most of the formal instruction attempted was in Spanish. A large number had been taught in the university. Nine colleges of their kind had done their work, with over eight thousand students in attendance in 1895 and 1896. Beside these colleges there were ninety-seven private Latin schools. For a considerable period over four thousand had annually been matriculated at the university and the colleges for secondary instruction. There were normal schools,—male and female,—a school of arts and trades, with a department for apprentices; school for mechanics, engineers, electricians, for masters of works; a school for agriculture, for painting and sculpture, for the training of pilots, and a military academy. The law also

provided for elementary instruction for the seven millions of people 1,342 male and an equal number of female teachers; but, in fact, poor as they were, only 923 female and 991 male teachers could be found, and some of these only on paper; or only one teacher to over four hundred individuals. Text-books were the poorest. The course was under the control of the Spanish church; its doctrine, history and catechism,—these subjects were taught even before reading. The form instead of the substance—sham prevailed. Commanders of the army, as they extended their authority over the islands, took account of what had been previously attempted in education, leaving out what had related to the church, and began to set the little machinery in motion, and as far as possible to provide for the teaching of English. The interest shown in these efforts was among the first and emphatic evidences of a possibility of establishing government. Parents were interested in their children, and their children were happy in school, and parents were not in the insurgent army. Officers were detailed for the care of schools. Frederick W. Atkinson was in charge at Manila. As schools were opened, scholars applied with eagerness for admission. There was zeal in trying to learn English. Many an American soldier turned teacher. Thus, under the army more was done in a short time for the instruction of a larger number of pupils than had ever been done under Spain. Credit should be given our several missionary Boards for their efforts to establish schools and churches. In the organization of some of our troops the chaplaincy was overlooked. This deficiency was especially supplied by Miss Helen M. Gould. The Y. M. C. A. was especially active in supplying moral aids both to the army and the people.

September 1, 1900, Mr. F. W. Atkinson, teacher of the high school, Springfield, Mass., became general superintendent. The Philippine Commission, in assuming control of education, passed a comprehensive act regulating the entire education of the archipelago. At once he took control of what the army had accomplished. What there was in the way of buildings—old barracks and other quarters, books, etc.—was turned over to him. All possible information was gathered. Every school organized proved a power for peace. It controlled so many children, interested so many mothers, and so many fathers were set against war. It operated as do schools among our Indians. The archipelago was divided into eighteen divisions, in each of which the population ranged from sixty-six thousand to five hundred and fifty thousand, and each was put under an American assistant superintendent. Five of these assistants were selected from our Indian service. There was small reason for keeping up the native tongues, and they were dropped. The Spanish required only limited attention. The people wanted English, and it was everywhere taught.

Teachers of English were drawn from America and from the soldiery. Books and other supplies were ordered in large quantities. Teachers' meetings began to be held. Normal schools were

set in motion. The preparation of native teachers in American methods was urged. Whatever there had been,—the university, the college, the special school, etc.,—that was of special value was set in motion on the American plan with American methods and the American spirit. The raising of money required a revision of taxation,—an adjustment more in accordance with American ideas. In a short time, quietly, a vast American free common-school system began to operate. The school-master was abroad as never before. There had been no plan for vacations, and these were now arranged for. There had been no silent study, but a grand confusion while the school was in session. Silent study was established. Houses and books and appliances were supplied. Before May activity on an enormous scale had commenced. Hundreds and hundreds of teachers were teaching English when Mr. Atkinson made the report before us, and in July an entire ship-board of American teachers was taken out. Everybody is too busy to report. Nearly every university, college and normal school in America has its representative in the Philippine schools. It is unsafe to give figures. There is nothing like it, to be sure, in human history.

The following report was also submitted by General Eaton.

EDUCATION IN ALASKA.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Jackson is not here to report in person on this important subject. Dr. Harris, the Commissioner of Education, says the Bureau has maintained 25 public schools with 31 teachers and 1,681 pupils, besides paying the salaries of 5 teachers in the Sitka industrial schools, where 151 pupils are taught. In 1900 many natives perished from pneumonia, and the Secretary of the Interior made use of the cutter Bear to give out provisions to save starvation. At Port Clarence many of the children whose parents had died were gathered in an orphanage by the teachers. Schools in Alaska for the natives were sustained by direct appropriation by Congress, as among our Indian tribes. This appropriation was stricken out by the last Congress. This would have left the region destitute of schools had not Dr. Jackson, by great and persistent effort, secured provision in one of the last hours of the session that "hereafter, 50 per cent of all licenses paid for business carried on outside of incorporated towns in the district of Alaska may be expended for education, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior." This had been previously done for incorporated towns. Thus, schools were saved for the natives. Certain of these towns, Sitka, Juneau, Douglas and Wrangel, have local committees to advise and direct in regard to their schools. The industrial education of the natives in the management of the reindeer has gone forward with increasing approval. The reindeer have already in-

creased to about four thousand, two thousand of them belonging to mission stations, and 1,381 being in the care of twenty-two Eskimo apprentices. Lieutenant E. B. Bertholf, who had become greatly interested in this introduction of reindeer in Alaska, and was sent through Siberia to Okhotsk Sea to collect information and purchase deer, reports that he has landed in Alaska 254 deer of a larger kind.

The Chair introduced Miss Constance G. Du Bois as a lady specially interested in the Mission Indians of California.

Miss Du Bois.—This last summer I visited the Indians living in the remote reservations far beyond the tourists' line of travel. The crying need among these Indians is not unknown to the Government. A special recommendation was sent a few years ago to the Indian office in order that there might be additional land secured for them in the Campo region. These little Indian places are very different from those that lie nearer the white man's land down on the Orange belt quarter. Very few reservations are adequate to the support of the Indians. If the Indians had no opportunity of going away to work I do not know of any which would be adequate. Some of the best reservations had but twenty-five arable acres. People who visit Southern California cannot understand the conditions in the back country in the summer time. There is no rain for six months, and streams are all dry. As we took our camping tour we had always to inquire carefully in advance where we could get water for ourselves and horses. The Indians had no irrigation. I have seen a patch of three or four acres with stagnant water with wigglers in it, and that was all they had. I wish to impress upon the attention of this Conference the conditions of the Indians of San Felipe. They are a small number, between thirty and forty. They, too, are threatened with eviction,—the case is not actually decided. It is pending, but with the Hot Springs decision as a precedent it is likely to be adverse. If ordered off, where can they go? They are on the eastern slope of the mountains looking toward the desert. There is very little water, which loses itself in a bog. They have some goats, and they eat the kernels of the wild cherry stones. All the Indians in these remote regions have to eke out their scanty harvests with Manzanita berries and acorns, boiled grass, or anything that can fill the stomach. At Manzanita there are fifty-three Indians on barren hills where there are five or six arable acres. At another reservation there are forty or forty-five acres, twenty of which can be cultivated, but without water for irrigation and little for drinking. They can raise only a little grain. Congress means to do something for the Hot Spring Indians. If Congress has to buy land for them, it would be wise economy to make adequate purchase so as to make provision for the Indians of San Felipe and others as well. If the amount of land were sufficient it would invite an overflow from those desert

places, and it would settle the whole question. The Government has shown its generous interest in these California Indians by making an appropriation for a new school for them at Riverside, showing that it is anxious to uplift them; but should not the Indians in the remote places feel the uplift too? I would rather see them starve on their barren acres than reduced to pauperism. I have seen old Indians lying dying on the ground, with their head on a stone, ragged, absolutely without provision, and yet the young Indians were not responsible. The young are miles away from home getting what work they can. I have seen them along the irrigating ditches, but it is only temporary work, and most degrading from its associations with white men's saloons. It is only a makeshift condition. The white man's civilization is presented to them in its worst form. The people of San Diego were amazed at the conditions there which I crossed the continent to tell them about. I think an adequate measure might be carried through the next session of Congress. I have traveled several hundred miles in a wagon to get a business scheme that might be presented, and if the members of Congress want the best proposition I am ready to give it.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY.—I am glad to hear Miss Du Bois' full statement in regard to the destitute condition of the Mission Indians at Warner's Ranch. This beautiful tract of land has, undoubtedly, been held by the Indians from time immemorial, and, as has been fully proved, is their rightful possession. When the Mexican Government transferred California to us the merciful provision was introduced into the treaty that all Indians should forever hold the lands then occupied by them unless they voluntarily left them.

You may recall that about twenty years ago Helen Hunt Jackson was sent out by the Government to look into the condition of the Mission Indians of Southern California. She sent in her report, calling attention to the need of immediate action, to prevent the Indians being driven away by grasping white settlers, and to secure these lands permanently for them.

Soon after she and Senator Dawes met and framed a Congressional bill creating a commission with ample powers to secure the land while it could be had. Ten years afterward practically the same bill passed Congress, giving authority to the President to appoint a commission of three, with full powers, to obtain all available land to be held inalienable for twenty-five years. I was chairman of that commission, and we labored for two years, and secured all the desirable land we could obtain for the Indians. We found they had been forcibly driven out by unprincipled whites from the land they had formerly occupied, and thus lost their possessory right. The owner of Warner's ranch was at that time trying to eject the Indians from his property. His own attorney joined with us in an unsuccessful effort to give the Indians a clear title to the land rightfully theirs. He and his heirs continued their efforts for ten years before the courts to eject the Indians, but,

notwithstanding that thousands of dollars have been expended by private individuals to obtain justice in the Indians' defense, quite recently the highest court has decided against them. By this decision many hundreds of defenseless Indians are liable at any moment to be suddenly removed from their beautiful farms, their well-built houses and the graves of their ancestors, with no place provided for them.

It is imperatively necessary that Congress, which is soon to assemble, should, with its customary liberality to the Indians, make sufficient appropriation to secure homes for these worthy and homeless Indians. There are one or two other small bands of Indians which may need similar help.

Great mistakes have been made heretofore in dealing with the Indian. The giving of rations, clothing and farming utensils to Indians who have proper means of earning them destroys their independence, and tends to pauperism. The Indian in competition with the white man needs to have a knowledge of the English language, an elementary education and some industrial training, and should then be thrown upon his own resources like the white man. He may need some care to set him in the right direction, but should mainly depend upon his own industry and skill to make himself a useful citizen.

Exceptions to the above treatment would have to be made in the case of those Indians who have been removed to barren lands, where it is next to impossible to earn an honest living; but wherever Indians live in sections where they can earn proper wages and will not avail themselves of it, they should not be assisted. The distribution of money arising from the sale of Indian lands works infinite harm to the Indians. I wish Senator Dawes's wise plan could be adopted,—to divert this money into a permanent fund, the interest of which might be used for their industrial training and general education.

I hope the time will soon come when reservations and the Indian Bureau will be abolished, and the whole Indian population become a part of our general civilization.

Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK, Boston.—I have been greatly interested in all that I have heard, and I want to express my delight in this meeting and in our hospitable temporary home. This is the first year that other duties have allowed me to attend a Mohonk Conference, and though I have heard very much about Lake Mohonk, the half has never been told. It satisfies every expectation. Like the Taj Mahal, it leaves nothing to be desired.

It seems to me that there is one fundamental thing to be considered in our dealings with the dependent races, and that is the attitude of the average Anglo-Saxon toward those whom he considers his inferiors.

The attitude of the white race everywhere is to look down upon those of a different color. I have been very much impressed by

this in the Orient. My blood boiled often in China as I have seen burly Englishmen elbowing others off the sidewalk, though those others were the natives of the land and had the best right to the sidewalk. And the same spirit is manifest in South Africa, where unusual restrictions are put upon the Zulus, who are not allowed to be out without a pass after eight o'clock at night or to walk upon the sidewalks, while their lords and masters take the best part of the earth. These things indicate a wrong spirit and attitude on the part of the ruling races, and I can say these things though I am a great admirer of the Anglo-Saxon colonial methods, and think it has done magnificently in India and Egypt and many other countries.

And so it is with us in many parts of our own country. All these horrid outrages and tortures at the stake of our black fellow-citizens would never occur if the attitude were different. The trouble goes a long way back, but just such conferences as this, where our consciences are quickened, will have much to do with changing this state of affairs.

Let me give you one illustration of the prevailing attitude of the white races toward those they regard as inferiors. I remember when in Shanghai a year ago, I had just come back from a journey up the Ningpo River and had come on deck early. The steamer tied up and the passengers rushed ashore, and the hackmen—Chinese coolies—were of course importunate and desirous for a fare for their jinrikishas; I saw one poor man who, in his eagerness and haste, crossed by a very little the line which jinrikisha men were forbidden by the police to cross. He went over it a few feet or inches, but not more. He was a poor fellow, possibly with a starving family at home. A French policeman came along, cuffed him, pushed him the other side of the line, then knocked him down and broke his jinrikisha into kindling wood, kicked the man again, and went off laughing at the poor fellow.

Such things have been taking place almost every day for fifty years in the Orient, and I do not wonder that this trouble has come in China and that the Boxers said in their mad despair, "We must rise and sweep these foreigners from our shores, and drive them into the ocean!"

We have that trouble to fear in our new possessions unless we hold a different attitude. We must see to it that they are to be governed by just laws, and that the people who go to administer them shall have a kindly and generous spirit; that they shall not assume a hostile and supercilious attitude, but that they shall remember that they are sons and daughters of our common Father in heaven, and that we are all brothers and sisters of a common earthly heritage and a common future home.

Mr. HOWARD M. JENKINS, Philadelphia.—It is a great relief to the mind of anyone who thinks as I do, and feels as I do, to listen to the testimony of Dr. Clark. When we were favored to hear

those beautiful and generous sentiments, so well phrased as they were, in the address of Dr. Lyman Abbott, and the same in our platform, adopted this morning, one could only hope—without the confidence we should like to feel—that they are intended to be, and that in very fact they will be, carried out; that we shall not keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope. As we sat here this morning and General Morgan said those fine words of welcome to those young Cuban women, it must have occurred to the minds of many, I should think, that there was not one particle of certainty that any assurance which he could give them regarding the future of their beautiful island—their cherished plans for a republic, their condition under a government of their own choosing—would ever be realized. All that we can do is to trust that such beautiful expressions of hopeful anticipations for our “dependencies” and our “possessions” may retain their beauty in form and in fact. And in my judgment not only one of the most important contributions to that result, but absolutely the essential feature of it, is what Dr. Clark has said, that in the approach which we make to those people who have come fortunately, or unfortunately under our control, we shall make it in the manner which he described. In no other way can we succeed.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 18.

After the singing of a hymn by Mr. Frank Wright, the last session of the Conference was called to order at eight o'clock.

President GATES.—In the words and the music of the beautiful Christian song to which we have just listened, fraught as they are with tender feeling, there is nothing incongruous with the practical aims and the careful discussions of our Conference. On the contrary, we cannot see our work in its true light unless we look upon our efforts for the less favored races in the heavenly light of that uplifting hope which has traversed the world since the "Light of the World" was lifted up on Calvary. It is only in the light of his teaching that the brotherhood of men and the blessed fellowship of unselfish service have begun to be revealed to the nations,—have taken captive the heart and life of his chosen servants, the world's truest benefactors in all the ages.

In one of those moments of unexpected and delightful interchange of thought about the highest and best objects, which, coming suddenly to us in flashes of social intercourse here, are a chief charm of these Conferences, a friend who has done loving work of investigation in the history of Christian missionary effort was speaking with me to-day of the glorious impressiveness of the great fact that there had been no dark ages and no dark century in the history of the Church of Christ, no period in which the true missionary spirit had not lightened the gloom. There is an unbroken succession, truly apostolic, of Christian hearts mightily moved by the love of Christ to seek and to save. From the time when the light of the Sun of Righteousness, flashing into the life of Paul, blinded him to all other sights save the compelling love of Christ, and filling his heart with flaming zeal to make known the truth, sent him on his fiery missionary journeys through Asia Minor and to Greece and Italy, down through the centuries to our own day there has been a succession of true missionary apostles,—men sent with uplifting tidings of love from the King of kings. And among the figures which have been commanding in their influence over these Conferences, we miss this year one who was perhaps the most striking personality connected with Christian work for the Indians—our beloved and useful colleague upon the Board of Indian Commissioners, and in England the best-known of the American house of bishops, the Rt. Rev. Henry B. Whipple, D.D., Bishop of Minnesota. Who can read the account of his early journeys through the wilderness of the Northwest, when, with

the Herculean strength, the irrepressible vigor of his early manhood, his sinewy stride wearied even the native guides who took him through winter snows and summer heats, by toilsome trail, or in birchen canoe, with frequent portage from streamlet to little lake, among the tributaries of the Mississippi,—who can read the record of his early and of his later life, of his courageous, outspoken championship of the rights of the Indians, to whom he so tenderly preached the Gospel of Peace, without feeling that the missionary spirit of the apostles has survived to our own time, in our American apostles to these “people of the wandering eye and the restless foot”? The circle of our friends in this Conference has grown to be so large that we cannot take the time to speak at our public sessions of all those whom we miss, with whom we have had fellowship here, who have been called from the lower to the higher service from year to year. But the early, the prolonged and the signally effective service rendered by Bishop Whipple to the cause we have at heart, makes it eminently fitting that we should pause at the beginning of this session to give expression to our tribute of love and affection while we remember this man of God. General Whittlesey, for many years the friend and associate of Bishop Whipple in his efforts for the Indians at Washington, has been asked to prepare a minute for our record, which he will now present.

Gen. E. Whittlesey was invited to read the minute which had been prepared in memory of Bishop Whipple. It was as follows:—

The Mohonk Conference records its profound grief and its sense of irreparable loss in the death of Rt. Rev. Henry B. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota. He was often with us, and his presence was always a benediction. His forty years' missionary labors for the Indians; his quick grasp of their wretched condition; his sagacious practical work for their relief,—fitted him to speak with authority upon Indian affairs; and such was his courage that no opposition or threat of violence could thwart or daunt him. He was one of the heroes of our age, and in his breadth of mind and grasp of principles he was also a statesman of no mean ability. He gained a thorough knowledge of the Indian condition and needs, and he had the wisdom to forecast some of the most important measures of reform which have since been adopted. He opposed, like Monroe, treating with Indians as sovereign nations; he condemned appointment of agents as a reward for political services. Before the Mohonk Conference discussed land in severalty, he demanded for the Indian an individual right to the soil. His memorial in 1862, and his report in 1866, are said to have led to the organization of the Board of Indian Commissioners, as a member of which he rendered much valuable service. His unselfish, enthusiastic devotion to his neglected “red brothers,” as he fondly called them, who had learned to trust him as the man who “talked straight”

and never deceived; and his whole career of toil for the outcast,—give us new proof that the life of service is the noblest life. May others be inspired to follow the example of this noble man of God!

To the bereaved widow, the Mohonk Conference proffers most hearty greetings and sympathy.

General WHITTLESEY.—We all feel a much deeper reverence and love for the good Bishop than could be expressed by a brief minute like this. I am not worthy to pronounce a eulogy upon Bishop Whipple; I can hardly trust myself to speak of him at all. Among the most precious recollections that I cherish is that he honored me by calling me his friend, and that he spoke kindly and even flatteringly of the help I had given him in his work for the Indians. Ah, how little it seems in comparison with his great achievements! He always treated me with the most kindly and affectionate regard. How often in this place, and in Washington, he has told me the marvelous story of his journeyings through winter storms and summer floods, over the vast territory which constituted his diocese among the Indians for whom he labored; stories which, when repeated in this country and in England, aroused the deepest interest in his work. We have certainly great reason to bless God for raising up such men, so great, so good. We are grateful to God for endowing him with such wisdom and with such a Christlike spirit. But he has gone from us. He has seen the beloved Lord in his beauty. He has heard the welcome, "Well done, good and faithful servant." He has received the crown, the unfading crown of righteousness, which was laid up for him on high. But though we see him no more here, his influence will abide, for his works do and will follow.

The PRESIDENT.—Like Bishop Phillips Brooks, Bishop Whipple was too large for one denomination. The whole country loved him. And yet there is an appropriateness in the fact that one who has himself so long rendered distinguished service to that branch of Christ's church with which Bishop Whipple was so long connected should add a tribute to his memory, President Smith, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

President SMITH.—When the President of the Mohonk Conference asked me if I would second the minute that was to be offered to-night in memory of Bishop Whipple, I accepted the honor with gladness. At the same time, I was fully aware of the difficulty of seconding this minute with such a seconding as should be worthy of the minute itself.

Bishop Whipple was among the great and noble men of the nineteenth century. Perhaps among all the illustrious philanthropists who have arisen since the days of Wilberforce, none will rank higher than he. And yet this man did not become a consecrated bishop, an apostle to the Indians, whose praise and glory are in

all the churches, without passing through those experiences which show what stuff a man is made of, and by which he is developed into his higher usefulness.

When Bishop Whipple was appointed to the bishopric of Minnesota, the northwest region of the United States was being flooded with a great rush of immigrants from what was then the West, as well as from the East and from over the sea. These people did not go there for their health altogether, and they found themselves face to face with the Indians, who up to that time had been practically undisturbed. Although missionaries had been among them, and some missions had been established, the Indian was practically the sole occupant of the territory. When the flood of white people came in, there was an inevitable conflict. We know what happens when a body of white men impinges upon a body of Indians; the Indians go down. So it was in this case, although they were unusually numerous; for they had been crowded back from the East, and enticed from the West by the provision of rations by the Government. Then they found themselves face to face with a flood of white men who were crowding them to the wall. By superior cunning, by violence, and one means or another, the whites proceeded to deprive the Indians of what they believed to be their rights.

When Bishop Whipple went to Minnesota he found these white people, to whom he had been sent to minister, and of whom he was to create his church. But he also found the Indians, who were being deprived of the soil on which they lived, and of their rights under the treaties. The question came up, What was he to do? Should he take the part of his own race in the interest of those who had sent him there; or ought he to take the larger view, and stand up for humanity and human rights in the interest of the red man? If he were to build up his church, should it be by falling in with the interests of the white people; or by building on the eternal principles of Truth and Honor and Righteousness to all men, although for the moment it seemed impracticable to include the red man in his scheme?

Now the man felt that, if one was called to be a bishop in the church of God, he was called for no mean purpose; but rather that, seeing clearly, and acting boldly, and intending purely, he might confer lasting benefits upon mankind. So he took the side of the Indian, and threw all his personal influence, and the weight and dignity of his high office, in the scale in behalf of the poor red man, whom all were interested in thrusting out of the land.

The effect upon the people, as it was told me at that time,—for, at that time, I was coming upon the scene of action and expected to go to Minnesota, and so far had the scheme progressed that my tickets were purchased to St. Paul,—the effect upon the people was such that Bishop Whipple presently found arrayed against him the Indian agent (one of the old kind, who received a salary of \$1,500 a year, and laid up \$40,000), the Indian contractors, the

teachers, the people who expected political office on the organization of the State, or at some future time, and the whole body of people who coveted the Indian lands. Those who were otherwise minded felt that he could not stem the tide, and they sat still and gave him no help. Those who were disposed to favor him regarded him as a sentimental enthusiast, and some said he was "a crank." The people living there said it was to be a white man's country, not an Indian's country; that the white man was strong, and the Indians were dying; that he must lay the foundations of his church with the strong white man, and not with the feeble Indian.

Suddeply there came upon us what the older generation here will remember,—the frightful news of the Indian massacre in Minnesota, in 1862. None of us can fail to understand that men whose kindred—brothers, sons, wife, children—had been mercilessly slaughtered by those Indians, in greater numbers than had ever before been known in the history of Indian wars, and with atrocities that cannot be described, must have felt that there was nothing to be done with the Indian but to sweep him from the face of the earth. Men snarled at the bishop when he said that there were Indians and Indians; when he said: "You know the causes of this uprising, and you know that there are Indians who stood by the treaties, and refused to slaughter any whites. Will you destroy the just with the unjust?" And so he went up and down among those people, facing them in their houses, talking to them in the streets, expostulating, pleading, going into the legislative chambers and making long journeys, to stem the tide of vengeance that threatened to sweep away the entire body of Indians, innocent and guilty alike. He went to Washington on his errand of salvation, and there I saw him for the first time. The streets and avenues of the city were seething with that mass of virtue and vice, sin and unselfishness, bravery and cowardice, everything good and everything bad which gathered there in those war days, and which filled the lobbies of the hotels and departments, when the man went there on his mission of mercy. He saw the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,—or the man who represented him,—the Secretary of the Interior, the President, the members of Congress, Senators, all of whom were busy with the affairs of the Civil War, and tried to get a hearing for his protégés. He went to the churches also. I remember the first time I saw him. He preached in the Church of the Epiphany, and instead of going into the pulpit, he went to the desk, and said: "I want to talk to these people instead of preaching to them. I want to tell them the story of the wrongs of the Indians, and see what they will think when they hear it." I remember some of the incidents he cited, and the pathetic telling of them. I recall one where he told how the poor creatures, driven from home and starving, went out on the highways, and picked out of the dirt left by the horses the half-digested grains, gathering them one by one in their hands to take

them home to the squaws and papooses to save their lives. There were some ladies present who found it "as good as a play." They nodded to each other, and smiled. The Bishop saw it, and stopped; and then he told those people that he had not come there to tell a tale to awaken their jaded emotions, or thrill their souls; nor did he wish their applause or their flowers, as if he were an actress. He wanted to tell them a story of human wrong that would bring God's judgment upon field and forest, upon lake and river, upon city and country, all over this favored land, unless God's justice was established, and his people were delivered from wrong. The effect was felt all through that audience. All talked of it when they went away, and after a long struggle in social and official circles he succeeded in getting a treaty for the Chippewas, who had refused the solicitation of the Dakotas, securing to them their lands, their homes and such provision as was necessary at that time of need. Thereafter he was a power to be reckoned with in Indian Affairs.

And so he went on, gathering strength and becoming known throughout the country. About 1869 or 1870 his health failed and he went abroad. He was at Mentone when the admiral of the American squadron came to Villafranca, and hearing that the Bishop was there sent to him an official invitation to come and visit the flagship of the American squadron as the guest of the representative of the United States in those waters. The Bishop was too ill to go, but he sat up in his chair and wrote a four or six page letter, a long and piteous plea, to those naval officers in behalf of the red men, with whom his heart was full, although he was five thousand miles from them. For he always carried them in his heart, and was always pleading their cause at home or abroad.

I have but three minutes left me, and must omit much that I would like to say. In 1897 there was a gathering in London, at the time of the Queen's Jubilee, of Anglican bishops from all parts of the world, and the Queen invited the Apostle to the Indians to a garden party. After the others had made their obeisance to the Queen, they were scattered about the grounds. Two of the bishops were walking up and down talking together, when the personal attendant of the Queen came up behind them, and taking them each by the collar thrust them apart with the words, "Way for the Lord Bishop of Minnesota, whose presence the Queen desires!" It was a tribute paid to the Bishop of Minnesota by the Queen of that great empire,—the greatest empire that ever existed upon earth, and she the most powerful sovereign in the world,—that she should have given that garden party in honor of the Bishop of Minnesota, the Apostle to the Indians, who had touched her womanly, Christian heart by the labors of forty years in their behalf. I think she voiced the sentiment of the whole world, and in honoring him she honored herself. But he has received a higher honor still, the highest that can be paid to mortal man, for now the King of kings has sent for him.

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. Even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

I second the resolution to adopt the minute.

The minute was then unanimously adopted.

Mr. JOSEPH J. JANNEY, Baltimore.—Those of us who attended the Mohonk Conference four years ago will doubtless recall two interesting personages, Rev. Walter C. Roe and his wife, who were with us at that time. We will remember, also, with what pathos, earnestness and womanly eloquence Mrs. Roe presented an appeal for assistance in the erection of what she was pleased to call "a lodge" for the benefit of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians under their mission. Through the leadership of Mr. Smiley, and under the stimulus given the movement by his own liberality, considerably more than \$1,500—the sum asked for—was raised, and the lodge was built. In gratitude for the help received here, Mrs. Roe named it "Mohonk Lodge." Well, "Mohonk Lodge" has been a great success. It has enabled these Cheyenne Indians in Oklahoma not only to pursue their industries, but has provided a channel by which their products can find a profitable market.

I refer to this to-day for two reasons: one, to thank you, in the name of Mrs. Roe, for the help and inspiration she has received from the members of this Conference; and to say, entirely on my own responsibility, that, although "Mohonk Lodge" is a success, it is not beyond the need of help from outside sources, and to suggest to those who have money to spare that "Mohonk Lodge" is a very excellent place to put it.

Another object I have in view in referring to this subject now, is to identify to you the writer of the letter I hold in my hand. It is written by the same lady, Mrs. Mary W. Roe, and I wish to read from it one or two sentences:—

"Mr. Roe and I spent August in the Rockies, and are very much refreshed, and are happy over our work. Its main troubles now are the many deaths from consumption and the coming of the saloon into every part of our Indian country. A letter from a missionary's wife in Anadarko the other day told us that they had twenty saloons in Anadarko, and that the streets were full of reeling men, women and children, several Indian boys from the Riverside School having been carried home drunk. I lay these facts before you, feeling sure that if it is in your power to render us any assistance you will be sure to do it."

When I am confronted with such a statement as that, authentic beyond question; and when I know, as I do know, much more in the same line; and when I go to Buffalo, and visit the Exposition, and spend a half hour in the Indian village, and see the Indian lowered to the level of a dime-museum freak,—I am led to believe

that the present peril to the Indian is not altogether in the ration question or the reservation question, or even in the educational question, but it may be largely in the fact that he is being paraded over the country, clothed in blanket and bears' claws and paint, and exhibited for the entertainment of the idle and the ignorant; and that he is becoming increasingly the victim of the avarice of the rumseller.

I cannot help regretting that our platform makers failed to note the importance of this matter, and I feel that I am somewhat to blame for not having pressed it; yet, after all, perhaps platforms are not the most effective means for accomplishing certain results. May it not be that it is the individual duty of each and every member of this Conference to use all our influence to bring about a more rigid enforcement of the United States prohibitory law, and thus throttle the mercenary wretches who are making money by degrading and ruining the Indian?

President GATES.—No one can look over the reports that come from the field without realizing the terrible evils of liquor selling among the Indians.

Dr. Lucien C. Warner was asked to speak.

Dr. LUCIEN C. WARNER, New York.—It has been my privilege to spend about two weeks in traveling through the Sioux reservation, and I want to speak especially of the Standing Rock Agency, where there are about four thousand Indians. It is a grazing country, where it is impossible to raise any crops. Grain and vegetables do not succeed oftener than once in three years. There is no water outside the river and wells, and the water of the wells is often so mineral that it destroys the grass. If you were to give land in severalty, and fence off the portion next to water, the rest would be worthless. It must be used for grazing in large parcels.

For the Indians to get a living by grazing is not so simple as it might at first appear. I made inquiries as to how much land it would take to keep one cow, and the very best informed men assured me it would take twenty-five acres. With one hundred and sixty acres a man could keep six cows, but if he had to buy wheat and potatoes, and could raise nothing but meat, that would not be enough to support a family; it would hardly support a single person. Most of the Indians have only two or three cows, though some have as many as twenty or thirty. They realize that only by having large herds can they support themselves. There was talk of leasing this land to herders from outside. The plan was to bring in 15,000 cattle from Texas upon this reservation, and to fatten them here for market. It would be an excellent business for the railroads, but what would become of the Indians? If you put ten or fifteen thousand cattle in there they would have to have water, and they would monopolize the streams and sources of water. It would dis-

courage the attempts of the Indians to increase their herds. But it would have another effect more disastrous. It is difficult to tell the ownership of cattle even under the most favorable conditions. Sometimes the owner does not see his cattle for six months. The custom is to round them up and brand them just after calving. Experience shows that if the white men's cattle are among the Indians that the calves get branded a little early, and it is discovered that nearly all the cows that belong to the whites have twins, and those that belong to the Indians have no calves! It is no wonder that the Indian becomes discouraged.

This is the economic problem before the Indians. I am not sure that they will be able to make a living on their land. Perhaps it would be better for them to move; but they enjoy raising horses and cattle, and there is a possibility that they may succeed. If, however, the land is leased they will have to leave. They never could succeed in competition with the whites, and the Government would have to supply rations as long as they remain on this land.

I visited many of the Indians at their own houses, living and sleeping among them, and I want to pay my tribute to the progress they have made in civilization. The proportion of those who attended church and were members of the different churches is as large as that of the average community here in the East. I was surprised and delighted to see the impression that the gospel has made upon them. They were living in comfortable log houses, well dressed, and enjoying many of the comforts of civilization. Few of them speak English, but they read Dakota and sing with spirit and melody in their own tongue. The great problem before them is economic; it is to teach them how to save, how to work, how to be thrifty. These are lessons which they learn very slowly.

Miss COLLINS.—I was delighted to hear what Dr. Warner said, for he knows whereof he speaks. I took him over the reservation myself, and he saw the country there. We passed over a large tract where there is no water. Fifty miles from there we went through another district where there is no water, and I did not hesitate to point out to him what our Indians would suffer if they were shut out from the sources of water when they were trying to raise cattle. Before I came away the chiefs came to me, for they thought I was going straight to the Great Father in Washington, and they wanted to send a message to him, and they said: "Tell him not to hurry us; not to go too fast. They are talking about allotting our lands. We trust you to tell the Great Father that if it is necessary to allot us, just to allot our homes, and leave the great grazing land for us to hold together, where we can graze our cattle in common. Tell him we do not wish to lease any part of our land for several reasons." And one of the wise ones said to me: "One reason is that we fear it will be an entering wedge. We could spare some of it for a few years; but by and by, if we succeed, we shall need the whole reservation, but if the white men

had been using it, it would not be ours then. We would rather have our land for our own cattle."

I want to say a word about the Indian money. What shall we do with the money that belongs to the Indian? I am one of those Christians who believe that to be a true Christian one should be a true lover of his country. I believe that we have made treaties with these Indians, and that we should keep them. This money in the Treasury belongs to the Indians. Our Indians do not ask for money in cash payment, but they do ask that when students return from school they be given cattle, or something to start them in housekeeping. If that is done, and the boy when he comes home has cows given to him, so that he can start a herd, then the whole of Standing Rock Agency will not be too large. It is large, but it is not good for "agricultural farming."

President James M. Taylor, of Vassar College, was invited to speak.

President TAYLOR.—There is only one subject on which I care to say a word to-night. I was struck by a remark made last night by Mr. Sherman in his interesting address, regarding the difficulty in the way of proper reform in many directions which we are pursuing in the Indian work on account of the treaties that have been made by us, or were made by our fathers, with the various Indian tribes. Reference has been made to that subject by one of the speakers this afternoon. I am very sorry to controvert in any way an impression that a treaty should, in all circumstances, be maintained, but I raise this question as a simple, practical question in ethics: Is it always desirable to keep a treaty? I shall not yield to any man or woman here in my reverence for truth, in my abhorrence for untruth, whether on the part of a man or a nation. But it becomes often something more than a simple, abstract question of truth and falsehood when we face an issue of this kind. Statesmanship is not, as it was cynically suggested, the property of dead politicians. Statesmanship consists in adjusting ourselves on principles of truth and honor to present conditions. A statesman is a man who dares to put before a nation a course of conduct in harmony with truth and righteousness which may be unpopular to-day, which may not commend itself to the majority of the people, but which he knows to be for the ultimate good of the nation, and to all concerned with the nation.

I submit this question: If there are treaties with Indian tribes which are standing absolutely in the way of the interests of the Indian, then is it fair, because of the mere abstract love of truth, that we continue to pauperize the Indian, to make less and less a man of him, to threaten him, indeed, with effacement, simply that we may keep a treaty that our fathers made with him?

I do not believe that in any high sense that is truth, nor that in any worthy sense that is righteousness. Our fathers did the best

that they knew how, and in many things, perhaps, they did better than their children will ever do. I am not here to discuss that, but it has seemed to me as I have been trained year after year by the Mohonk Conference, and as I have read history, that the most vital mistake made was the treating with Indian tribes as separate nations. There was the root of all the evils that have sprung up, and that have been so slowly reforming themselves under the lead of the men and women who have given themselves to the cause in the nation and in Congress. If that be true, it becomes us to remedy the defects of those treaties. The great work of Indian reform has been removing conditions forced upon us by those old treaties.

Let me raise that issue again in the light of concrete facts before us in the very State of New York. There are those on this floor who can speak with fuller knowledge than I can, and who have considered this particular question in connection with Governor Roosevelt's Commission; but I have no hesitation in saying that if we should find that by keeping the treaties with the Indians of New York we are bound to maintain a condition that is degrading to the Indian, that is forcing him into pauperism, that is reducing his manhood, that is encouraging social conditions that are vicious in the tribe, and dangerous to the surrounding population, I would break any treaty by whomsoever made, in the interests of truth, righteousness and the welfare of the Indian.

Now, as I said, this is a very unpleasant subject to bring into any discussion, because one is so easily able to say, Why, that is not reverence for truth, and that is not respect for honor. All that you can say is, If you respect honor and truth more than you do the saving of the human soul, then you must have your honor and truth. I would much rather be instrumental in seeming to set aside honor and truth, and helping, thereby, some human soul up to a higher conception of honor and truth.

We must do some straight thinking and straight talking. I am aware that it will be said, O, you will endanger society if you set aside the duty to keep treaties, and it will be the introduction of a new element of danger. If we cannot be fair in this matter, then probably we would better let them alone; but I am not prepared to admit that there are not able and conscientious men, like the Indian Commissioner, who can adjust these matters precisely as fairly if the treaty were set aside, and it is a simple matter of fact that we have been setting them aside. After fifty years of experience we ought to have gained some wisdom to readjust these matters so that they may meet present conditions.

I do not know that there has been a very loud outcry among the American people against the proposition to set aside the treaty made with Great Britain in regard to the canal at Nicaragua or Panama. At least we have been pushing along those issues until we seem to be in the way of getting a new treaty. Is that right or wrong? It is the only way in which we can adjust such matters between nations. When you take the great body of gifts made to the uni-

versities of Great Britain, what comes to pass? When conditions change, then Parliament is asked to meet those changed conditions. For instance, because five hundred years ago a man left money to give a glass of beer to every applicant at St. Cross, shall the bequest be defended when it is found to encourage pauperism and tramps? Parliament says: "Very well, these agreements were made when conditions were very different. To carry out the conditions made with our ancestors would defeat the very purpose of the gift," and Parliament has turned over bequest after bequest, and there is no more conservative body than the English Parliament. It has re-interpreted the conditions, and has put the funds into the hands of the university to administer according to the conditions of to-day, and according to the real meaning of the testator. That, it seems to me, is statesmanship, and honoring the truth in the largest possible sense.

President GATES.—That is straight talk. We have got to face that thing, and to do the honestly best thing for the people who have been our wards.

The remainder of the evening was devoted to speeches of gratitude and appreciation of the hospitality of the brothers Smiley and their wives. The speakers were W. W. Beardshear, President of the Iowa State College; W. H. McElroy, of New York; and Mr. Howard M. Jenkins, who read what purported to be a translation of an old Indian document. A formal resolution of thanks was presented, on behalf of the Business Committee, by Dr. Foster, as follows:—

The Lake Mohonk Indian Conference, at the close of its nineteenth annual gathering, gratefully acknowledges its obligations to its hosts,—Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley and Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley. Through a long succession of beautiful Octobers the favored members of this Conference have been permitted to climb these mountains; to enjoy the generous hospitality of this house; to meet one another in delightful Christian fellowship; to discuss with earnestness, but unfailing kindness of spirit, great philanthropic questions; and to see, as the years have gone, one after another of the aims of the Conference attained, and the measures advocated by it pass into the law of the land. All this we owe to the high purpose and large plans of Mr. A. K. Smiley, heartily seconded by Mrs. Smiley, the gracious lady whose presence at late Conferences is deeply missed, and to Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley, whose attention to the details of this gathering contributes so much to its success.

We recognize that the personality of these friends pervades this Conference, and gives it its character; and if the Conference has, as we believe, accomplished something for the good of the Indian and our land, it is due in large degree to the wise forethought, the self-forgetful effort, the tact and the Christian courage of our hosts.

We are grateful to them, not only for the abundant hospitality they have extended us, but for the opportunity of usefulness they have given us, and for the influences we have here received in the development of our own lives and character.

Rev. Donald S. Mackay, D.D., of New York, seconded the resolution in a few words, and was followed by Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler. Of all these speeches, space has been found only for abstracts of Dr. Mackay's and Dr. Cuyler's.

Dr. DONALD SAGE MACKAY.—This Conference has been to me a wonderful revelation. Everyone, in these days of pampered luxury, enjoys the experience of a new sensation. It was to me a new sensation when we came out of the darkness the other evening, under the gloom and shadow of Sky Top, and saw the sparkling lights upon the lake. "Here," we said, "is a Venice on the top of a hill." When we came to the door and felt the cordial hand-grasp of our host, whom I had never seen, but of whom I had heard so much, his welcome was characteristic of the warmth and cheer of this beautiful spot. Our host is one of the men, all too rarely met with, who knows how to say the right thing in the right way.

Another revelation has come to me with the Conference itself. I did not know, to my shame be it said, that there was still a living issue in the Indian question. I had thought that that question had been solved long ago, and that this Conference was only a kindly way of giving us a happy holiday. Well, we have had the holiday, but with it we have had also a vast amount of information and inspiration in addition. It has all been wonderful to me.

We have heard much of the colonial policy of Great Britain and of France, and some of us have been justly proud of the way in which Great Britain has carried on her vast colonial empire. But when have you ever heard of a nation inaugurating a policy for its new colonies under circumstances such as those which have brought us together to this place, when men of light and leading have been devoting themselves to devising educational, social and economic schemes for furthering the progress of these new colonies that have come under the flag? When, for instance, did you ever hear of Great Britain sending for the Egyptians, to teach and train them in the arts and ways of culture, as we have sent for these young Cuban teachers to be trained in the educational system of America? When, in fact, did you ever hear of any nation holding such a Conference as this, devoting itself to a thoughtful and exhaustive study of the new problems which an enlarging territory has created?

We go back to our homes as friends of the Indian,—some of us, perhaps, to pose as enemies of another kind of Indian in New York City,—with a deeper sense of our duties as citizens, realizing that after all it is on devotion to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose love has blessed this nation so signally in the past, whose presence is the beacon star of our nation's way in the future,—it is

on devotion to him that rests the hope of our nation and the honor of its flag.

It is with great pleasure that I second the resolution.

Dr. THEODORE L. CUYLER.—Good friends, I have been asked to add a few words of parting before we turn our faces homeward, and they must be words of hearty congratulation on the splendid success of this Conference. My deafness has prevented me from drinking in your streams of eloquence, but my very much better half has quick ears to hear, and she has told me that your speeches have been a perpetual feast, and that all the proceedings have been on the highest plane of effectiveness and usefulness. If I have not ears to hear, I have eyes to see the noble company of men and honorable women, not a few, who have been gathered during these few days. Let me tell you what a source of sorrow it has been to have come here and missed two of the most conspicuous figures that have been in times past the joy and glory of your Conference. I had hoped to look into the honest face and grasp the honest hand of Massachusetts' grand old Christian statesman,—Henry L. Dawes, Thank God the grand old man is with us in spirit. Let us hope that we may hear him in meetings yet to come.

And that other most conspicuous figure—the handsome and the holy hearted Bishop of Minnesota—never will enter this hall again. He has been translated into the innumerable company of the white-robed and the crowned conquerors in glory. Permit me, ere we close, to offer a word or two of personal tribute to my beloved old friend.

Bishop Whipple and myself were almost exactly the same age, born only a few days apart, not far from the interior of this State. His native place was Adams. During the last forty years the Episcopal Church has not produced, nor has the ministry, a more picturesque and powerful personality. I do not wonder they loved him and lionized him over yonder in Britain. I do not wonder that the Queen had him come and pay her a visit, and gave him a book as a keepsake. I do not wonder that in the Isle of Wight they had him pronounce the memorial address on the poet Tennyson. But wherever he went he was the same fearless, Abraham-Lincoln-like man in the ministry. An illustration I can give you shows the point and pith and plainness of speech the grand old man possessed. He was visiting a family of rank in England, and when he went to the station he was accompanied by a young nobleman of high rank, who had also been a guest. When they got to the station this young nobleman vented a most horrible amount of oaths at his valet, because he had done something to displease him. When he discovered that the Bishop had heard him, he said, "I beg your pardon, but the fact is I have always called a spade a spade." "Indeed!" said the Bishop, "I rather think that instead of a spade you have called it a damned old shovel." In a few days that young nobleman sent a letter to the Bishop, saying that

he had always been profane, but promising that he would never swear again. That was Bishop Whipple, every inch of him. The honors from royalty and nobility never for an hour let him forget that peculiar service to which his Master had called him, being the friend and helper of the poor red man. And the glory of Bishop Whipple is this—that since the days of John Eliot he stood out as the most impressive, effective, holy hearted and successful apostle to the Indians in all our American history. Let the red men put up a tablet to him, and write on it the name of old “Straight Talk.”

Then let them write under that the name of Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute; and under that the name of grand old Senator Dawes, who for so many years, in a different connection, has been serving the highest interest of the Indian. But if they want to make that tablet complete they must add another name to the names of these benefactors of the wronged and the wretched and the down-trodden brothers and sisters; beneath their names let the Indians write the good, honest name of Albert K. Smiley. Out of his big, warm heart was born this Conference, which has become one of the established institutions of our land. I do not exaggerate when I say that, outside of the Capitol in Washington, and the White House, and the government departments, there is nowhere in this land a scene of such far-reaching influence and power on the destiny of the Indian as within this annual Conference, to which we come up with joy and gladness. From this lighthouse of Mohonk have flashed bright rays that have gladdened the face of the vast West, and lightened the destiny of the wronged and neglected Indian.

And then, too, our brother has done it all with such wonderful adaptation to the instincts of human nature. He has made it so delightful and attractive. I had occasion to say in one of the earlier Conferences that he had wrought a great revolution in the line of benevolence. In former years a reformer was a persecuted man. The philanthropist was often the butt of jeers and ridicule, and sometimes the victim of mob violence. My dear Brother Smiley has changed all that. Up here at Mohonk, for the first time, philanthropy is fed on peaches and cream, and rides out every afternoon in a coach and four! Who need wonder that two hundred men and women rejoice every year to be philanthropists? So let us thank our dear friend for the privilege of coming and serving the Master in such an exceedingly delightful way; meeting and mingling our salutations and our prayers, then going yonder to Skytop to take in all this magnificent general assembly of the mountains that the Almighty has painted so gloriously; gathering here to sing hymns of praise, to clasp each other's hands, and then go home, as we shall on the morrow, the better and stronger, and carrying away in our heart of hearts the names of these two brothers. God bless them! If all the people in our broad land that know and love Albert and Daniel Smiley could travel up yonder hill and gather

on that lake shore, you would see such a mighty assembly as you have seldom seen, and you would hear uprising shouts of thanksgiving to God that he had put it into their hearts to establish this institution, and permit us to come together and be his guests. And so I am going to take your hearts into my own, beloved friends, and say God bless you on and on ; with long life satisfy you, until your eyes shall behold the splendors of the full salvation.

Mr. A. K. SMILEY was the last speaker. He said that he had tried to persuade the committee to omit these resolutions of thanks, but they would not do it. He thanked the speakers for all their kind words, and assured his guests that the two most blessed times of the year were when the Conference on Arbitration met and when the Indian Conference was in session. He closed in the following words :—

I have made up my mind that this work shall go on. My brother, Daniel Smiley, who will take entire charge of this place hereafter, shares in this purpose. If the Indian problem be solved (and I hope it will be soon), the agencies abolished, the Board of Indian Commissioners dismissed, the Indian Bureau a thing of the past, and the Indian taken into the body politic as a citizen, there will be no Indians as a race, but all will be American citizens. If all that comes to pass then there will be something else needing discussion : the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, and perhaps the Danish islands. It is only a question of time when all these matters will come up. So this hill-top I hope will be a sort of Mecca for philanthropists for a hundred years to come ; a place to discuss problems of national interest.

We have had a good Conference, exceedingly gratifying to me, and I thank you most heartily for coming. We have had a fine executive committee, an excellent presiding officer, good secretaries, a faithful treasurer ; and I am going to put them together, and ask you to give them and Mrs. Hector Hall, for her music, a vote of thanks.

The vote of thanks was passed, and the Conference was closed by singing, "God be with us till we meet again."

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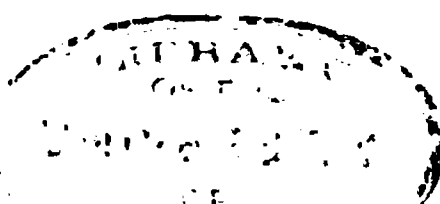
1908

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
Lake Mohonk Conference
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
1902

REPORTED AND EDITED BY ISABEL C. BARROWS

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PREFACE.

The twentieth annual Lake Mohonk Conference of the friends of the Indian was held in October, 1902, through the unfailing interest and hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley. The importance of the subjects to be discussed drew a large and interested number from many parts of the country. The discussions were free and earnest, but in good temper. They are given almost in full in the present volume. It has always been the desire of Mr. Smiley to print everything pertaining to principles, but to hide his own personality as much as possible, and out of regard to his wishes the brilliant closing speeches of gratitude and appreciation are omitted.

It is due to the Publishing Committee to state that the delay in presenting this Report to the public was owing to matters over which they had no control. Though all of the copy for which that committee was responsible was in the printer's hands in November, yet the work of collecting certain manuscripts from distant and busy people, including the delay of one in the Dead Letter Office, was the occasion of the much regretted delay. It is hoped, however, that the contents of the book will be of sufficient value to the friends of the Indian to make it worth waiting for.

NEW YORK, January, 1903.

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**PLATFORM OF THE TWENTIETH ANNUAL LAKE
MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS
OF THE INDIAN, 1902.**

The one effort of the Mohonk Indian Conference, and of all intelligent philanthropic effort for the Indian, has been and must be to develop in him a true Christian manhood, and to secure him a position as an American citizen. Here is the center of all wise legislation, all reasonable education, and all missionary labor.

Much has already been accomplished. About thirty years ago our Government decided to make no more treaties with Indian tribes. Then in 1887 was passed the Dawes Severalty Act, securing the Indians possession of land in severalty, and with such possession making them American citizens. Since the passage of this law the work has gone steadily forward. Already over seventy thousand allotments have been made, and as many Indians have become citizens.

In this work of elevating the Indian and giving him his place in our land on an equality with the white man and enjoying the same privileges, what yet remains to be done? The work of dividing the Indian reservations and allotting to each Indian his own piece of land to be held in severalty, must be pushed to completion. Indian reservations must cease to be, together with all the machinery that has been connected with them. The Indian agent is less and less needed, and the office should be discontinued at an early date. In the meantime, we rejoice in what has been done by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in breaking up polygamy, securing the purity of homes, and the proper registration of families. We desire to see this work go forward until every family is properly constituted and fully registered. We cordially approve the order emanating from the Commissioner's office to diminish, and as soon as possible, to prevent various savage and pagan practices. We believe that the Government is fully justified in efforts to break up habits and customs among the Indians that interfere with their advance in civilization. The action of the Secretary of the Interior in forbidding Indians to take part in Indian war-paint shows, especially at public expositions, is highly to be commended, and we trust that no influence will succeed in securing a reversal of this policy. We are glad to note that lately not less than twelve thousand Indians have been dropped from the ration rolls of the Government, and that the Government has encouraged them to earn their bread by furnishing them work and paying them with money which would otherwise have gone for rations.

We would reiterate the previous utterances of this Conference as to the importance of choosing trustworthy and fit men to carry on the duties of the Government in dealing with the Indian. Whatever dishonor has come to our nation from its dealing with the Indian has not come from its purpose, which has been just and humane, but from the fact that the execution of the purpose has frequently been committed to unworthy instruments. The choice of Indian agents and every other public servant connected with Indian affairs should be most carefully made.

Added evidence confirms this Conference in the belief heretofore expressed, that the Indian should be subject to all the rights and privileges of a citizen so well secured in the General Severalty Act of Feb. 8, 1887. That act provides that trust patents issued in the allotment of lands shall be of legal effect, and declares that the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted for the period of twenty-five years in trust, for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment has been made. The decision of the Secretary of the Interior that he has authority to annul a trust patent at his discretion at any time during the life of the patent is opposed to the spirit of the act, and seems to us detrimental to the interests of the Indian, as it renders his holdings insecure, and thus lessens the incentive to industry and thrift. We are, therefore, of the opinion that any defects which may exist in the present statute to render such a decision possible should be remedied by new legislation.

Experience under the Severalty Act has shown the need of freeing the Indians from the restraints heretofore surrounding trade. The fullest opportunity should now be afforded him to sell in the highest and buy in the lowest market obtainable. We urge that former conflicting legislation be repealed, and that any person of good moral character shall, upon application, be granted a license by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to trade within any Indian reservation; also, that when Indians have been allotted lands in severalty no such license shall be required within such allotted lands.

The necessity for allotting all Indian lands so that each Indian may hold his land in severalty applies with equal force to the Seneca Indians of New York, who were not included in the Dawes Severalty Act. This Conference is convinced that the social and political conditions existing on the reservations involved are most serious in their nature, and make it important that these Indians be at once brought fully under the laws of the State of New York and of the United States, and thus become citizens. We therefore respectfully urge upon Congress the prompt passage of H. R. Bill No. 12270, known as the Vreeland Bill, introduced at the last session of Congress, and already favorably reported by the House Committee. But we believe the bill should be passed without the amendment requiring the consent of the Indians affected, thus bringing it into harmony, in this respect, with the terms of the Dawes Severalty Act.

The next great step necessary for the good of the Indian, and for his protection from the machinations of designing white men, is to break up the great tribal funds held by the Government into individual holdings. A share should be apportioned to each individual member of the tribe, and placed to his credit on the books of the Treasury of the United States, interest being paid thereon, while as soon as practicable the principal itself of each individual share should be paid to the Indian to whom it belongs.

This Conference desires to call attention to the peculiar needs of the Navajo Indians. These people are especially worthy, being industrious and self-reliant; but they are the only tribe which has no adequate school privileges, while they are also in danger at this time of starvation. They are not to blame, but suffer from adverse conditions, and their necessities should be met by the Government.

The educational work that has been maintained by our Government among the Indians is admirable, and should be steadily extended till a good public school education is made possible to every Indian child. We are looking, however, to the time when schools maintained by the National Government shall be discontinued, and all Indian youth shall be trained in the public schools and higher institutions of the states or territories.

The most important work for man is his religious training. This necessarily falls to the missionary societies of our different churches. Their labors, ever important, have now become indispensable for the uplifting of the Indians. We are heartily in favor of such missionary effort, and warmly commend it to public sympathy and support. This is work the Government cannot undertake, and it must be done by private beneficence.

Other dependent races in our newly acquired possessions have demanded the attention of the Conference. We have been intensely interested in listening to statements in regard to the condition of those in Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Alaska. We urge upon Congress further legislation for the civil, commercial, educational, and moral well-being of these outlying portions of our country. Especially do we suggest that in Hawaii efforts should be made to raise the standard of citizenship and to meet the peculiar conditions of labor.

To recapitulate we favor:—

1. The allotment in severalty of the lands of the New York Indians, and to this end the prompt passage of H. R. Bill No. 12270.
2. The discontinuance of Indian agencies where no longer needed.
3. The breaking up into individual holdings of the great tribal trust funds.
4. The omission of the public exhibition of pagan customs.
5. The establishment of unrestricted trade at Indian agencies.
6. The still further development of the present policy of the Indian Bureau of furnishing work and paying for it instead of giving out rations.
7. We emphasize the importance of selecting only trustworthy men as the agents of the Government.

8. We urge that trust patents should be made, if not so already, independent of any power of annulment by any officer of the Government.

9. We approve the Government schools, but look to see them eventually superseded by the schools of the states and territories where the Indians live.

10. We especially commend all missionary work, in whatever form undertaken, by missionary societies for the moral and religious elevation of the Indians.

11. We look beyond the Indian to the needs of other dependent races in our new possessions, and we urge further congressional legislation for their good, especially in the case of Hawaii, where the unfortunate civil and agricultural conditions need immediate remedy.

THE LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 22, 1902.

For the twentieth time the friends of the Indian assembled as a Conference, by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, at Lake Mohonk, October 22, 1902. After morning prayers Mr. Smiley spoke a few words of welcome.

WELCOME OF MR. A. K. SMILEY.

The time has arrived, friends, for the meeting of the Twentieth Conference of the friends of the Indian. I used to call it the Indian Conference, but lately we have extended it to include other dependent races,—the people of Hawaii, of the Philippines, and of Porto Rico; but the Indians come to the front, as the larger number of those present are specially interested in Indians. We extend a general invitation to all government officials in relation with the Indians as well as all other friends of the Indian. The object is to bring all such people to work together instead of at cross purposes, as used to be the case. The effect of these Conferences, I believe, has been to bring the different workers into harmony. We expect the freest expression of opinion here, no matter how much people may differ from each other. Each one must speak his mind candidly and firmly, but kindly. Some questions will come up at this meeting in which there is great difference of opinion, but I hope that as heretofore we shall preserve our Christian temper, and that at the close we shall have an utterance that will command the respect of the country.

This Conference is to me very pleasant. Nothing gives me more pleasure than to see a company of men and women together who are trying to lift up the dependent races. I think you will all agree with me that one of the best things in life is to try to do good to somebody who needs help; and there is plenty of it to do in the world, and I bid you all a hearty welcome here to strive to find the best and wisest ways for doing good to our dependent races.

I always take it upon myself to nominate a presiding officer, and I have great pleasure in nominating Bishop Potter for our presiding officer for this morning. I regret that we can have him only this morning, but we shall have some other good man to take his place.

Bishop Potter was then elected unanimously with hearty applause, and in taking the chair spoke as follows.

ADDRESS OF BISHOP HENRY C. POTTER.

After a few words of personal allusion to his own Quaker ancestry, and to Mr. Smiley as a member of that body, Bishop Potter said:—

Some years ago I said to Mr. Froude when he was here, I want to ask you a question. "Yes," he said, "if you don't ask me whether I like the country or not." "No," I said, "I will not embarrass you with that; I want you to tell me what you think we need most." "You need most," he said, "a governing class; a class educated to take in hand the responsibilities of the civil and moral life of a great republic." In a larger sense than that in which he used the phrase, it may be used in reference to such an assembly as this. There are two kinds of government: government by enactment, by tradition, by organized institutions; and government by ideas. Our danger in this country is in worshipping the net and the drag; of falling down to the level where the mere mechanism of government is the finest thing in the world, and where we think if we can get the mechanism to go quickly and apparently smoothly we have done everything that we can do for good government, good order, and the well-being of society. I do not believe it. I do not believe that mechanism created by human hands can by any possibility be of divine authority and value; and I submit with the greatest respect to the people of the United States of America, that the Constitution which Mr. Gladstone said—perhaps unfortunately for us—was the cleverest thing devised by the wit of man,—I submit that the Constitution was not let down from heaven, was not perfect, and is not above criticism. When you have created a mechanism such as that which exists in our country to-day, it needs forever to be qualified by free discussion and by the free criticism of the intelligence and moral sense of the community. Now, it is for this purpose that I think this annual assembly here at Lake Mohonk is of permanent value. There are, very often, certain high ideals which disappear when you set the new mechanism to work. There is a lady in this room who has told me since I came here of the condition of one of our public hospitals during the late Spanish War, and of the circumstances under which the Red Cross nurses could not get into them. That was an illustration of the perfection of the machinery and the corruption of the institution. The whole hospital system was bad and vicious at that moment, and yet it was conducted according to the laws of government of the Army of the United States. Over and over again circumstances may arise when it is necessary to introduce into the body politic just precisely that element of free comment which stands not for the impulse of fault-finding and the disposition to criticise, which of course is a human disposition, but which stands for the recognition of the instinct of justice.

I was in India two years ago, and was walking through the streets one day with my guide, who said, "Would you like to see a court?" We went into a court, on the bench of which were sitting two or three native judges and one of British ancestry. There were two men before the bench who evidently, from their dress and jewels, which had a fascinating effect upon me, were great swells, and I was told that they were Rajah this and Rajah that, and that they had a difference. One of them stated it to the court, and the English judge said to the other man, "Is that a correct statement of the case?" "No, not perfectly; I will qualify it when my turn comes." So he made his statement, and one of the judges said to the first man, "Is that a correct statement of the case?" "No, not quite." "Well, qualify it." Then the judge told them to come back next morning at ten o'clock; and I said to my guide, who was a very intelligent Mohammedan, "Are those gentlemen going to accept the decision because one of them will be shown to be in the wrong?" "Yes," he said; "they will accept it because it will be a just decision; none of the men who will make this decision would have done *this*," and the man made a very suggestive gesture (putting his hand behind his back as if secretly to receive money). Under native government justice had been bought; under this government justice was unpurchasable. I confess, as I walked down the street, and felt what the British government was doing for India, that a great many things that perplexed and embarrassed me were made clear.

Mr. Smiley has said that we are at liberty to discuss the interests of the dependent races, not only of the Indians, but of the people in the Hawaiians and Philippines. I want to say just one word,—that is, that I believe the nation will vindicate its right to be, in those cases just so far as it stands for eternal righteousness; the question of schools, of railways, and so on, which are foremost in the minds of most of the gentlemen who represent you and me in the two houses of Congress are all secondary questions. The final question is, Are you going to do fairly by these people? Are you going to stand for justice, honesty, fair dealing? These are questions which, in one of those possessions (I shall not be more particular) have been pre-eminently the issue which has caused perturbation and apprehension. I want to be allowed, if I may (I should be reluctant to introduce into this assembly any element of discord), I want to express my highest respect for him who administers the Philippines to-day. I mean Governor Taft. I believe he recognizes that the great thing to be done in the Philippine Islands to-day is to make the United States of America a witness for eternal righteousness, and in all our effort in that direction we shall find good men of his kind in cordial sympathy with us.

May God's abundant blessing rest upon this assembly, and give you what our Quaker friends are wont to wait for,—would that in all our churches we had the same usage,—sometimes in silence, the light of the Holy Spirit.

On motion of Dr. Warner the following Secretaries were elected in the order named: Mrs. Barrows, Mr. J. W. Davis, and Mrs. Geo. H. Knight.

On motion of Mr. Meserve Mr. Frank Wood was thanked for his past faithful services, and re-elected Treasurer.

The following Business Committee was elected: Dr. Addison Foster, Dr. Lucien C. Warner, Mr. Daniel Smiley, Mr. P. C. Garrett, Dr. M. E. Gates, Mr. Darwin E. James, and Pres. C. F. Meserve.

Mr. Lasalle Maynard was elected press reporter.

The following Publication Committee was elected: Mrs. I. C. Barrows, Mr. J. W. Davis, and Mr. Frank Wood.

General Whittlesey then read a *résumé* of affairs in the field, prepared "by that earnest and faithful woman," Miss Emily S. Cook, of the Indian Office in Washington.

A SURVEY OF THE FIELD.

Cutting off Rations.—The policy of cutting off rations and then finding work for Indians has been persevered in with excellent results wherever agents have taken hold in earnest. Work in making roads, digging irrigating ditches, building fences, etc., has been provided on reservations, and the Indian has been paid by the agent \$1.25 per day, or \$2.50 when he furnished a team. Opportunities for work outside the reservations as farm hands, herders, building railroads, etc., have been found and improved, and the cultivation of farms and gardens has received unwonted attention. Of course there has been and will be suffering among the deserving as well as the undeserving, but there seems to be no anæsthetic which will make painless the operation of bringing to self-support a people who for a generation have depended on Government rations.

Finance.—The appropriations for the Indian service for the current fiscal year aggregate \$9,132,028.10; nearly \$700,000 less than that of the previous year. More than one third (38 per cent) of the whole sum appropriated is for schools. The expenditures for the year, ending the 30th of last June, were as follows:—

Current and contingent expenses	.	.	.	.	\$647,039.71
Fulfilling treaty stipulations	.	.	.	.	1,841,935.80
Miscellaneous supports, gratuities	.	.	.	.	539,920.42
Trust funds	.	.	.	.	2,126,154.01
Incidental expenses	.	.	.	.	76,842.87
Support of schools	.	.	.	.	2,837,785.14
Miscellaneous	.	.	.	.	1,979,906.91
Total,					\$10,049,584.86

Agencies under School Superintendents.—The policy of putting school superintendents in charge of agencies or parts of agencies has developed rapidly during the past year. Twenty-one agencies, as follows, are now under a school superintendent instead of an agent:—

Cherokee.	Neah Bay.	Siletz.
Colorado River.	Nevada.	Tulalip.
Grande Ronde.	Nez Perce.	Umatilla.
Hoopa.	Puyallup.	Warm Spring.
Jicarilla.	Quapaw.	Western Shoshoni.
Lemhi.	Round Valley.	Yakima.
Mescalero.	Santee.	Yankton.

Other school superintendents have had Indians in the vicinity of the schools taken from agent's supervision and placed under the care of the school, as follows:—

Cantonment and Seger Colony schools among the Cheyenne and Arapahos; Rice Station for some Apaches on the San Carlos Reservation; Truxton Cañon for the Supai and Walapai; Albuquerque and Santa Fé for the Pueblos; Western Navaho for some of the Navaho; Keams Cañon for the Moqui; Shawnee for the Shawnee and Mexican Kickapoo; Pawnee for the Pawnees; Carson for the Indians of the Walker River Reservation, and Fort Mohave for Mohaves in the northern part of Arizona.

Education.—In the various schools (exclusive of the New York Indians and the Five Civilized Tribes) 28,610 Indian pupils have been enrolled,—1,000 more than last year,—this gain being entirely in Government boarding schools. The average attendance has been 24,434, a larger gain even than in enrollment. They were distributed as follows:—

Government schools	24,434
25 non-reservation boarding	8,568
90 reservation boarding	11,506
134 day	4,360
Mission schools	3,853
47 boarding	3,565
2 day	288
Hampton	134
16 public	189
Total,	<hr/> 28,610

The attendance in public schools has been steadily decreasing since 1896. The number of non-reservation schools has reached 25,—rather more than are needed; but many of them have been established by Congress without consultation with the Indian Office or even against its recommendation. School plants have been enlarged, and special improvements have been made in the way of lighting, water supply, and sewerage.

The average cost *per capita* of supporting pupils in reform and industrial schools among white people, as shown by statistics of the Education Bureau, is about \$160 per annum. In the Indian

service, counting both day and boarding schools, it is \$138 *per capita*; but if only boarding schools were considered the comparison would not of course be so much in favor of Indian schools.

School employees number 2,289—white 1,662, Indian 627.

All the schools in the Five Civilized Tribes, except those among the Seminoles, are now under the supervision of the Indian Bureau. They are considerably improved, but several undesirable features, such as running a school by contract, are still retained. There are about 10,000 pupils enrolled in day schools and 2,700 in boarding schools whose maintenance costs the tribes about \$368 a year. This does not include twelve schools, excellent and invaluable, carried on by missionary societies. The negroes have little schooling, and the 50,000 white children in the Territory are almost without free schools. Only a few incorporated towns are able to levy a school tax.

Agreements.—The Kansa or Kaw Indians entered into an agreement among themselves for a division of their tribal lands and funds, giving to each member a homestead of 160 acres and dividing the remaining lands equally.

The Fort Berthold Indians have ceded 208,000 acres for \$260,000, to be paid in stock, cattle, and agricultural implements, after setting aside \$50,000 for a poor fund and paying out \$54,000 *per capita*.

The Rosebud Sioux have ceded 416,000 acres in Gregory County, South Dakota. The Red Lake Indians in Minnesota have ceded 256,152 acres for \$1,000,000, to be paid in cash, one quarter within ninety days and the balance in fifteen annual payments.

The Devil's Lake Indians in North Dakota have ceded 104,000 acres at about \$3.30 per acre, to be paid in cash, \$145,000 down and the balance in ten annual payments of \$20,000 each.

Liquor Selling.—The sale of liquor to Indians continues, and can hardly be checked unless five or ten thousand dollars is provided by Congress to be used in obtaining evidence against liquor dealers.

Exhibition of Indians.—The Office has continued its policy of refusing to authorize Indians to be taken from reservations for exhibition purposes. Even the request of the Denver festival was refused. But Indians of the Fort Peck Agency were allowed to participate in the Dawson County Fair in Montana solely as exhibitors of their farm products and school work. They made an excellent impression, and took back proudly three first premiums,—one for the largest and best display of agricultural products.

Osage Trade.—Immense funds in the United States Treasury, and unlimited credit offered them by licensed traders, resulted after a lapse of years in a demoralizing debt to the traders among the Osage Indians. The traders lobbied for appropriations from Osage funds to wipe out these debts, and the Indians stoutly insisted that the books of the traders were unreliable and their prices excessive. Finally, during the past year, all the traders' books have been ex-

haustively examined; the transactions running back to 1888, and covering over \$2,000,000. The examiners allowed claims against 584 Indians, aggregating \$429,596, averaging \$735 to each Indian. This was about two thirds of the amount claimed by the traders. These debts are to be paid from rentals of Osage pasture lands and interest on tribal funds, as fast as such funds accumulate. The first payment, made last July, wiped out nearly one half the indebtedness. A recently appointed supervisor of trade now regulates the amount of credit which may be given each Indian during a quarter, and he exercises strict watchfulness over the transactions and books of the traders. Last year's law allows anyone to trade among the Osages provided he is a person of good character.

Allotments.—Patents have been issued during the last year to 7,305 Indians. Allotments made last year to 352 Indians have been approved, and 709 allotments made this year are awaiting action. Allotment work has been in progress on the Cheyenne River, Rosebud, and Crow Reservations, and among some scattered Indians off reservations in Northern California and along the Columbia River. More than one third of the allotments made to the Indians on the Sioux ceded lands have been relinquished by them, and they have gone on to their reservations.

Mission Indians on Warner's Ranch.—An attempt has been made to find lands for the two hundred and fifty Mission Indians in California who have been dispossessed of their ancestral home at Warner's Ranch. For purchase of a tract and settling the Indians there the last Congress appropriated \$100,000. The Monserrate Ranch of 2,370 acres was selected by Inspector McLaughlin, but upon a representation that its water supply was wholly insufficient an advisory commission, consisting of Chas. F. Lummis, Chas. L. Partridge, and Russell C. Allen were appointed, who, without compensation, have most thoroughly and laboriously looked over the whole ground, and made an exhaustive report on the merits of several available tracts, and have recommended the Pauma tract.

Sale of Indian Lands.—The Indians whom the law allows to sell their lands are disposing of them rapidly. The seductions of ready cash, and the importunities of land grabbers, are irresistible. The Office tries to see that the Indian gets a fair price for what he sells, and the deeds have to receive office approval. During the year members of the Potawatomi, Shawnee, Peoria, Miami, Wyandotte, and Chippewa tribes have made 305 conveyances, aggregating 30,000 acres for \$204,000.

Legislation at the last session of Congress permitting the sale of inherited allotments, will still further illustrate the adapted proverb that an Indian and his land are soon parted unless the land is inalienable.

Rules have been carefully prepared and then carefully amended in order to safeguard the interests of the Indians so far as practicable. They require that all the heirs interested shall formally petition the agent, or other official, to allow the lands to be sold. For

ninety days he shall post conspicuously a description of the land with name of owner and date of sale, and meantime have the land privately appraised while the Indian Office advertises the sale in the newspapers. The timber to be sold for not less than the appraised value on sealed bids,—a separate bid for each allotment, or part of one,—each bid to be accompanied by a certified check for twenty-five per cent of the amount bid. Bids will be accepted subject to the approval of the owner of the land, and deeds must be executed with two witnesses and the acknowledgment of the Indian agent, or other named official, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Two tribal officers, or reliable members of the tribe, must certify as to the facts of the death of the owner, the heirship, etc., and the money is not to be paid to those who sell the land, but to be deposited in bank, subject to their order.

Leasing.—The extent to which Indian lands are leased increases each year; but to lessen the evils of leasing, lessees are required to fence grazing lands, or put some substantial improvement on farming lands in addition to any cash payment, and able-bodied, adult allottees are required to reserve forty acres unleased to be cultivated by themselves.

Railroads.—Railroads, telephones, and telegraph lines are crossing Indian lands in every direction. About one thousand miles of railroad have been located or constructed on Indian lands during the past year,—twice as much as during any previous year. Tribes or individuals, as the case may be, are duly compensated for right of way. Thirteen hundred miles of telephone lines have been located or constructed in the Indian Territory.

Five Civilized Tribes.—The work of disintegration goes merrily forward among the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory. The Cherokees at last recognized that division of lands and funds was inevitable, and entered into an agreement last spring as to how it should be done. The Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws also made supplemental agreements of the same nature.

The Cherokee lands are appraised in ten classes, and each Cherokee may have the value of 110 acres of average allottable land.

Each Creek is to have a "flat 160 acres," the difference in value to be equalized in the distribution of the tribal funds and the residue of tribal lands.

Each Choctaw and Chickasaw is to have a tract which shall equal in value an average 320 acres. Their freed men get one-eighth as much.

Each Creek and Cherokee may, after five years, dispose of all his land except a forty-acre homestead, which is to be inalienable for twenty-one years; but Creek lands other than the homestead may be disposed of earlier with the consent of the Secretary of the Interior. Each Choctaw and Chickasaw is to hold 160 acres as a homestead, and may dispose of the rest of his allotment, one fourth in one year, one fourth in three years, and the remaining half in five years.

The Seminole rolls have been completed and lands nearly allotted. About 7,000 of the Creek deeds have been written. Town sites are being designated and platted and town lots sold.

Mr. S. M. Brosius, of the Indian Rights Association, was asked to report on several subjects connected with his work. Mr. Brosius read the three following papers.

THE INSECURITY OF AN ALLOTMENT.

BY S. M. BROSIUS.

Implicit faith in the security of an Indian allotment certificate—that after twenty-five years a patent in fee simple would be executed by the Government to each allottee—has been a solace in time of depression, when the Indian seemed to be meeting with failure, there being the feeling that no matter what misfortune overtook him the allottee would at least have title to his home without question.

We find that these hopes were elusive. The Secretary of the Interior has made repeated inroads upon security of trust patents. Nearly all allotments in trust to Indians have been made under authority of the General Severalty Act of February 8, 1887, or special acts in conformity therewith. The General Severalty Act provides for a "trust patent" to be issued the allottee, which shall declare "that the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted for a period of twenty-five years, in trust," and "at the expiration thereof will convey the same by patent to said Indian," etc.

No obligation could be more plainly stated,—that no matter what action the allottee, in his inexperience, took in the case, he might encumber it by mortgage, or convey away the title, the State might levy taxes, yet all should be void and the land be turned over to him, free of all encumbrance, after the twenty-five year trust period had terminated.

September 25, 1900, the Secretary of the Interior decided that at any time prior to the issuance of the final patent at the expiration of the twenty-five year trust, he had the authority to cancel a trust patent. While this decision applies to all trust patents, it was rendered in the case of an allottee under the Fourth Section of the General Severalty Act, which provides that any Indian whose tribe was not provided with land could settle upon any of the public lands of the United States not otherwise appropriated, and receive a patent therefor in like manner as provided for reservation Indians.

Hundreds of Indians throughout the country took advantage of this law and settled upon the public domain, and improved their holdings for a home, in many instances expending large sums of money thereon, only to be deprived of their holdings under the decision of the Secretary of the Interior during the year 1900, as

stated, which will stand as the law of the land until reversed by the courts or annulled by Act of Congress. This decision works especial hardship upon mixed-blood Indians, who comprise the greater number of those seeking allotments out of the public domain. The application of the principle of law is made retroactive, for we find that although the Act of 1888 provided that children born of marriages solemnized after that date between white men and Indian women should be citizens of the United States, in the year 1896 it was decided by the Secretary that all children born of mixed marriages, irrespective of the date of the marriage, should be debarred from allotments on public lands. This later decision seems most unjust, depriving, as it does, the Indian allottee of the fruits of his labor and expenses incurred in building up a home for himself and family.

It may be said in reply to this that the Secretary of the Interior will not cancel a trust patent where the Indian has been faithful and honest in his relations with the Government. We know too well the influences that will surround these cases: the Indian is not acquainted with our mode of securing justice; has not the means, usually, to prosecute a case in court when the contest comes on for trial. There have already been many deserving Indians turned out of their holdings by this ruling, on technicalities of the law turning in favor of the white contestant.

A Case in Point.—I recall a case which has just been decided in the Land Office, Ashland, Wisconsin District. The lands are valuable on account of the pine timber thereon, being worth upward of ten thousand dollars. The claim is contested by a banker, who will hardly claim that he intends to live upon the land in dispute, yet he claims it for a homestead. The local Land Office decided a few days since in favor of the banker.

With political influence and corrupt methods being brought to bear by contestants it is an unequal contest, to which the allottee should not be subjected.

It seems that the Secretary of the Interior, in order to carry out the decision above noted, and those cases of a similar nature, to render the law retroactive as to the children born of marriages between white men and Indian women, determined to clothe himself with authority to cancel any "trust patent" issued by his department: hence followed the decision of September 25, 1900, already alluded to. The decision will work great hardship upon allottees upon reservations as well as upon the public domain. Since a trust patent may be canceled at any time previous to the expiration of twenty-five years, a contest may be commenced a short time previous to this limit; and the evidences that the allottee might have had in the beginning of right to his allotment may then be impossible to obtain, by reason of death of witnesses, etc., and he may lose his home in consequence. The Yankton Indian allotments afford a good illustration of the possible effect upon allottees. The tribe ceded to the Government all their

unallotted lands for a stipulated consideration. The Secretary of the Interior has held in a recent claim of the tribe that an allotment found to be erroneous did not revert to the tribe, but was the property of the Government, hence open to settlement; so that in any contest over other allotments, if the Indian owner could not in the next twenty-five years prove his right, the outside claimant would be awarded the lands that have been improved for a home by the allottee.

It will be recalled that in the year 1884 Congress authorized the extending of the provisions of the Homestead Act to Indians who settled upon the public lands, and authorized the payment of the usual Land Office fees by the United States, and that lands so homesteaded should be held in trust for twenty-five years. It was but three years later (1887) that the General Severalty Act became a law, and under Section Six thereof it is provided that the Indians who take up their residence separate and apart from an Indian reservation are thereby declared to be citizens of the United States. I do not suppose a single person in this audience who is familiar with the circumstances ever thought that Congress intended to thereby annul the provisions for Indian homestead entry, and more especially that the entries already made should be void so far as the twenty-five year trust period is concerned. Yet such is the decision of the Secretary of the Interior.

The Act of 1884, under which the homestead was secured, required that the Indian should have abandoned the reservation and dwelt upon the land in order to secure the homestead; while, on the other hand, the commissioner of the General Land Office holds that by reason of abandoning the tribal relation and dwelling upon the lands homesteaded he is a citizen under the clause of the General Severalty Act, and, therefore, not amenable to the restrictive clause wherein his lands are held by the Government, so that he is at liberty to dispose of them at once. This later decision is supported by the findings of Judge Hanford, of the United States Court (*U. S. vs. Saunders et al.*, 96, Fed. Rep. 268), in which he held that an Indian complying with the terms of this section of the General Severalty Act "was a citizen of the United States, entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, including the right to buy, sell, and convey the title."

Under this decision of Judge Hanford it is stated that numbers of the Indians in the Northwest who secured homestead lands are encumbering or conveying the same already, notwithstanding they hold such lands under the restrictions of the "trust patent."

A large percentage of Indian allotments are made under special Acts of Congress, so that the same ruling will apply under a reasonable interpretation of the law; and may we not go still further with as much reason, and conclude that the Severalty Act itself, providing for allotments in trust, in a separate paragraph clothed such allottee with citizenship, so that all allottees are free "to buy, sell, and convey the title?"

Unfortunately the trouble has apparently only begun, for we find that the State of California, relying upon the weakness of the Indian trust patent, has assessed taxes upon an Indian homestead that was improperly executed, and the Land Department has decided that they cannot issue a new trust patent covering the lands involved. In this case Sampson Grant possesses a home, and is surrounded with many of the comforts of life; has planted trees now bearing fruit, has swine, fowl, and horses, and is said to be clean and industrious. The taxes already amount to \$200, and the owner was relying upon his trust patent exempting him from taxation, so that his home has been sold to the State, and it will require an effort to reclaim it.

It seems apparent that the friends of the Indian must appeal to the courts when practicable to test the validity of the decisions; and especially should this be done to secure a decision upon the question of the right of the Secretary of the Interior to cancel a "trust patent" at will. I hope that this Conference will urge by proper method that the laws be so amended that the Indian allottee will be protected in and under the "trust patent" during the period of tutelage; that the promise of the Government to hold his allotment in trust and convey the same to him at the determination of that period shall be kept inviolate. I wish to add that the Indian Office is protecting allottees in every possible manner.

THE GOVERNMENT DENYING THE INDIAN TITLE.

BY S. M. BROSIUS.

In his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Col. James F. Randlett, Acting Indian Agent for the Kiowa Agency, Oklahoma Territory, says:—

It is apparent that the time has come when the righteous should, in praying for the interests of this agency, plead, "God save them from their friends," the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the Indian Rights Association; the latter having developed as the allies of grasping attorneys who seem bent upon robbing the Indians of the magnanimous provisions made for them by the Act of Congress of June 6, 1900, and establishing the fact that they are simply the wards of the Nation, subject in all their interests to the caprice of national legislation, and without legal rights to hold any landed possessions, except as the body politic from time to time may deem wise to establish for them; thus encouraging the constituents of legislators in Congress in beseeching that the possessions of the Indians of this agency may be taken from them, and engendering a want of confidence and distrust, which is disturbing the minds of the Indians, that has raised the question, What calamity have we to expect next?

Agent Randlett can best explain his motives for issuing this official misstatement of fact regarding the attitude of the Indian Rights Association in the suit instituted by Chief Lone Wolf and others, seeking to restrain the executive officers of the Government from carrying out the law of Congress providing for the disposal of the surplus lands of the tribe without tribal consent.

On account of the issues involved in the Lone Wolf suit against the Secretary of the Interior *et al.*, by reason of which it was advanced upon the docket of the Supreme Court of the United States and argued on October 23, 1902, their narration may prove of interest to the public, and more especially to the friends of the Indian.

The Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache Indian tribes hold their lands under treaty compact entered into in 1868, which provides that the district of country described "shall be, and the same is hereby, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the tribes herein named," etc. It is in evidence by both military and civilian officers of the Government that unjust and illegal efforts were made during the negotiations with the Commission appointed to secure the cession of lands by the Indians, to secure the consent of the tribes. This was in the year 1892. The alleged agreement passed the House of Representatives two or more times, but failed in the Senate, until a bill was rushed through both Houses of Congress and became a law January 6, 1900.

It was conclusively shown by the Secretary of the Interior (Senate Doc. No. 76, 56th Congress, 1st Session) that the necessary three fourths of the male adult members of the tribes had not signed the alleged agreement, yet it was ratified by Congress after vital amendments had been incorporated in the measure, without any provision for submitting the amendments to the tribe for ratification. This is thought to be the first instance in which Congress has amended an Indian agreement without the alterations being submitted to the tribe for ratification. In brief, it was a confiscation of millions of acres of land purchased by the Indians for a consideration from the Government, and held by solemn treaty contract thereunder.

There seems to be no precedent nor authority for such action on the part of Congress or the Executive. The United States Supreme Court has uniformly held that Indian treaties regarding lands must be respected, and that "the right of the Indians as to their occupancy is as sacred as that of the United States to the fee."

The Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes applied to the Courts of the District of Columbia for an injunction to restrain the Government officers from executing the law. The request was denied in the two lower courts. The Court of Appeals, in March last, in denying the petition of the complainants, held in brief that

... reservations are held by the Indians subject to the control and dominion of the United States, and such Indian tribes are subject to be changed from one locality or reservation to another, as may best serve the purpose and policy of the Government in the administration of Indian Affairs. They have no title in the lands they occupy, except in certain cases where treaties of settlement may have conferred a title in the land. Their right is simply to occupy at the will of the Government and under its protection.

This doctrine being so revolutionary and apparently so unjust, and applicable to the lands and funds of our entire Indian population, the Indian Rights Association appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the brief and argument of the appellants it was shown to the Court that the Indians renounced as fraudulent the agreement upon which was based the legislation of Congress, so that from that time "there was no meeting of the minds of the contracting parties," and hence no binding contract. This, together with the lack of the requisite number of signers and the material changes in the agreement by the law-making power, rendered the contract void. Is it not humiliating to see the Secretary of the Interior contending against the rights of the Indians even so far as to introduce technical points of law into the controversy?

If the Supreme Court decides that Congress can with impunity dispose of Indian lands without first securing the consent of the tribes interested, we may look forward to the early confiscation of the remaining reservations, and their early settlement by homestead entry or otherwise, the remuneration, if any, being subject to the will of Congress.

THE EVIL OF LICENSING TRADERS AMONG INDIANS.

BY S. M. BROSIUS.

One of the greatest needs of the hour is to free the Indians as citizens from the circumscribed rules and restraints of the reservation life of a generation ago. In no direction is this more essential than in the matter of trading.

In former days, when large numbers of Indians were confined within reservation limits, it was necessary, no doubt, to have a closer surveillance of traders, but the system of licensing Indian traders as in vogue for many years is fertile with scandal. For several years the statute has provided that the privilege of trading among Indians should lie in the discretion of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the time-worn practice remaining to a large degree of authorizing the agent in charge of the various Indian tribes to recommend such persons as he should select as suitable to sojourn among Indians, the license to be granted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

We realize that the Indian Office must depend upon its subordinates largely in carrying out any policy, so that abundant opportunity is afforded through such recommendations to secure the success of plans inimical to the Indian's interests.

With citizenship and allotments, the privileges given licensed traders in restraint of freedom in buying and selling do not comport with the Indian's advanced responsibilities. The present Commissioner of Indian Affairs promulgated the rule that where Indians are allotted no license shall be required; and yet we find that monopolies are frequently formed covering the unallotted tracts surrounding the agency and schools, and only favorites of the agent

admitted at time of payments being made to the Indians. Complaints come to us from all directions showing the need of taking the trade question out of politics.

For instance, an Indian woman at White Earth Agency wished to conduct a millinery store near the agency, but the licensed traders objecting, she was refused this privilege by the agent in charge of the Indians.

At La Pointe Agency no one save the favorite few are allowed to peddle beef in the Indian town of Odanah, nor to take orders for groceries, nor engage in any traffic that comes in competition with the monopoly of traders in that town.

As already stated, the Indian Office must depend upon its agents largely for carrying out any policy; hence it is powerless to remedy all the injustice. It is apparent that the relief must come, if at all, in a change of law. The present restrictive measures which govern should be repealed, and in lieu thereof 'greater liberty be allowed the Indian in buying and selling. The following form is suggested as outlining the need at the present time:—

Any person of good moral character, shall, upon application therefor, be granted a license by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to trade within any Indian reservation. *Provided*, That within reservations where Indians have been allotted lands in severalty, no such license shall be required of the Indian office as to the allotted portions thereof. *Provided further*, That in the disbursement of funds to Indians, no favoritism shall be shown any person in the collection of debts. Any violation of the provisions of this statute shall subject the guilty party to dismissal from office.

A beginning has been made in this direction by Congress, by authorizing applicants of good moral character to secure licenses upon application to the Indian Office for the purpose of trading within the Osage Reservation, Oklahoma Territory. It has been found to produce good results in this instance, and the experiment should be broadened into the rule.

A letter from Hon. H. L. Dawes, "the Nestor of Indian Affairs," was read by Mr. Smiley.

MY DEAR MR. SMILEY: I am compelled to apologize for absentsing myself from the Mohonk Conference after an invitation so many times repeated in terms so cordial as to be almost a command. I had hoped till the last moment that this would be unnecessary, and that I could bring with me in person all the apologies necessary for pardon. But work has stepped in between me and the pleasure I have so long anticipated. There lay on my table at this moment important papers from the Territory requiring such immediate attention as will not admit of a week's delay, even for recruiting at Mohonk, whence cometh our strength. Nothing reconciles me to this enforced absence but the command to work while the day lasts.

I have thought, however, that I might contribute something to the interest of those I cannot greet personally by some account of

the progress during the past year of the work in the Indian Territory, with which I am more especially connected. No one can understand the nature or need of the undertaking in which the United States, through a Commission, has been engaged in that Territory, who fails to keep in mind the difference between it and all the other Indian reservations in the United States. The Supreme Court has decided that while white men who discover and appropriate any territory, however extensive, acquire an indefeasible title thereto, and the right to govern it as they please, the American Indian cannot; but though they may have occupied their reservations, from a time no one knows how long before Columbus set a white foot on this continent, they gain no other title but that of occupancy as a tribe. Moreover, they lose this title the moment that kind of occupancy—that is, as a tribe of Indians—ceases, and another form of occupancy is adopted. Even allotment to each other of separate parts, by agreement among themselves alone, would forfeit any Indian title.

But the territory of the Five Civilized Tribes is no such reservation. It was created by the United States out of whole cloth, if I may use that phrase, by statute, out of unoccupied land, and all the title to it and all the civil rights to govern it were granted by that statute to the Indian residents. There is no other reservation of Indians, or even commonwealth of white men or black men, like it. All these rights—both the land title and self-government—are vested rights, and cannot be taken from them or modified in any particular without their consent, except by force.

The work of the Commission has been to obtain the consent of these Indians to exchange their communal title to their lands for an allotment system of individual holdings, and their government for a territorial government by the United States, like that of existing Territories. The Commission was powerless till that consent was obtained. Last year I was able to say to you that four of the five tribes had given their consent to all necessary changes, and had by agreement fixed the time when the Indian government should be exchanged for a territorial government of the United States. One tribe, the Cherokees, had refused from the beginning to agree to any change. But during the past year there has been a great change of opinion among the Cherokees as well as, in some important particulars, among the other tribes, enabling the Commission to make greater progress than at any other time during its work. They have now substantially the co-operation, instead of the opposition, of the large majority of Indian citizens.

The Cherokees, who have up to this time refused to change, clung with a tenacity one cannot but admire to the homes and government granted them seventy-four years ago,—an exchange made in payment for homes left behind in Georgia, out of which they have been driven as punishment for harboring teachers who persisted in teaching them to read the Bible. These Cherokees, having put away the idea that it meant extinction, have during the past year

entered into an agreement which has been ratified by their people and Congress, bringing them up in front of the other tribes, and in some respects improving on provisions found defective in the agreements which have been made with them.

The Commission, with the hearty co-operation of the Cherokees themselves, have been carrying out the provisions of this agreement since its ratification, and have so far brought its present requirements to completion that every Cherokee entitled to an allotment can see on a chart the appraised value of the whole territory of the tribe, and how much he will be entitled to in division by equality of value without regard to the number of acres. He can also see thereon the land divided into classes according to value by the acre, and how many acres he will be entitled to if his allotment is taken in either of the divisions made according to value. He can have a copy of this chart to aid him in making his selection if he desires it. Each allotment will contain a homestead of forty acres, inalienable and untaxable for twenty-five years, unless upon a hearing by the Court the sale shall be adjudged for the best interest of the holder. I may say that the homestead is smaller in this reservation than in the others, because the Cherokees have already sold much of their land.

All this has been accomplished with a tribe which till now has refused to listen to the proposed changes. And meantime the work has been carried on with the other four tribes along lines heretofore agreed upon with increased vigor till its completion now appears near at hand.

No portion of this work of lifting the Five Tribes from the deplorable condition into which they had sunk during the seventy years they had been left to their own ways is more encouraging and full of hope in their future than the provision for education which has been inaugurated in connection with and a part of the other work of the Commission. The United States owns no public lands in this Territory, as in all the other Territories, a portion of which has been in them set apart for the support of schools. But in the treaties with the Five Tribes that important provision, like everything else, had been left to their own management. The consequence was that when this work was undertaken there was no provision for schools except for Indian children,—and these scant enough of everything but the name,—while the children in white families, numbering then about thirty thousand, were unprovided for, and could get no other education than a poor pioneer could pay for from the slim pittance of daily earnings. The consequences sure to follow the growing up of so many children in ignorance and unrestraint are fearful to contemplate. All this has been changed, and in the agreements made with each of the tribes schools open to all have been provided for, under the control and management of a superintendent and teachers appointed by the United States, and supported from resources of the Territory which have hitherto gone largely into private pockets. It is no extrava-

gant comparison to say that in this brief time the school facilities will compare favorably in quantity and quality with those in any of the organized Territories which have had the public lands to aid in their establishment.

There are other minor details rendered necessary in securing the full benefits of the basic plan governing all these agreements. An account of these might be of interest, but I cannot ask you to listen further. The whole plan is being carried forward with encouraging progress, and is drawing to an early completion.

If the building of a state may be in any respect likened to the building of a great edifice for posterity, the promoters of this work may already discern in the near future the outlines of a completed structure, whose rise from its foundation they have watched and guarded with untiring solicitude. Under their watchful eye its foundations have been laid with no untempered mortar, and into its walls neither haste nor scamping has forced any element of weakness, and the finish, now near at hand, in full harmony with its beginning, is well assured. There is hardly anything so challenging our admiration and wonder in our time as the growth of a State—sprung up from causes we cannot see, and trained and fed by influences and elements whose sources and effect we can neither see nor determine. We nevertheless observe a silent growth, as of the infant's limbs, and development of character diversified as in our own lives until the fully developed statehood demands its place and opportunity in the Union for the free exercise of that influence for which its origin and training have fitted it. However widely it differs in tendency from those it is to join, it thereby adds to that diversity in influences which contribute so largely to the strength of the Union itself.

Of the forty-five States now constituting the Union, I have witnessed fourteen spring into being out of the solitudes of the public domain, and grow into maturity of strength and stability of purpose, taking their places in the family of States, among the foremost in character and influence. With some study and knowledge of the elements of greatness and power existing in the Indian Territory, developing with surprising celerity, I do not hesitate to say that in no one of those which I have seen put on the habiliments, and gird on the armor of statehood, did these elements exist in greater abundance and in greater promise of early development than in the Indian Territory. I am confident in the belief that those who will meet here in the near future will find that this beautiful land will constitute another of the States of the Union, adding to its greatness among the nations and to the glory of the stars on its flag.

With greetings to those who will meet with you this week in conference for the best good of the Indian race, and my congratulations on the encouraging progress of the good work, I am, my dear sir,

Truly yours,

H. L. DAWES.

PITTSFIELD, MASS., October 20, 1902.

Mrs. A. S. Quinton, President, was invited to speak of the work of the Women's National Indian Association.

In responding, Mrs. QUINTON said: During the last year our Association has dropped the word "Women's" from our name, returning to its original title; is now a mixed association, and we hope it will become much more mixed.

I visited the Yumas, of California, in March. Most of the Indians there were living down in a deep basin with an inch or two of dust over it all; and even in the homes, where every floor was an earth floor, the same dust prevailed. The Indians should be located upon the higher land. In the spring the rains raise the rivers and they overflow their home land. They have deep mud a part of the year, and that terrible dust the balance of the time. How they can possibly live in it is a mystery to anyone knowing anything of physiology. The people have a mind to work, but no facilities for labor. The land where they are could not be cultivated. What they most need is a friend; some one who will really care for them, teach them, plan for them. They have a school under government care, and good work is done under an excellent superintendent, but he could do much better work with better facilities. I believe they are expecting these in the near future. I found the people much brighter than I supposed them to be. One was a plumber working for white men, and his mother represented the best intelligence of the tribe; yet when we were talking about gambling she said, "Oh, well, you know the money that is made on the game is used to make a feast, and all the others are called in to enjoy it." This, she thought, lessened the evil. She only reflected the teaching of the country.

From that Arizona edge I went to Martinez, in the California desert, and there found the Indians making real progress since my previous visits. One could do a variety of civilized work, doctor a sewing machine and other machines. They were in the real desert, and showed most pitiable need of law protection and help in civilizing work, though the people were doing better than could reasonably be expected. They have no water supply save a few surface wells; have asked for an artesian well, for which I carried their prayers to Washington four years ago. They need not only the water supply, but fences, and legal defences. Their cattle are constantly borrowed by white neighbors and never returned. They have several little villages, with one or two hundred souls in some of them. Their number is not large. They should be out of the desert with the rest of their tribe near Banning; but they love the desert as their home, and with wells, surveys, and fences they would be self-supporting and happy. They are doing all they can, and their petitions to Government are very earnest, intelligent, pathetic. They invited me to a council with them, and I heard the stories of eight or ten of their leading men, who spoke of the large number of ponies they had raised, and said: "White man come

settle near; we think we make money when we sell ponies to the white man. White man take the cattle, drive them into his pound, keep them, and no pay. We have no fences to mark our line." They are begging for surveys, that they may know their own lines and keep within them; and their losses are and must be constant without the surveys and fences. Out of a dozen ponies, in more than one instance, eight or nine had been carried off, and there was no redress. The food of the people? Well, I should not like to tell you what it is in time of need,—crawling creatures and all sorts of things. Yet they have intelligence, and desire education. I was astonished to see how much they know of the white man's way, and how well convinced they are of its superiority. At one time our Association had a mission there, but passed it over to a permanent Home Missionary Society, as is our custom when a mission is established. This one went to the Moravians; and the station has an ideal pair of missionaries, who are getting along well in industrial and all other work. The Indians are more faithful to church duties than some of our own churches, and they appreciate what is being done for them.

I visited the Mission Indians at Warner's Ranch in May, at their request, and found, as I had been previously informed, that they were determined to go to Washington to plead for their own homes against dispossession and removal. I have seen many pathetic Indian situations, but that one was harder to endure than most of them. They had lost their lands and homes simply through ignorance of technicalities. They had had no friend to explain to them at the right time that they must appear at a given date, at a certain place, and make claim to their land. Not knowing this, they did not appear, and so lost all. They said, "We think we ought to go to Washington to plead for ourselves, for our homes, our own land; for *it is our land*." They had voted to go to Washington before I heard of it, but did not intend to go until the work of the Commission, appointed to help select a new home for them, was done.

In all these cases, as in many others, I saw things which I think every friend of Indians has felt for the last few years, and that is that this whole reservation system should end. It is time that it should end. As things are, the frauds will go on; corruption will not cease; the encroachments of the white man will continue so long as Indians are on reservations and under agents. What is imperatively needed is the final closing up of the so-called Indian question. The process will not be too hurried. The way is to abolish the reservations by making them no longer needful; by doing away with the agencies as fast as that can safely be done, thus getting all Indians into our general citizenship. The only questions are "how" and "when." The members of our Association, especially the experienced ones, believe that the time for temporary half measures has gone by. We have been lopping off branches; what is wanted now is "the axe at the root of the tree."

The Government has done magnificent things; but what is wanted now is to bring all Indians into United States citizenship without needless delay. If the agencies can be abolished as fast as is safe, it will take but few years to abolish all. We have been told on high official authority that at least twenty Indian agencies could now well be spared; that Indians would be better off without them, and that the white race would also be safer. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs recently asked for the dismissal of eight agencies, but politicians could not spare so many salaries, and only three were abolished. This matter should be seriously investigated and the work hurried.

Then there should come the individual payment of debts due to Indians for their land sales. Thirty-three and a third millions of dollars are yet unpaid. The interest is paid to them, but the white man's palm is extended for too much of it. He claims it, often fraudulently, for personal debts. Much of it goes for strong drink or gambling, and if some loss were to come from a speedy payment of the whole debt, *pro rata* to individual Indians, things would not be worse than now. With the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, we believe that it should be paid *pro rata* to each Indian when he reaches a certain age, or to his family at his death.

With the end of the Indian agency, the payment of debts to Indians, the making them in fact United States citizens, and putting their children in the public school, our grandchildren will forget that there has ever been an Indian question.

ALASKA.

BY DR. SHELDON JACKSON.

I am allowed thirty minutes in which to speak for one fifth of the United States! Consequently I shall have to deal in generalities rather than in details.

Alaska is in a transition condition. Ten years ago it was considered out of the world; to-day it is in the center of that marvelous movement looking to the development of the commerce of the Pacific,—the halfway house between California, Oregon, and Washington, and Siberia, Japan, China, and the Philippines.

When two or three years ago there came a crisis in the war with Spain, and it became necessary to send additional troops to the Philippines in the shortest possible time, the great army transports, loaded with men and munitions of war, were sent from Seattle to Manila by way of Alaska as the shortest route to Manila. From Seattle to Manila, by the way of the Aleutian Islands, is one thousand miles shorter than by the way of the Hawaiian Islands.

Travelers *en route* between Asia and America on clear days have magnificent views of the rugged, snow-crowned peaks of the Aleutian Islands.

In recognition of the movement of commerce, the Government has set apart land on Amaknak Island, Alaska, for a naval coaling station.

Alaska's transition is also manifest in its changing resources. Twenty years ago the only thing considered of value in Alaska was its furs. To-day the fur trade is practically extinct; but in place thereof we have gold and silver, copper, tin, coal, and oil, for a "gusher" has been struck this fall. There are even agricultural products. I know everybody looks skeptical about that, but since the Government has established an agricultural experiment station there it has been demonstrated that Alaska has agricultural possibilities.

There is a transition in the population. In my early addresses at the annual conferences of the friends of the Indians I congratulated myself that I had found a region where the white man would never want to go and the native would never be displaced; but the time has come, and the transition has commenced. The native is fading away before the thousands and tens of thousands that are coming rapidly into that country. The mining district practically covers the whole of it—a region as large as New England, the Middle, and Western States combined. The "Klondike" itself is just over the edge on the Canadian side of the international boundary line. From the "Klondike" the mining region passes westward two thousand miles across Alaska, until another center is found at Nome, near to Bering Strait. Nome sends out \$10,000,000 worth of gold this year, and the hardy miners and prospectors are pushing hundreds of miles north of the Arctic Circle. As I was leaving Nome, a few weeks ago, a vessel was departing loaded with prospectors, who expected to spend the winter five hundred miles north of the Arctic Circle. There has scarcely been a stream found in Central Alaska where men have not found gold. The question is whether it is in sufficient quantities to pay for working.

Yes; a transition in population has come. The white men are pouring in, and with them whiskey and syphilitic diseases, and the native population is fading away before them. In the past four years in the Seward Peninsula—a region larger than New England—it is estimated that from one third to one half of the entire Eskimo population has gone down to death. It was not all due to whiskey and disease; but their systems had been so weakened, that when, in 1900, "grip" and measles came, they simply died. There is also a transition in the character of the mission work. In the seventies and early eighties the population of Alaska was almost exclusively aboriginal, and this shaped the lines of mission work. Hereafter mission work to the Aborigines will gradually lose its present prominence, and church work for the whites will become more and more prominent.

There are in Alaska, among the aboriginal population, four principal families. All intelligent people are acquainted with the fact that Greenland and Labrador are peopled with Eskimo; but com-

paratively few realize that the Eskimo extend across the American Continent from Labrador to Bering Strait, and from Bering Strait south to the Aleutian Islands, and from Unimak Pass along the North Pacific Coast almost to the base of Mount St. Elias in Southeastern Alaska, so that the three great ocean sides of Alaska are occupied by Eskimo or Innuït population. They are a seafaring people.

Passing from the coasts into the interior of Alaska we find the beginning of the Athabaskan family, extending across the continent from Central Alaska down to Minnesota.

Inhabiting the Aleutian Islands are the Aleuts, a very small people in number, for they were almost exterminated by Russian civilization. It is one of the interesting facts of history, that when our American Revolution was just beginning the Aleut Revolution was just coming to a close. Ours lasted eight years; theirs for fifty years. For half a century the native people of the Aleutian group fought the power of Russia, and only succumbed after almost the entire population was annihilated.

Then in Southeastern Alaska are the ten tribes of the Thlingets, speaking a common language. Missionary work and civilization commenced among the latter in 1877.

The Aleuts, having been under Russian civilization for a century, have been brought into the Russian Greek Church, and they are all baptized members of that church, adults and children. But the Eskimos, the Athabascans, and the Thlingets were still heathen at the commencement of the American occupation. Among the Thlingets mission work was commenced at Fort Wrangell, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, by Mrs. A. R. McFarland and myself, August 10, 1877. A few months ago a Roman Catholic father came and commenced the work of that church in Alaska. The success of the Presbyterian missions in Southeastern Alaska among the natives was so great as to attract the attention of the entire Christian world. Stimulated by this success, the other great missionary societies commenced preparations to also open missions at Fort Wrangell and Sitka at the side of the Presbyterians.

The establishment of these several missions among so few people (1,500) would be a waste of men and money, and the introduction of the diversities that exist among us a hindrance to mission work.

To prevent this a convention was called at the Methodist Book Rooms, January, 1880, of the various missionary societies, and an equitable division of the field was allotted to the different denominations. The Presbyterians, being already established in Southeastern Alaska, that field was assigned to them. Since 1877 they have spent \$750,000 in their efforts to elevate, civilize, and Christianize the natives of Southeastern Alaska, which shows the energy and zeal that they have put into this work. They have had fruit, of course; they have seven native churches with over one thousand native communicants, and have now a second generation started in Christian citizenship. There has been a continuous

religious revival in that section for three years. Eighteen months ago an old chief, who raised a rebellion in 1877, gave his own heart to Christ, and is throwing the same fire into his evangelistic work for the benefit of his relatives as he did into his persecution of Christian natives.

The Baptists took their field 622 miles west on Wood Island, near the Kenai Peninsula, west of Sitka, embracing Kodiak and adjacent islands, Kenai Peninsula, and the regions bordering on Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound. Their first mission was erected on Wood Island, in the harbor of Kodiak.

Prince William Sound is the coming center of Alaska; a region in which Valdez will be the largest town. The route from Valdez to Eagle is to have a telegraph line established by the Government. Eagle is in telegraphic communication with Lake Mohonk. There are large copper mines north of Valdez. From Skagway, in Southeastern Alaska, a railway crosses the mountains 120 miles, and will ultimately be continued down the Yukon Valley to Bering Strait. The children of to-day will, some of them, live to take a sleeper in New York, and go to Paris through a tunnel under Bering Strait. Two islands, one belonging to the United States and one to Russia, lie in the Strait. Thus the citizens of the United States and citizens of Russia live within a couple of miles of each other, and the United States is bounded on the west by Russia.

Six hundred and twenty-two miles west of the Baptists at Wood Island is Unalaska, the center of the Methodist field, where they have established a good, strong, efficient work, built out of the waifs who have been discarded by the Russian-Greek church. The Methodist field extends the whole length of the Aleutian Islands. Their orphanage at Unalaska has been named the Jesse Lee Home.

The Moravians went 840 miles to the northeast of Unalaska and selected the valleys of the Kuskokwim and Nushagak Rivers, where they have secured a large following. In some of their villages they have evening vespers every night. When bedtime comes the church bell rings, and the entire population, except the little ones, go to church; and a young man, who has been taught a little English, reads a passage from the Bible, explains it in the native tongue, leads them in prayer in their own tongue, and they go home and go to bed. Where can you find a better record in New England or in New York or in the most favored place in the United States?

On the Delta and in the valley of the great Yukon the Roman Catholics have a number of missions. Their principal station and leading schools are at Holy Cross Mission, 410 miles from the mouth of the river.

In the same Yukon Valley are the principal missions of the Alaskan natives of the Episcopal Church; the best equipped of which are at Anvik, 457 miles from the mouth of the river; St. James Mission, 897 miles; and Fort Yukon, 1,353 miles. The

Church of England has maintained missions for nearly sixty or seventy years on the Canadian side of the boundary line.

One hundred and fifty miles north of Anvik is the successful mission of the Swedish Evangelical Church at Unalaklik, and a few miles farther west, on Golofnin Bay, their second mission.

Two hundred miles west of Golofnin is located at Teller Reindeer Station, Port Clarence, an orphanage of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod of North America. The orphanages at Teller, Golofnin and Unalaklik largely grew out of the epidemic of 1900, when so many Eskimo died and the missionaries took charge of the orphan children.

One hundred miles west of Teller, at Cape Prince of Wales, on Bering Strait, facing Asia, is the mission of the American Missionary Association (Congregational). At this point they have built up a good, strong church from unpromising Eskimo elements.

Two hundred miles northeast of the Congregationalists in the Arctic Ocean is the "Friends'" Mission at Kotzebue. The Friends also have missions at Douglass and Kaake in Southeast Alaska.

Two hundred miles northwest of the Friends is an Episcopal Mission at Point Hope; and three hundred and fifty miles north of the Arctic Circle is a Presbyterian Mission at Point Barrow, being the second most northern mission station on earth; Upernavick, Greenland, being twenty miles farther north. At Point Barrow are a Presbyterian missionary and wife and a Government teacher and wife.

Two hundred and fifty miles south of Bering Strait and within forty miles of the main coast of Asia is Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, a mission station of the Presbyterian Church. Point Barrow, Point Hope, and Gambell have practically but one mail and one communication a year with the outside world. The Rev. and Mrs. S. R. Spriggs, of Point Barrow, have returned to the States for the first time in three years, and through the hospitality of Mr. Smiley will be here to-morrow. He and his bride went out from New York, and have spent three years separated from all the world, with a mail once a year brought by the Government revenue cutter. They have come to rest for a year, though I do not think the calls of the churches for mission addresses will give them much rest.

What are the results of these missions? From five to ten thousand of the native population, through these various organizations, have been brought more or less under gospel influences. Three or four thousand can be classed among those that we call communicants, and many thousands of the children are in school.

In addition to the mission schools, the United States Government has twenty-eight public schools, of which probably twenty are exclusively for the natives.

If you ask the average miner the result of missionary work, he will tell you that there are no results whatever from these twenty-

five years' work of the churches in Alaska. He does not stop to think that he is in that country as the result of that work. During the past few years many thousands of white men have gone from all parts of this country to the Alaska gold mines. Some of them have penetrated hundreds of miles north of the Arctic Circle, and have found that if they treat the natives fairly they can go anywhere in safety. If the miner is starving the native will divide with him his last bit of fish. Why is it that the white man can go everywhere? The miner will tell you that it is because the people are so docile, but his knowledge of American history is very slight. As late as 1877 Sitka was a fortified town, guarded by a detachment of United States troops, and every night before sundown the guard was turned out to search and see that no native was inside the stockade. The gates were barred and locked until sunrise the next morning. The miner does not remember that at St. Michael was another Russian post with stockade, and that as late as 1880 they did not consider themselves safe from the native population. When the United States sent a scientific expedition to Point Barrow under the charge of an army officer they had a mounted cannon trained on the native village. Only twelve years ago (1890) it was proposed to establish a mission at Bering Strait, and place a couple of men up there, two thousand miles from any policeman or any court or other protection. People said the revenue cutter will not be out of sight before they are both massacred. No whaler for ten years had dared drop anchor at that point over night, although some of them had large crews armed with Winchester rifles and guns. But the Congregational Church placed two men there, and they were left without any protection for twelve months, except the protection of God; and the mission has made it safe for whaler or miner. One of those young men has just resigned after thirteen years' service, because the six children that have been born there needed better educational facilities than they could have in that part of the country. Another young man, his wife and mother-in-law and children, have gone to take the vacated place. Now a miner can drop in and spend the night or a dozen nights in perfect safety in that place, because missions have been established there ten or fifteen years. Yet these very miners whose lives have been spared will tell you that missions are a complete failure in Alaska. They will point out the group of natives, dirty and ragged, with unkempt children, and say, "Do you think ye can do anything with them?" A gentleman coming down from the mines five years ago, a Chicago millionaire, called at the Methodist Mission school at Unalaska, and saw an Aleut girl, her father being dead and her mother an ignorant, dissolute, drinking woman. The gentleman said he wished he could take the child to Chicago. He did so, and put her in the best public school in the city. There were 1,200 children in that school of our best American citizenship, and that girl stood side by side with these 1,200 children for five years,

passing from the third to the eighth grade. Last spring, at the close of the eighth grade, she took the gold medal at the head of that school. A competitor of that poor Aleut girl was the daughter of the President of Chicago's Board of Education. And yet we are told that you cannot do anything with them.

Many of you remember young Marsden, a pure-blooded native of Alaska, who, a few years ago, came to Mohonk to plead for his people, and the Conference helped him through his college course at Marietta. Afterwards, in Cincinnati, he took a course in law and one in theology at the same time,—a man of master mind, that seemed to grasp whatever it took hold of. To-day, in South-eastern Alaska, with his little launch, *The Marietta*, the Rev. Edward Marsden is preaching to his people in eighteen different places, carrying the gospel into all that region of Alaska,—a master workman that no church would be ashamed to have in any presbytery. And yet you are told that "you cannot do anything with those dirty brats!"

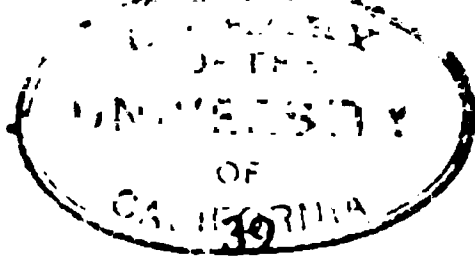
Another girl taken from Sitka to New Jersey is now a young woman who will stand side by side with the better class of our American womanhood in her intellectuality. She would be admitted to any Browning Club in Boston. For the last ten years she has been in Alaska teaching among her own people. She is named Frances Willard for that noble woman of whom you have all heard. She has taken the Thlinget language and reduced it scientifically to a written language for the first time, and her Thlinget and English Grammar and Vocabulary is ready for the publisher. And yet "you cannot do anything with those brats!" Two of the native young men who came out of the Sitka school went to a salmon cannery and saved their wages, bought merchandise, and started a store with \$200. A trader in the neighborhood wanted them to go into partnership with him, but they declined. Then he tried to undersell them and put his prices down below cost, but the friends of those boys stood by them, and when their stock was used up their friends bought goods from the other trader at the reduced price and turned them over to those boys. They might have kept it up to this time if the trader had not found it out, and learned also that he could not "freeze out those brats." They amassed \$1,000, bought machinery for a steam sawmill, and are doing a large business in making boxes for the canneries and in supplying white men with lumber.

Other boys have learned carpentry at the Sitka school, and at least one hundred and fifty of the "brats" that have gone out from the Sitka school are making their own living and are respected citizens of the United States in that country. And this work is going on. If the churches in the different denominations had done more work there would have been more of these scholars. It is a question of environment and not of heredity in Alaska. They have the intellect; they only need the chance to become honest citizens of this country. That is what we are pleading of the churches and

the Government to give us,—more facilities, that the remnant of this people so rapidly passing away may be brought into Christian citizenship.

Mr. JOHNSTON.—I do not see upon the map before us any places where the Russian Church is doing work. The Russian Church had been working in Alaska for a hundred years. I am impressed with the greatness and humanity of Russia. I know myself personally the Bishop of Alaska and the work he is doing. I think it is a matter of regret that we should be left with the impression that the Russian Church is doing no work there or bad work.

Dr. JACKSON.—This map was not designed to show all of the mission stations. It was made to show the mission work of the Protestant churches. The Roman Catholics have many stations which are not marked here. There would not be room on the map to put in all the Greek chapels where services are conducted by natives. The gentleman says that he is acquainted with the Russian work in Alaska. I trust he has read the United States census report of 1880, wherein the Bishop of the Russian-Greek Church, Innocentius Venisminoff, a remarkable man, a man afterwards made Metropolitan of the entire Russian-Greek Church,—the highest position obtainable in that church,—has written a history of the Russian occupation of Alaska; and a more bitter arraignment of the Russian government and Russian civilization and the treatment of the natives cannot be found on the pages of history than that written by the highest prelate of the Russian-Greek Church. I know the present Russian-Greek Bishop. He is a good man, the best man they have had in that country for twenty-five years. If he is continued for ten years he will make a complete change in the condition of the Russian-Greek Church among those people; but in the past it has not been a record that the Russian-Greek Church itself has been proud of. They have a very few schools, and the teaching has been largely in the Russian language. Up to within the last three years a large proportion of the Russian priests have opposed English education. They have fought the government public schools right and left. The present bishop is trying to make a change. The priest at Unalaska has a charge that extends a thousand miles, and only gets around once a year, and not always that. It is impossible for one man to take care of all the souls in a group of islands a thousand miles long. The work has to be left to ignorant Aleuts, who read the service in the chapels. The gentleman who has spoken will find in my published maps that the Greek mission stations are printed as well as of all other denominations.



Mr. SMILEY.—We are now without a presiding officer, as Bishop Potter has had to leave to meet engagements in Philadelphia. Dr. Gates, who has served us so well for many years, asked to be excused from acting as president this year. I have therefore selected for your approbation another man, who has had a great deal of experience in Indian affairs and a great and intelligent interest in the Indians; who has been a member of Congress, and was active in carrying every good measure through while there; a man of level head, good, strong will and purpose. I nominate Hon. S. J. Barrows as presiding officer.

Mr. Barrows was unanimously elected, and in accepting the chair made a brief speech, of which the following is an abstract.

Hon. SAMUEL J. BARROWS.—*Ladies and Gentlemen*: I thank you for the honor conferred on me in calling me to the responsibilities of this office. Having known for many years the spirit and purpose of this Conference,—what it has sought to do and what it has achieved,—I appreciate fully what this honor means. But I feel a little embarrassed in taking this position. I am afraid that in following Bishop Potter I shall weaken your faith in the apostolic succession so far as this office is concerned. As a humble dissenter I should have been glad to take orders of the bishop; but he has gone away without leaving any, and I shall be obliged to take, therefore, my orders from the Conference in the usual congregational way. But the bishop has not left us without leaving his benediction.

After a few pleasantries, and after paying a tribute to the eloquence, tact, and wide knowledge of Dr. Merrill E. Gates, who for ten years had presided over the Conference, Mr. Barrows said that, like the Areopagus at Athens, Mohonk had come to be associated with a great message and an impressive personality,—a message of brotherhood, love, and peace. Here the torch had been lighted for the Negro, the Indian, and the needy races of our land, and here the light of peace had gone out through the country and had even been reflected abroad. In closing he referred to some reasons for encouragement in relation to the Indian problem: one was, that in the person of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Jones, they had a man at Washington who, in spite of the manifold difficulties of his arduous office, was earnest and vigilant in applying the principles of justice and righteousness to Indian affairs; the other reason was that we have at the head of the nation a man who stands for civic righteousness, and who has the courage to stand by his convictions. In no place will the proceedings of the Mohonk Conference be received with more respect and more interest than at the White House.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—It is undoubtedly true that the proceedings of this Conference have helped to bring about the change in public sentiment in favor of Indian reform which has been referred to.

We have annually published a carefully prepared and well-printed report for nineteen years. A copy is sent to every member of the Conference. It is also sent to newspapers, colleges, libraries, and editors, and it is drawn upon for information, which makes public sentiment. The publication of this report is dependent upon the contributions of the members here—the only expense which Mr. Smiley allows us to meet. I shall, therefore, as treasurer, be found sitting at the receipt of customs.

Adjourned at 12.30 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Night, October 22, 1902.

The session was called to order at 8 P. M. by the President, S. J. Barrows.

Mr. BARROWS.—*Ladies and Gentlemen:* The Business Committee has appointed as the subject for this evening the "Educational and Industrial Work among the Indians." It is very interesting and satisfactory to reflect that from the very beginning of the history of this country you find an educational and a missionary movement going on at the same time with those enterprises which were purely commercial, and with other influences which tended rather to degrade the Indian than to lift him up. From the very beginning the forces to crush and the forces to elevate were working together. You see it in New England. The Puritans came charged with the purpose not only of finding a new opportunity for their own special beliefs, but also for educating and converting the Indians. The great historic church, the Roman Catholic Church, had the same idea and the same purpose, and began very early in the history of this country to try to educate and convert the Indians, and very interesting are the records. Mr. Parkman and other historians have given the records of the self-sacrifice with which that work was conducted. When I think of that I think of an experience I had on the plains many years ago when I was with the army, with General Stanley and General Custer, on the Yellowstone Expedition. We were far beyond civilization, in a hostile Indian country, and where we had several encounters with the Indians, I am sorry to say. One day, as we were looking back over the plain, we saw an interesting object in the distance that we could not make out. As we watched it came nearer and nearer, and we discovered that it was a horse and buggy, and over the top of the buggy was a cross. When they came up we found that in the buggy was a Catholic priest, a missionary, who had traveled two hundred and ten miles alone through that Indian country, where hostile Indians were found everywhere, and where we lost at their hands several of our own men who wandered away from the camp. With the cross simply as his protection, this missionary had traveled safely through the land. This priest had before given evidence of his heroism in the Fort Snelling massacre, when in trying to help the garrison he seized an old stovepipe and mounted it to look like a cannon to threaten the Indians,—a sort of Quaker cannon.

Mr. SMILEY.—That is the only good kind.

Mr. BARROWS.—This priest illustrated the self-sacrifice and devotion of the church he represented. We are going to ask a representative of that church to open this discussion. He is not only a conspicuous leader in his own church, but he has been appointed by the President of the United States to take the position upon the Board of Indian Commissioners made vacant by the death of the beloved Bishop Whipple. I have pleasure in introducing Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia.

MISSION WORK AMONG THE INDIANS—SUPER-NATURAL BASIS OF PHILANTHROPY.

BY MOST REV. PATRICK J. RYAN, PHILADELPHIA.

Archbishop Ryan prefaced his address by stating that, having received the invitation to speak only that morning, he feared the address would not prove worthy of the distinguished assembly, and should be, in part at least, of a general character. He then said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel very much honored by the appointment of the President of the United States to succeed the venerable Bishop Whipple, of whom I have heard so much. I cannot promise to be as efficient, but I can promise, because I feel it, to be as devoted to the interests of these children of the forest, who have so few friends to minister to them. It is a great honor in this age and land to be a friend to the friendless, and I feel at home among you here, because I know that one feeling unites us.

I was greatly pleased with what I saw and heard this morning, especially by the manner in which you received the opinion that these Indians should, as soon as possible, be made citizens. I do not see why they should not; this will be a great solution of the problem. The colored people have had this privilege granted to them. Many feared at the time for the consequences, but they have done much better than was anticipated. We have some white people who are citizens who know much less about the country than the Indians, who, though not educated as we understand the term, are very thoughtful men. I remember President McKinley saying to me, "I have been struck with the expression of some of these Indian faces, especially those of the chiefs, and with the sentiments that I heard expressed by these men,—not men of education, but of thought and feeling."

I do not see why religion, which should band all men together in good works, should separate us; why Catholics and Protestants should not unite in great works of philanthropy. I have been struck with the fact that when our Divine Lord would select an

example of perfect fraternal charity for the whole world and for all time, he selected, not an orthodox man: the Jews were orthodox; they were the people of God. And yet a Jewish priest passes by, and does not aid the poor outcast, robbed and left wounded by the wayside. And the Levite passes by with the same indifference. Here are the orthodox. Now comes next a heretic a Samaritan, and he attends to the poor outcast whom the orthodox have passed by. And then our Lord says, "Go ye and do likewise." Now, we have our opinions about our own particular church; but why for a moment question what our Lord did not question, that the outsider who disagrees with us may be the good Samaritan and we the guilty orthodox?

I come, Mr. Chairman, the first Catholic priest appointed a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the first Catholic to address this Conference, but I come with the traditions of centuries of friendliness to the Indians. When the Spaniards came here and oppressed them the Church stood between the Spaniards and those oppressed Indians. Men like Las Casas, and the various religious orders, devoted themselves to the aborigines, and were persecuted by their own countrymen for defending them. They were united by the Christianity they professed. They loved these Indians. So it was also when the Normans invaded England: the Norman bishops sided with the Saxons against their countrymen, because their position as ministers of Christ obliged them to defend the oppressed. Thus from the discovery of this New World until now, the representatives of the Church have been the defenders of these poor outcast children of the desert, and have suffered for this defense. So I feel, as a successor of the bishop Las Casas, and of those lovers and defenders of the poor, persecuted races, that I am at home among the friends of the Indian of all Christian denominations.

Fifty years ago in St. Louis I had the privilege of knowing that most remarkable man and missionary among the North American Indians, Father DeSmet, who came of a wealthy family in Belgium, animated by the purest motives and zeal to work among the Indians. He had lived with them for years, and learned to love them, and always defended them. He frequently visited me. I was very much attached to him, and had the honor of preaching his funeral sermon. His memory is enshrined in my heart. When I first knew him I said to him, on one occasion, "Father, how could you have lived so many years among those savages?" "Savages," he replied; "the only savages that I have met since I left Belgium I met round New York City,—some bad white men, who have known religion and have rejected it. My poor Indians, even in their paganism, are better than those men." He told me, way back in the sixties, that there was gold in that part of the country, where it was afterwards discovered. He said, "The Indians told me, and I told them to tell no one, because the whites would find it out, and they would deprive my poor Indians of that

which is more precious than gold; for these adventurers would go out there and rob them not only of their possessions, but of their purity and honesty. So having learned something of the Indians, and feeling a sympathy which he communicated to me, I have never lost my interest in them. Therefore I have always commended work for the Indian in my own diocese.

In that diocese there is a young girl, the daughter of F. A. Drexel, who inherited an immense fortune. Mr. Drexel left fifteen millions of dollars. Of that sum he gave a million and a half to charity, and to his three daughters the income from the remaining thirteen and a half millions. One of these daughters died. One of them heard the story of the Indians and the story of the colored people, and she said: "I will give all that I have, amounting to nearly \$300,000 a year, to those two races. More than that, I will give myself, until I go down to my grave, in poverty, in chastity, and in obedience. I vow to be the servant of the Indian and colored races." So this large sum of about \$300,000 a year she gives. Not only this, but she has founded an order, called the Order of the Blessed Sacrament; and she has at present a hundred young nuns who, at God's altar, have sworn that in poverty, chastity, and obedience, like their leader, they will devote their whole lives to the Indian and colored races. And this is in our age. This is a child of my diocese, and I glory in having such an example for all my people.

It may be asked, What is the philosophy of such sacrifice? How is it accounted for? What is the philosophy of what is called Christian philanthropy? Philanthropy is the love of man for his fellow-man. Man ought to love his fellow-man. He belongs to his own nature. Great sacrifices have been made by men for their fellow-men; but will such love alone account for all the sacrifices that have been made? There must be a power still stronger to account for them. There must be a higher cause, a universal cause. What is it? Humanity itself is attractive. But back of the human face rises another face, human indeed, beautiful in its suffering: *Ecce homo!* Behold the man. Behold humanity in its highest perfection, with all the beauty of humanity before Adam fell; with the strength, the tenderness, all the high qualities that you find scattered through all those that you admire and love, united as in one mosaic. When that face, beautiful in suffering, is before you and says, "Do it for Me," you have the secret of the philosophy of Christian philanthropy; the only thing that can account for the sacrifices that men make for their fellows. To be sure of this you have only to look at suffering humanity without the Christian religion. Childhood was treated only from the point of utility. Some of the highest lawgivers and philosophers sanctioned the law that put deformed children to death because they were of no use to the state. And they put to death the children they could not support. But this, you say, was under paganism. But, oh, beware! there is a modern paganism infinitely more degraded than the

paganism of Greece and Rome, for they believed in God and hell and heaven, but these modern pagans would destroy even the ethics of paganism in destroying the faith that moved them.

Such was the treatment of childhood, when the voice was heard from Bethlehem of Judea, the feeble voice of a child, but it reverberated through the world. It was the voice that proclaimed that Deity did not find childhood unworthy of its abode, because childhood is made in the image and likeness of God. If he looks into the pure soul of the child he sees himself there.

You know the state of woman before Christianity came. The husband was her master, and she was degraded by polygamy; by polygamy, simultaneous polygamy, and that successive polygamy which again menaces us through divorce. The Mother of Christ, with the child enthroned in her arms, was under the new civilization the symbol of liberated woman. "My soul doth magnify the Lord; my spirit has rejoiced in God my Saviour." "All nations shall call me blessed; for he that is mighty hath done great things for me, and holy is His name." This was the canticle of emancipated womanhood in the person of Mary—the civilization of the new dispensation.

How was it with poverty? You all know. Even the naturally Christian Plato, the most religious of all the pagan philosophers in his republic, would have the poor expelled when they became too numerous for the enjoyment of others. Poverty was almost a crime, when, going back to the cradle of the new civilization at the feet of poverty, we find the royal wealth of the kings of the East. Poverty was enshrined in the poor child in the manger, and from that moment the man who dares to talk against poverty talks against our Lord.

You know how prisoners were treated,—butchered in the Roman amphitheatre "to make a Roman holiday." Brave men who had committed no crime but to defend their country were fastened to the triumphal chariots of Roman emperors; prisoners thrust into dark cells, into which no ray of the white light of heaven could ever enter. Prisoners of war were enslaved. But now, before Pontius Pilate there stands a prisoner. Alone, suffering, patient, from that moment the prisoner became sacred. "I was in prison, and ye visited me." So our Lord identified himself with the prisoner as he identified himself with the child, with the mother of the child, and with the poor. Behold at once the motive, the philosophy, of Christian philanthropy! "If you do it to any of these, you do it unto me."

More than that, he taught a sublime morality of which paganism had no conception; that is, the forgiveness of injury and the love of enemies. The Chinese minister to this country, when recently speaking of the relative merits of the teachings of Christianity and of Confucius, said he saw no superiority in the teachings of Christ except in one respect, and that was the wonderful doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries and the love of enemies; but he said,

“Christians never mind it; no one ever thinks of loving his enemies, and, therefore, practically Christianity is not superior to the doctrines of Confucius.” But Christians have acted out this sublime morality. In the third century in the city of Alexandria a plague broke out. The people died by hundreds and thousands. The pagans abandoned the bodies of their own relatives. In an obscure part of the city, poor, but healthy because of their purity, were the Christians. Now came the time for Christianity to leave its obscurity and march out against its enemies. And these Christians did march out. They left the Christian quarter and came and waited on their pagan persecutors. They buried them and died beside their graves. This was their revenge! *Ecce homo!* “For my sake,” he says, “be good to those that persecute you; bless those that curse you. Paganism knew no principle that could inspire a sacrifice like this. Such is the teaching of our divine law. Acting for Christ’s sake gives to human philanthropy a triple impulse. It intensifies, it universalizes, it perpetuates. It intensifies it by adding to our love of our fellow-being the great love that should fill our hearts for God; for we love our fellow-being for his own and God’s sake. Again, it universalizes our love; for every creature is God’s offspring, and we are not bounded by pet charities but love all. Again, it perpetuates, because there are men whose philanthropy has been frozen by ingratitude in beneficiaries; but there can be no fear of ingratitude in God, and he who acts from motive of his love, must act so forever, even toward his enemies. Thus man is made to love his brother man more intensely, more universally, more permanently by the introduction of the Christian principle of acting for God’s sake.

This is the civilization that the Christian teacher brings to the Indian. That is the highest civilization. Let our missionaries teach these great truths of Christianity to the Indians, that a permanent impression be made upon them. And let me warn you, friends of the Indians, against the greatest danger of our day, and that is the ignoring of the principles of religion for mere ethical axioms. You must have a motive for self-sacrifice, and the motive is found in the belief in positive doctrines. Men seem to say, I wish the flower; I do not care about the root. That is to say, I want the effect, not the cause. Unless a man has the fear and love of God in his heart, he will not be capable of self-sacrifice. But this fear and love are dependent on doctrines, and if you tear up these roots the flowers shall soon droop and die. Disbelief in the existence of heaven and hell takes away the great motives of fear and hope from a man struggling with a great temptation. There is not a great motive of Christian action that has not a great doctrine as its life and inspiration, and our modern disregard for such doctrines is perilous to our Christian civilization, as well as to our personal salvation. Let us then take Christianity as it was given to us, with its doctrines and their offspring, its sublime ethical teachings.

Let us gather together around the same cross; let us love one

another, and work for one another, and know that the image of God is in every human soul. Let us work for humanity, and work through the love of the God of humanity.

The CHAIR.—We are all grateful for this earnest exposition of the faith and philosophy of charity, and for the inspiring illustrations of self-sacrifice which quickened our hearts.

Mr. H. M. Noble, superintendent of the Grand River School, North Dakota, was introduced.

Mr. H. M. NOBLE.—Five years ago the school over which I have control at Grand River had but 42 at the end of the first quarter. Last year the day school opened with 125. This is a sign of progress—the willingness of parents to send their children to school.

In 1900 the Indians received an income from sales of wood and hay and teaming of \$113,000; in 1901 they had \$132,000,—another sign of prosperity. The number of cattle five years ago was 6,693; last year the number in their name was 13,251—an increase of nearly 100 per cent. This is one of the great signs of prosperity, for cattle raising is about their only source of support, owing to the lack of rain.

The reduction of rations has been discussed a good deal. Every able-bodied man has had rations cut off completely this fall. Men who did not work before are working now. It was very difficult to get this started. The Indian is something like a white man. If he sits around for some time and is then ordered out to work he does not feel much like getting at it. The Indian, after centuries of sitting around the camp fire, is ordered out to work, and it was to be expected that he would not want to. But the Government's policy of cutting off rations is reaching him through his stomach, and he is going to work. Some of you have driven across the streams at the Standing Rock Agency, or perhaps have had to wait two or three days for the water to go down so that you could do it. The Indians are now building bridges across those streams. That is one of the actual results of cutting off rations. Roads are also being graded up. When they have to work they do work. They have just constructed a ditch to the river, 1,700 feet long and 6 feet deep.

The CHAIR.—I visited that agency thirty years ago, and remember the need of bridges.

Mr. Joshua W. Davis was next introduced as one of the oldest members of the Conference, but one of the youngest in spirit, and one so familiar with the Indian question that his advice is always eminently wise.

although cattle had been sent in and were roaming on reserved Indian lands; and that a body of the cattle had been driven across the reserved hay lands instead of over the route leased to the cattle men. I claimed that they should verify every statement by renewed inquiry, and be ready to certify them under oath; and these statements have since been confirmed to me.

One of the cattle-men leaders had the face to reply that the Indians had left the gate open, so that for several days the cattle got out, when, for miles, there was not a particle of fence in sight then, nor for weeks after that.

Thus, at the very outset, have begun the encroachments not only on their rights, but on the very living of the Indians; which encroachments were as sure to happen as night follows day.

The Interior Department put forth the plea that it had a bond from the cattle men to indemnify the Indians for any trespass; to which our committee answered that such a bond had not the strength of a straw to restrain trespass; for the history of the last twenty years shows that not one case in a hundred of encroachments has ever been prosecuted to any real indemnity by reservation agents. And this I assert from our Boston Committee's experience, and also as Secretary of the Mohonk Committee, in whose hands a former Conference placed \$5,000 for the defense of the Mission Indians of California against encroachments.

Are the Indians to spend their time needed for the progress which we demand of them in gathering witnesses and driving with them twenty to thirty miles, it may be, to the agency to complain, and return with promises only occasionally kept?

Does any one believe the agent who worked so energetically to force the Indians to lease their lands will turn and exert himself to secure indemnity for them?

I leave you to study the Senate's Report of this agent's examination by the Senate Committee and give your answer.

Later I went to the Omaha Reservation, from which we have had such sad reports of intemperance blighting the people for years past. And there the better element has been petitioning earnestly, but so far in vain, to be relieved from an agent whom they charge with being himself intemperate, and at least not defending them from a nest of harpies, if he does not favor them; harpies who not only foster intemperance, but, under the new law for the sale of deceased persons' lands, are promoting their sale under conditions that enable them to secure valuable lands at extremely low prices, sometimes at even half price.

First, on the point of intemperance, I wish to unite both an encouraging and pleading word concerning this tribe, of whom at one time we were losing hope.

I ascertained that out of the drink habit some had more than once strenuously endeavored to rise, and were now really longing for encouragement and help to free themselves from it. They have held several meetings to devise ways to stop the sale of liquor on

the reservation; and our friend, Hon. Mr. Garrett, who visited the reservation to investigate, confirms this statement.

But the charge is made that the United States Court at Omaha is simply an instrument to collect fees, but not to stop the traffic; and I have proof from more than one source that this charge is true, but await more details before presenting the case to Washington.

Surely we cannot, we must not, be indifferent to this people's continuing appeal for relief from the adverse example and influence of Government officers who should be their helpers.

But this subject of agents and inspectors I have found to be too vital and burning a matter throughout my journey to be dismissed here with one allusion.

A matron in the Government school, currently reported to be favored by the agent, had a reputation so decidedly stained that petition was made for her removal; but a Government inspector completely exonerated her, and recommended her promotion to another school. But at the new place charges against her life there were very soon made, and another inspector investigated; and, though the agent at the second agency zealously defended her, and attacked honest witnesses in the case, she was promptly discharged not only from that school but from Government service entirely.

The evil reputation was considered to be as indisputably plain at the first agency as at the second, but Western parlance states the case as "whitewashed by two agents and one inspector."

And these several cases are in a small portion of the Indian field. And other workers in this Conference have just been telling me of grievous cases elsewhere; to which I might add our own committee's experience of several years' persistent effort to secure the turning out of a corrupt crew intrenched in an agency, under senatorial influence, where the agent boasted he had turned down three or four investigations, and would turn down the one we were securing under President McKinley's administration; and he well nigh succeeded in doing so through the whitewashing of a Government inspector.

Please understand that it is with the deepest sadness of heart that some of us take up this duty of telling these things. And those in these Conferences, in whom you have the highest confidence, will assure you that the cases mentioned are neither isolated ones nor exaggerated. I will name only one of several here present who can thus assure you, and I am sure he will pardon my naming him for this purpose without previously asking his consent—Hon. Philip C. Garrett. And it is a question for us to seriously consider whether the Mohonk Conference is to content itself with inserting in its platform a few weak words of recommendation that better agents be secured,—words which, if noticed at all, only excite a smile of scorn of the guilty ones and their senatorial protectors.

We boast of millions the Government appropriates for the education of the race, and the communities and churches which we

represent support missions at large cost for the uplifting work which the Government cannot do; and then men are fastened by political influence on these people, who, by example of theft, intemperance, and vilest immorality, blast the governmental and philanthropic work with soul-murdering results on our wards, against which the leaders of these people piteously plead.

And we need to remember that God says he remembereth the cry of the poor, and will make inquisition for blood. He has set this Conference on the hilltop to speak as did the prophets of old to the people. In the language of the morning Scripture, to which our attention was particularly called in the Conference to-day, his call to us is to "Cry aloud and spare not; lift up the voice like a trumpet." And if we do not speak in trumpet tones to the Government and to the whole land, blood guiltiness will be upon us also.

The CHAIR.—In coming to attend this Conference one lady rode a hundred and fifty miles to take a train. If we allowed her one minute a mile to tell us what she knows about the Navajo Indians it would not be too much, but I am going to ask her to tell us what she can in ten minutes.

Mrs. H. G. COLE.—I am glad to be here and say a word of the Navajos. The reservation, which is mostly a desert, with the San Juan River running through the northwest corner of it, from which we have an irrigating ditch—given by the Cambridge, Mass., ladies—that waters several hundred acres of land. Where there can be cultivation we have very fine crops. They are a very industrious people, and are glad to have a chance to irrigate and cultivate their land. They have never before this year on the San Juan River had wagons and farming implements issued by the Government. The Government issued a dozen wagons last year. Mrs. Eldridge has four or five ploughs, which she lends to the people to work with. They have very few seeds given them. The San Juan River is treacherous. It is filled with quicksand, and it is sometimes so high that when you cross you have to put your bundles on the seat of the wagon, or the water flows over the bottom of it, and you are always expecting to upset on the quaking sands.

In the middle of the reservation there is no water; it is like a dry desert. Occasionally near the foot of the mountain we find little springs, and they have worked hard to get water from them on to little patches of ground for alfalfa, wheat, corn, and beans, and they raise a few things for their families. One man I know dug a ditch five miles from a little spring to get water for a half acre of land, and dragged poles ten miles to fence in the same. This last year the Government gave him a wagon, and he has been doing freighting for the traders, but he earns very little. They are glad to work if they can get anything to do. The women own the

sheep, spin the wool, and make it into Navajo blankets, which they exchange at the traders for provisions. The men own the horses, but these they sometimes kill and eat. They own a few cattle, but for the past three years we have had no rain. You can imagine what a state the country is in. When I took my ride of one hundred and fifty miles to get my train I saw scarcely a spear of grass, and the cattle were dying by the hundreds. If they do not have wool to make blankets this winter it is going to be very hard for them. They have always been self-supporting, and never have received rations except once, when there was a drought. •

I was sent out there four years ago by the Women's National Indian Association, and later by the Government. I was set down among them without knowing a word of their language, but I managed to understand a good deal because they talk so much with their hands. I had three hundred and twenty-seven calls for medicine, etc., in a week. I was supposed to take care of them when sick, and do for them as if they were my own children. They were very grateful, and I am very fond of them. I have tried to teach them to work and to make homes for themselves, and to make of themselves a moral, Christian people. I had no interpreter, no way of teaching the Scriptures; but they are very quick to notice everything that is done, and if they happened in at prayer time, or at the dining hour, I would always give them a plate, and treat them as well as I would treat the Queen of England. They had never seen knives and forks or napkins before, but they noticed how I would use them, and do the same. When I asked the blessing I told them I was thanking God for food, and they would bow their heads. The temperance question is getting to be a very serious one there, for the whites are bringing in whiskey, and only the Government can put a stop to this.

Rev. F. W. Merrill, missionary of the Oneida Indians, was next introduced.

Rev. F. W. MERRILL.—You have missionaries come here pleading for churches and hospitals and libraries, but the gospel that I preach is the gospel of cows. An old lady to whom I said this once, exclaimed: "I have given my prayers and my tears for the conversion of the poor heathen Indians, and now you tell me they are to be converted by cows and dairies; that is all very strange. It completely upsets my ideas."

Two years ago, when I had the great good fortune to be here, there were some who believed in the gospel of cows, and they encouraged this poor missionary and aided the Oneida creamery. I wanted money then for my creamery and cows, and I had not only help from this Conference, but I had a loan from that society in Connecticut which helps the development of native industries. We began in a very unostentatious and humble way the 15th of May, 1901. Our first customer brought 17 pounds of milk from

two cows. At the end of the first season we were able to say that we had milk from 83 cows, 99,897 pounds of milk, 3,189 pounds of butter, and paid our patrons \$603. We went on from strength to strength, and at the close of this summer we had milk from 128 cows, 989,490 pounds of milk, 7,165 pounds of butter, and paid to our 36 patrons \$1,343—double the work of the last season. But 128 cows will not pay the running expense of a creamery. One young man whom I met at this Conference two years ago presented the creamery with a fine, full-blooded Guernsey bull, so that now we shall have better stock.

Besides the creamery we have developed another industry. Three years ago we started lace work. It seems impossible to enter upon any work among Indians except in a small way, for they have not yet learned the dignity of labor. We began with twelve women making lace; we have now one hundred and fifty; and the earnings of the women for the last year were \$1,200, which represents eight months' work. During the winter we had small-pox, which prevented them from doing it. We have had much encouragement in this work from Miss Reel. We are now going to make bead work and baskets. The bead work is done by the children of the government school. There is nothing so artistic as bead work. The children love to do it, and they really earn a good deal of money by it. We are trying to develop an industrious community. They have always been self-supporting, and have never received rations or annuities. They are farmers, each having his own farm; but we want to turn the reservation into a great dairy farm. It is fine grazing land, and there is so much to be obtained from a cow, but it takes a great deal of money to buy one. An Indian will say: "Buy a cow for \$45! If I had all that money I should not need to work!" That is their idea of wealth. When we have two hundred and fifty cows our creamery will pay its own way.

Miss Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Education, was introduced.

MISS ESTELLE REEL.—I am afraid the last speaker has given me credit I do not deserve. I wish to state that some time ago the Commissioner met Mrs. Doubleday, who spoke on native industries at the Mohonk Conference; so you see the inspiration to have this native work taken up and incorporated into the course of study originated here. The importance of teaching the native industries as a means of self-support cannot be overestimated. A colony of women in an Oklahoma tribe receive \$400 a month for their work, and the Oneidas also have a considerable income from the sale of their lace and bead work. On one reservation I found that over \$1,200 worth of work had been done, and it is possible for the basket-weaving tribes to maintain themselves by this industry alone.

I wish to thank the Commissioner and Mrs. Doubleday for their great assistance, and the devoted missionaries who have helped me in so many ways when I have felt discouraged. Encouraging progress has been made in Indian education during the year. For the instruction of the Indian youth the Government now maintains 249 schools,—25 non-reservation, 90 reservation, and 134 day. These day schools should be increased in number until there is one in every camp, for their influence is exerted not only upon the child, but upon the home.

The enrollment has increased 1,020 over last year's, and a vast change for the better has taken place in the methods of instruction, character of school plants, and facilities for industrial training.

Mr. Charles Joseph Bonaparte, of Baltimore, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was introduced.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN RELATION TO THE INDIAN SERVICE.

BY C. J. BONAPARTE.

All that I propose to say on this subject is to call to the attention of this Conference what is meant by the application of Civil Service Reform in the Indian Service. It means this, and nothing more, that the people and Government of the United States shall free our country from one of the gravest reproaches that rests upon its history. I have heard, and I suppose you all have heard, in connection with Indian affairs of a "Century of Dishonor." I fear there is a considerable element of truth in the reproach implied in that term; but the dishonor does not lie in some of the supposed offenses usually imputed to the American Indian. Our national purpose toward the Indians has been uniformly just and humane; but we have intrusted the carrying out of intentions, in themselves good and worthy of a great nation, to most discreditable instruments. I know of no greater crime against humanity than to select for the care of a people in the condition of one of our Indian tribes a man unfit for his office; or even a man whose unfitness not being ascertained is rendered probable by the fact that he is selected from unworthy motives. Too often, as you well know, a man is chosen because he has done questionable work for men who have attained political eminence and influence by questionable means; and to choose a man such as this to take charge of an Indian reservation, is as great an offense against the plain dictates of conscience and honor as it would be to put the like man in charge of an insane asylum, or an institution for the education of youth. The application of Civil Service Reform principles to the Indian service means simply that, having chosen, by the best means we can devise,

so as to exclude favoritism and unworthy motives,—so far as it can be excluded in the choice,—having, as I say, selected by the best means at our command men fit for their position, they shall be retained in those positions as long as they worthily discharge their duties toward the Indians placed in their care and the nation that employs them; and they shall be promptly, surely, and with an absolute disregard of all considerations of personal advantage or political profit, removed from those positions the very moment their unworthiness is ascertained, or even gravely suspected. I say “suspected,” for the nation has no right to experiment upon the Indians by leaving in charge of any of these,—the true and undoubted wards of the nation,—a man whose fitness for his charge is doubtful, or, at least, whose unfitness is probable. I know of nothing more disheartening to those who wish to think as well as we all wish to think of our country, as the difficulty which has been often experienced in securing the removal of men whose absolute unfitness for their position, nay, whose disgraceful conduct and utterly unworthy character and disqualification for any position of trust have been established beyond a reasonable doubt, as politics are with us. They remain there because they are useful to those who have secured them their positions: they have always been, and will ever continue to be, chosen for the public service for those reasons, and they will be retained in their positions for the same reasons which have caused their selection; and while this is so, however this Conference may endeavor to ameliorate the condition of our Indian fellow-Americans, we shall not have done toward them that full duty imposed on us by our position in the world and by our relation toward them.

I have known by personal experience men absolutely unworthy to be trusted in any relation of confidence,—men whose unworthiness has been shown by their own lives and by the standing which they occupied in the communities wherein they lived,—I have known of such men appointed to positions of great importance and responsibility in the Indian service; and though their unfitness was called to the attention of the officers responsible for their appointment, and the facts regarding them were laid, first before one and then before another officer up to the President of the United States himself, yet they remained in their positions; because, as I remember to have happened in a particular instance, a senator of the United States said, “That man must have and keep that place.” And his conduct afterwards was such as one could have expected from his conduct before. While such things are done this country will have good reason to be ashamed of its treatment of the Indians; and they will be done until the true principles of Civil Service Reform, which demand simply the application of common sense and morality to the choice of public servants, are adopted there where most of all it is necessary to the honor of the country that they should be adopted.

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 23, 1902.

The third session was called to order by the President, after prayer offered by Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia. Mr. Smiley asked that the broad principles of charity might underlie all the discussion that was to take place.

The PRESIDENT.—We sometimes think that the Indian is a far-away subject, geographically considered, and then we find that he is very near to us. In taking up the Indians right here in the State of New York, we may be said to be taking up our nearest duty geographically and ethically. It seems curious that there should be five thousand Indians in New York on reservations, under tribal laws. One of the great political economists of France, de Laveleye, has said that what we need in the problem between labor and capital is more light, more truth, more justice. We have needed more light, more truth, more justice for the Indian. We are seeking the light this morning. Let the truth be spoken in love. Let there be light rather than heat in our discussion, which will be opened by Hon. E. B. Vreeland, of Salamanca, who has framed a bill for giving to the New York Indians their land in severalty. Mr. Vreeland will also close the discussion.

NEW YORK INDIANS AND THE VREELAND BILL.

BY HON. EDWARD B. VREELAND.

I have been asked to explain the provisions of the bill for dividing the lands of the New York Indians in severalty, breaking up their tribal relations, and putting them under the laws of the State of New York and of the United States,—a bill which I introduced in Congress last winter. I do not claim that no improvement is possible under any of the provisions of this bill, although it has been drawn with the greatest care. Men who are known as friends of the Indians have been consulted many times in its preparation, and I am especially indebted to members of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the valuable suggestions and advice which they have given in relation to it. It may not be out of place for me to say that when the bill was finally completed and introduced, its provisions received the approbation as a practical proposition of a majority of the members of that Board. Why was this bill introduced? In addressing this body, so familiar with

Indian history and Indian matters, I do not need to go too much into detail. You all know that we have in the State of New York about five thousand Indians living upon reservations, holding their lands in common, and maintaining their tribal relations. Perhaps you do not know that their property and their persons (except to a limited extent for police purposes) are not under the laws and courts of the State; particularly with reference to the Indians about which this bill treats, the Indian courts among them have charge of the property and domestic relations of these Indians. For many years the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in Washington have recommended earnestly that their tribal relations be broken up; that their land be divided in severalty, and the Indians put under the laws of the State. Year after year this Conference has discussed this question, and has favored the allotment of these lands in severalty and the breaking up of tribal relations and putting these Indians under the laws of the State. Sixty-five thousand Indians in the great West, few of whom are as far advanced in civilization as these, have had their lands allotted and are on the road to become citizens of the United States. These were some of the reasons which induced me to introduce this bill. The first provision is, that before the land shall be allotted the consent of the majority of the Indians shall be obtained. That provision is a mistake, as I think, but the Committee on Indian Affairs adopted it, and it is a part of the bill as it now stands.

There are some fifty-six thousand acres in the reservations on which the Senecas and a part of the Tuscorora Indians live. About twenty-four hundred of these Indians are affected by the provisions of this bill. The first provision of the bill is to make allotment of the lands,—a proposition of some difficulty, for the reason that under their tribal custom these lands are in part allotted among different families and members of the tribe. In some instances an individual has much more land than he would be entitled to under allotment, and in many other cases not so much. One Indian, Walter Kennedy, holds more than two thousand acres under tribal customs. This bill requires a *pro rata* division. It provides that three commissioners shall be appointed by the President of the United States to make these allotments. I think all of the members of this Conference believe that such a commission, appointed by President Roosevelt, will be men in whose character we can have confidence that they will carry out honestly and faithfully the provisions for allotment. The bill provides, in detail, just how the allotment shall be made, so that there can be no doubt as to the route to follow. The credit for working out this plan, which was a work of considerable difficulty, is mainly due to Dr. Gates, the able Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

There is a provision in the bill like that found in the Dawes Bill, that the land shall not be alienated within a term of twenty-five years. In connection with this there is also a provision, which

has been criticised by the opponents of the measure, which permits an Indian, one year after the allotment takes place, to go before the county judge, the surrogate, and the county clerk of the county in which he resides, and if all of these officials certify that of their own knowledge and information such Indian applicant is sober, industrious, and capable of managing his own affairs and his own property, and qualified for citizenship, such certificate may be sent to the Secretary of the Interior; the Secretary of the Interior may then send for such further information as he may desire, and if at the conclusion of that investigation he considers the Indian applicant entitled to full citizenship, and the right to manage his property, the Secretary is authorized to issue a patent to such Indian. It must be known to many of the members of this Conference that quite a number of these Indians are as capable of managing their property as gentlemen who are present here to-day. This provision was put in at the request of some of the most intelligent Indians among them. They have already a system of tribal government, are divided into parties, and are familiar with the details of election. They have a president, treasurer, secretary, sixteen councilors, marshals, and other officials. These Indians said to me that if there were no provision in the bill for an Indian to receive citizenship for twenty-five years the bill would be very unjust. "You take away our own government," said they, "but do not permit us, even if intelligent and capable of doing so, to take part in the government under which we live, nor to become citizens for twenty-five years." This argument seemed to me so forcible that I put in this provision, hedging it about with safety so far as I could devise safeguards on that subject. If any further measures of protection against the abuse of this clause can be suggested I shall be glad to adopt them. If it is the opinion of the friends of the Indians that it is an unwise provision I am willing to drop it, although I think it would be a great injustice to these intelligent Indians to make no provision for citizenship for them. I believe that these Indians who can read and write, who take and read papers, and are in every way intelligent and well-informed, are entitled to some provision whereby they can take part in the government of the place where they live and manage their own property.

Another provision is, that payment shall be made for the lands to those Indians who, under the plan of allotment, would be obliged to lose a portion of the land they now hold. Walter Kennedy and his family, for example, would not receive more than sixty-five or seventy-five acres, and would be obliged to relinquish the balance of it, which he has improved in clearing out stumps, building fences, and ploughing and cultivating; and provision is made whereby commissioners shall determine the amount of payment which these Indians shall receive for the improvements which they have made on land which must be surrendered. At the end of twenty-five years all of them are to receive patents to their land and to become

citizens. Some of the friends of the Indians favor a shorter term. Some think a period of ten or twelve years would be sufficient, but I have insisted that the term shall remain at twenty-five years. I have done this, because I was certain that if it were made ten or twelve years it would be charged that the bill was a scheme of land grabbing; that white men wanted to secure the Indians' land; and this charge might prejudice white people against the bill.

There has always been one great difficulty in the allotment of the lands of the Seneca Indians. It was this difficulty which prevented these lands from being included in the provisions of the Dawes Act. I believe, and a large number of the prominent men of New York State who have given sufficient attention to this subject believe, that the Seneca nation does not own the title to these lands. These lands of the Senecas are not in the condition of Western reservations, where the right of pre-emption and the ultimate fee is in the Government of the United States, and where the Indians have the right of occupancy. When the Government desires to make allotments upon the reservations of the West, it has only to give to the individual Indian a patent conveying the title which the Government holds. This, joined to the Indian's title of occupancy, makes a perfect title. But in the case of the land of the Seneca nation the Government has no interest in the property. In this case the Indians have the right of occupancy of land as long as they desire; a right which belongs to them under a long line of decisions in the United States Supreme Court. The right of pre-emption belongs to a company called the Ogden Land Company. As long as these Indians choose to occupy this land as a tribe they have a right to do so,—if it is a thousand years,—and no one can disturb them; but when we attempt to make this occupancy individual, or when we attempt to dispose of the land, then the rights of the Ogden Land Company stand in the way, and they must be disposed of. Therefore, this bill provides that \$200,000 shall be paid to the Ogden Land Company in order to secure full title to this reservation. The Ogden Land Company bought these reservations, with others, nearly a century ago. These particular lands cost that company about \$30,000. If they had put the money at legal rate of interest since that time it would have amounted to as much as they ask to-day for their rights. While we regret the necessity of buying out this company, we believe that allotment cannot take place without it. It stands in the way, and until their title is secured no bill will ever pass for the allotment of these lands. To do so, in the opinion of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, would be to turn the Indians and the white people on these reservations out of doors. These, then, are the provisions of the bill.

Two millions of dollars are coming to the New York Indians, growing out of an old Kansas land claim; and we think it is better to take a portion of this money and extinguish the cloud upon the title of these lands, and put them in such shape that their lands can

be allotted; that their homes may be protected; that their tribal relations shall be abolished; that their persons, their property, and their domestic relations may come under the law; that they may be put on the road to become American citizens.

Bishop F. D. Huntington, of Syracuse, was introduced as the next speaker.

THE PERMANENT PRINCIPLES OF REFORM.

BY BISHOP F. D. HUNTINGTON.

Mindful as I am how much less interesting, to almost any audience, abstract truth is than the concrete, the general than the particular, or ideas than persons and things, I nevertheless have an impression that for a company of men and women such as this company is, it is well to recur often in measures of reform to their permanent principles.

The entertaining address yesterday by the guest from Alaska, brought vividly before us the power of racial and class prejudice in the example of the educator and missionary with the Eskimos.

It appears to be a rule in history that the grade of character in a nation may be fairly judged by the treatment that an inferior race gets from the superior, the weaker from the stronger. Precisely there is found the real difference between what we call the lower, natural, or economic policy in law-making and Government on the one side, and a distinctly Christian policy on the other. Hitherto, for the most part at least, political legislation has conceived its business to be, primarily, economical, financial, and material; secondarily, educational; later, charitable and humane, or altruistic.

In this Republic, now more than a century old, on most of the statute books of the several states there are unrepealed traces of barbarism. A great deal has been written to this day about colonies and colonial administration. In most colonies there is not only the adventuring, immigrating party, but a native population, subject to disadvantage and infirmity, and perhaps finally crowded out. How will the less capable and less equipped race fare while it survives? Here is a chance for injustice, indifference, neglect, and even cruelty. Here is where many a nation has sinned. Here is where any nation on earth, as we know full well when the invading or ascendant element, if it has an aggressive ambition, an expansive instinct, or a keen commercial enterprise, becomes despotic; and despotic it will be unless the spirit of brotherhood, which is the spirit of the Son of man, has penetrated and transformed that brutal passion for empire. Explorers, academic philosophers, statisticians, have ample liberty—and they are apt to use it—to exploit their theories of the social system; but, as the fate of every past civilization shows, neither constitutions nor congresses, neither literary culture nor fine arts, neither armies nor treatises, neither science nor sentimental epigrams, will realize anywhere on the globe a

social state at once lofty and firmly rooted, fitly framed together and enduring, without the inwrought and independent vitality nourished by Him who is the King of nations, because he is the hard-working servant and deliverer of all workingmen. Short of that, your national policy, however clever, however sagacious, however scientifically legal according to the forms of law, will be selfish, overbearing, calculating, materialistic, and unscrupulous—"red in tooth and claw," and so doomed.

It is easy enough, to be sure, to repeat the common-place maxim that the character of a nation depends on the character of the individuals that make up the nation. But that easy generality does not solve the ethnic problem that has faced the migrations and revolutions of peoples since the gate of Eden was shut; it does not explain the phenomenon of the patriotic, national consciousness and conscience, the common, natural sentiment of loyalty, with the sacrifices made for it. There is a deeper generic principle by which the organic life of a state and government has a unity; an integral force of its own, growing out of divine relations in our social humanity. Without it we should not be here where we are, and as we are. You cannot, to be sure, tell beforehand just how such a political organization will behave on a given moral question; for the process is slow. In public the moral principle is apt to be bashful. Happily the clearest thinking and wisest reasons of seers—the men of vision—lead to the conclusion, as scientific as it is evangelical, that a civic community has a kind of personality; that it is not a piece of mechanism, or a construction, made up and put together and operated for mercantile ends or material convenience, but is a far grander and nobler thing. This was the conception that rose in the mind of John Milton, not altogether a poet imagining dominions in the heavens, but statesman enough and Republican enough to write thus: "A nation ought to be as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man." So saw, also, and so said Edmund Burke, more than a royal advocate or partisan opportunist, when he declared, "The nation is indeed a partnership; but a partnership not only between those who are living at one time on the earth, but between those who are living and those who are dead and those who are yet to be born." This may sound familiar and commonplace; so are the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes, and I meet some fine people who have not outgrown the one or the other. If we look for the outline of a pattern in the marvelous mosaic commonwealth, then while our civil legislature would represent the Hebrew administration, after Joshua, a voluntary parliament like our Mohonk Conference stands for the Prophet, the voice of a Samuel and his successors, the voice of conscience and spiritual inspiration.

There is a singular significance for us white men in the circumstance that Christ gave his benediction and his miraculous mercy to a woman of the aborigines of the soil crowded westward to the sea by strong colonists from Chaldea, blessing her because he had

to teach the world that in all the nations, Jewish like his mother or ethnic like the Canaanite, there is "one blood." The glories of the gospel conquests are very apt to lie along the front margins of the world's settled dwelling-places, in straitened and perilous passes. We shall probably assent to the faith of the Puritans at Leyden, who put on record their hope that "in the western wilderness they might both keep their name and nation, and find that the Lord had a people among the nations, whither he would bring them." That hope was not to be balked, because the civilization they were to plant and nourish in the wilderness was not that of building cities or ships, or writing a literature, or running factories, or stocking a patent office with inventions. It would be enough if it should be a style orderly, useful, and clean.

Hence it follows that an American Indian Rights' philanthropist has to learn as his first lesson, and possibly his last—more comprehensive than the statutes of any law book—that the Indian is a brother by human blood. In the truly refined nation the apostolic principle which leveled the Oriental partition wall between Jew and Gentile by an equally broad catholicity, must extinguish at once the prejudice of race and the petty provincialism of rank, money, or the color of the skin. Therefore I say again what I said here at Mohonk three or four years ago, and was blamed, I believe, for saying it, that the course of law in the Legislature of the State of New York has been faulty and unworthy of its traditions, unworthy of its schools and universities, unworthy of its churches and even its geography, and that the conditions of Indian life and manners are correspondingly disreputable. I have nothing to say of any reservation where I am not personally acquainted, and I must not doubt that Christian missions have had an ameliorating and beneficent effect. I mean to testify, however, from knowledge gained where I have conducted a gratuitous mission thirty-three years in spite of adverse forces and with very little public help, a few Christian women being my chief helpers. So it will continue to be substantially till the people choose officers and lawmakers of such disinterested and impartial statesmanship as to set resolutely about interpreting and modifying fairly the treaty obligations under the screen of which—for it is nothing more than a screen—immorality, corruption, with idleness and ignorance, plead a flimsy excuse, and ply their infamous traffic by red and white malefactors alike. In my judgment the apathy of successive administrations at Albany toward the vicious pagan practices at Onondaga is without defense, as the practices are without decency. There should be, without delay, a thorough and complete investigation of the history of these compacts between the Indian chiefs and the State of New York, not in this case the Government at Washington. If it should prove that the treaty terms have been repeatedly broken by either party, and are only a stumbling-block to reform, then they are a scandal. That searching inquiry should be made by a commission having a heart in the business; and their report and its facts should be seen by the Legislature, the executive, and the newspaper press.

To this Conference financial policy, material thrift, needlework, ploughs, cows, bridges, baskets, nay, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, have importance only as they are signs and means of higher ends and a more lasting life; for which life man is made, society is organized, and nations grow.

Citizenship, severalty in land, it is quite true, will not do everything; it will not create character, but it will yield two benefits, positive and negative,—it will add dignity to manhood in a sense of personal responsibility, a civic consciousness, and it will protect domestic order and just dealing between neighbor and neighbor, and restrain crime.

The reservation is a makeshift—expedient, very likely, but not normal as I have seen it. It fails to foster and guard the home,—that bond of hearts which, next to the church, is God's ordinance for his children from generation to generation. Meantime, here in the center of our Christian civilization is a tract of six thousand acres of soil of average fertility, where wedlock is almost utterly unknown; where sensuality in its two basest forms is indulged and invited without reproach; where agriculture and the mechanic arts limp and lag; where a subtle and conceited pride of ancestry among many adults tries persistently to preserve the pagan traditions in language and religion; and where the Lord's Day is a rest for laziness or a feast for animal appetite. Party craft may issue boastful bulletins of "progress," and churches may send missionaries and Bibles to the other side of the globe to convert Oriental heathen, but God is not mocked; character is one thing everywhere. If the greed of gain pollutes and rots the roots of the country's strength, if moral cowardice emasculates its manhood and womanhood, if the lust of office and its spoils cheat an abused suffrage, if cupidity and fraud are permitted to wait and watch and whisper at the gateway of Senate and Assembly and Courts, how can God's poor red man of the prairies, or the black man of the plantation, hope for food for body or soul, for the bread from Heaven, or the light from beyond the sun? These aliens by race—in Heaven's just and merciful name be it our task and our privilege to help welcome them into a place of adopted citizen-children in a righteous national family! To that end I, for one, like to come while I can to Mr. Smiley's high and open door.

The following letter from Bishop Walker was read:—

BUFFALO, October 16, 1902.

To the President and Members of the Lake Mohonk Conference.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a sorrow to me that I shall not have the privilege, with you, of enjoying the generous hospitality, and engaging in the earnest discussions, under the roof of Mr. Smiley at Mohonk Lake; only pressing duty elsewhere prevents.

I felt, however, that I would be untrue to duty—a momentous duty—if I refrained from calling your attention to some facts that have come within the scope of my own observation, or that are attested to me by honest and learned experts in the New York Indians' problem.

Let me say, first, that my home is within thirty-five miles of the Cattaraugus Reservation, and within less than fifty miles of the Alleghany Reserve. As a consequence, I am often within the boundaries of one or the other. I am personally acquainted with many of their people. I know their thought; I know their plans and desires; I know their hopes and fears; I know their work and their life.

As a consequence I am constrained to differ with some of my colleagues on the Board of Indian Commissioners on the subject of lands in severalty for the New York Indians *at the present time*. The principle is sound for the West, where the general government has an absolute control by the law of *eminent domain*. But in this State there are several complicating conditions which make the question one of a different tone.

But these legal aspects of the matter I do not intend to discuss here; they will, I know, be ably presented by some gentlemen from this western part of our State who have given them faithful and prolonged study. I however make this contention, that the Senecas, residing on the two reservations named, are not ready for lands in severalty, and that at least five years more should be accorded them for education in that direction before pressure—if that is proposed—be brought upon them to force them into such new conditions.

I think the people recognize that the time is coming when the distribution of their property must be made among them, but with the exception of from half a dozen to a dozen—and these invariably the thriftless or the indolent among them—they are unalterably and energetically opposed to any such action now. It is true that a few men, last winter, went to Washington and argued for the proposed change. They, however, let me say with emphasis, neither represented the sentiment of their tribe nor their best life. They went with no authority, and would never be the selected spokesmen for their nation, because they are recognized as drones and as some of the failures among their people.

These are facts which I would refrain from mentioning here, but that their attitude and stirring talk—with the latter of which they are gifted if with nothing else that enters into sound manhood scarcely—seemed to impress some. They are of the class whom our Indians in North Dakota, when I lived there, named “big mouth, baby hand.” That is, they were long talkers but no workers.

But, not to indulge in personalities. The second fact I desire to present is this: the Vreeland Bill is obnoxious to every Indian on the two reservations in three of its main provisions. Not a man or woman favors the payment of \$200,000—or of a single dollar—to the Ogden Land Company from the fund, now in the hands of the

Government, belonging to the Senecas. They claim that the whites have no claim to a cent of that money; that for the Government to make any other use of it than to hand it over to them will be simply robbery of the weak by the strong. They have with them the sympathy of a vast number of people in Western New York, their neighbors, their friends. They have the support of gentlemen—very many of them—learned in the law, who have given this question long study and are in no sense sentimentalists.

But I have no doubt that many who are listening to this letter at Lake Mohonk will say, "These Indians know not what is for their real interest."

In reply, I desire to say that they are remarkably intelligent and quick-witted as a whole; that they have generally received a good common-school education. I am speaking of the middle-aged and the young, and that if they have not learned the principles of logic from a school-book, they know how to bring them to bear practically upon the work of their daily life and upon the solemn question now agitating them deeply. Whether \$200,000 of their money shall be taken from them and given to men who have no more right to receive it than I have to forcibly seize—if I could—one of the crown jewels of the King of England. And I desire to say most decidedly that their logic in this matter is my logic too. And I am not ashamed to confess it. I am willing, in a matter so absolutely right, to stand side by side with the despised Red man in demanding that so colossal a wrong shall not be done.

But, again, the Indians are opposed—many of them, not all—to a provision in the aforesaid bill authorizing an Indian, when he shall have received his land in severalty, under certain conditions to dispose of it at the expiration of one year to any white man who may desire to purchase it. The "Dawes Severalty Act" makes the Government the custodian of such lands for twenty-five years from the date of division. They would rather have this paternalism for a quarter of a century on the part of the United States, than the pressures and extortions which might come if they were left helpless to the mercy of designing men seeking their property. Some of the so-called business transactions of the past between certain Indians and certain white men have, I understand, been carried on when the Indian was placed under the influence of whiskey, and the white man took advantage—ruinous advantage—of his helplessness.

I wish here to declare, as my unalterable conviction, that when the time comes that the Indians of these two reservations shall give their consent to lands in severalty,—and it all depends upon that consent whether it is done or not,—the minimum period to elapse before one of them should have power to dispose of his property should be somewhere from seven to ten years.

Again, the Indians object to the aforesaid bill, because it proposes that in the villages of Salamanca, Vandalia, Carrolton, etc., any of the present lessees may compel the owners of the town lots—the Red men—to sell those town lots to the present lessees for a ridicu-

lously small price; market value in no way enters into the programme. To have them appraised by uninterested parties who would gauge values by the values of similar lots in similar towns under similar circumstances, does not enter into the plan. This, it seems to me, would be only common honesty.

How does the matter stand to-day? I will present as a type case the village of Salamanca. It is a very thriving town, numbering probably five thousand to six thousand people; every inch of land in it belongs to the Indians. By an act of Congress they were compelled to give ninety-nine-year leases to the people who occupied or secured home or business sites. These lots, I think, are on an average fifty feet front by one hundred and fifty feet deep. The annual ground rent is as follows: for a lot in the residential section \$3.00 per annum as a minimum; not more than \$6.00 as a maximum. In the business portion the highest ground rent paid yearly is \$10.00. I say unhesitatingly that these rates are absurd. But the Indians have no complaint on this behalf; they accept the conditions. But when it is proposed, on such a basis, to rob them of all right, title and interest in their property, and to transfer the fee thereof for so beggarly a compensation, they protest, they unhesitatingly call it robbery, and declare that their fate—I mean some of the Christian of them so declare—that their fate will be that of the man going down to Jericho centuries ago,—“stripped and despoiled, and thrown out by the wayside half dead.”

But let me mention a fact right here which has a bearing upon this discussion at this particular point. I am told—and I believe it to be true—that some of the leaseholds in the village of Salamanca have been sold for as much as \$2,000 and \$2,500 apiece. In other words, men who secured leases of lots from the Indians for ninety-nine years for which they were to pay anywhere from \$3.00 to \$10.00 per annum, sold the privileges thus obtained from the latter—the Red men—for the sums here named. The Indian only receives year by year his three to ten dollars a lot. The speculator got the advantage, as usual, where the aborigines are concerned, and pocketed the bonus. I am also informed that many of the good people who have thus paid a large bonus for the property they occupy are not anxious to purchase it, and so be compelled to gather a lump sum of money for that purpose. The Indians, and many of the occupants of these lots, are satisfied with the present conditions. The annual ground rent is no burden; they know they are secure in the occupancy of their property during the period of their leases, for the Government of the United States is behind them. I therefore am inclined to believe that the people desirous of consummating this plan are a small minority of the residents in these villages,—that they are, in fact, exceedingly few.

Many of the Indians have called my attention to the closing portion of Section 5 of the bill. It provides that the sums of money paid out of the “Kansas Fund” to all Indians under twenty-one years of age, shall be placed in the hands of the general guardian

of the Indian appointed by the court of the county where the minor resides,—or “into some legally qualified depository authorized by the laws of the State of New York to receive and hold in trust the funds of minors, the same to be accounted for upon the arrival of such Indian at the age of twenty-one years.” This is the provision of the bill. Man after man among the Indians has referred to these two points in this section of said bill: first, that there is no provision for the payment of interest to the minors; and, second, that in the county where the Alleghany Reservation lies there is but one financial institution competent to hold such funds, and that is a trust company, formed within two years or thereabouts, which is under the control of those who are the authors and the earnest advocates of this bill. I know nothing of the facts in this case. With great ardor the Indians call attention to these particular conditions, and feel unwilling that the moneys of the little children and the young men and women among the Senecas shall be held by any other than the United States Government, or some other parties uninterested. If all this be true, I look upon this section of the bill as unwise and unjust, and as one to be eliminated therefrom.

In conclusion I desire to say that on the nineteenth day of September last, on the Cattaraugus Reservation, I met 300 to 400 of the Indians from the two reserves. The council of the nation, with its president, was there. All sections were represented. With great eloquence they discussed the Vreeland Bill. Of that large number, only three women and one man voted in favor of that bill. It was the universal testimony of the gathering that there were only three or four others among the 2,700 to 3,000 people constituting these two reserves who give voice in its favor.

I imagine I hear somebody at Mohonk saying that this “Council of the Senecas” is a corrupt body. Possibly so. But bad as the conditions are, the Indians still retain title to their lands, and any man who desires to engage in farming can take land and cultivate it under their own law. I hear another saying, “Notwithstanding their Christian surroundings, nearly one half the people on each reservation are still pagans.” That, too, is true. But I ask whether by compelling them to surrender \$200,000 to white people who have no claim to their money, and by compelling them to sell town-lots for from one sixth to one tenth of their value, we are likely to convince them of the truth of the Christianity which we, who propose to enforce these things, profess. I must confess, as a bishop, that logic like that would never have won me to my religion. And yet to-day what confronts these people is this: that men who are supposed to be their friends are endeavoring to take from Naboth his little vineyard. That, at least, is the way they present it to themselves and to others. You and I, with all the oratory we may choose to bring to bear upon them, can never convince them that any of the provisions of this bill are for their good.

They see only the white man coveting the red man's little all. They conclude that we are not, as did the Christ, seeking them but theirs.

I have presented these facts in this plain way because I felt that I, who am confronting these people and their desires and their conditions every few weeks, would do them and do my own conscience a grievous wrong if I refrained from speaking with all my might against the proposed legislation.

In the name of God and of his right, therefore, I appeal to the Mohonk Conference to protest against the passage of a bill so fraught with injustice to our wards as a nation—human beings—our brothers—helpless in our hands—God's children.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM D. WALKER,
Bishop of Western New York.

Mr. Charles T. Andrews, State Inspector of Normal and Indian Schools, was introduced as the next speaker.

Mr. CHARLES T. ANDREWS.—In a recently published history of the United States, Julian Hawthorne says: "The Indian and the white man might live together if the former would live like the latter. While he does not do this, the only rational thing to do with the Indian is to kill him."

Heartless and brutal as is this assertion, there is reason to believe that it contains a principle as true and as inexorable as the law of gravitation. The humane people who revolt at it are, nevertheless, compelled to admit its truth; and while they try to mitigate its harshness by restraining the killing on the part of the whites, they realize that the only way to save the Indians from the fearful fate impending over them is to induce or compel them to live like the white men. This is the end sought by all missionary effort; it is the object of the schools maintained by private philanthropy or by State aid. My humble efforts among them are directed to this end.

The power to kill includes the power to inflict all lesser injuries,—to rob and cheat, for instance. The killing need not be by bullet, bayonet or halter, by open warfare or secret assassination. It may be by pauperism, alcoholism, the diseases which the vices of civilization bring to the savage, or even by slow starvation, through destroying their means of livelihood. All of these evils accompany the contact of civilization with barbarism; and philanthropists, I repeat, like the members of this Conference, are required to exert their influence in two directions: on the one hand, to stay the rapacity of the whites; and on the other to attempt the rescue of the Indians from the condition in which they are necessarily the victims of this rapacity.

My criticism of the Vreeland Bill is, that while by its title and in some of its sections it seems to provide for advancing the Indians to the safety of civilization, in its other provisions it not only does not restrain the rapacity of the white men, but, on the contrary, boldly legalizes and authorizes the plunder of the Indians. It contains three provisions; two of them are peremptory and immediate. The third is conditional, and may be delayed in its operation.

First, \$200,000 of the Indians' money is to be paid at once to the Ogden Land Company, for the satisfaction of an alleged claim to the Indian lands.

Secondly, certain lands now held by white men under long-time leases are to be sold to the leaseholders at an arbitrary price whenever the leaseholders wish to buy.

On neither of these propositions is the Indian given any voice or choice whatever.

Thirdly, provision is made for dividing the reservation lands in severalty and conferring citizenship upon the Indians whenever a majority of them shall consent to it.

Why is not the consent of the Indian required before \$200,000 of their money—\$75 for every man, woman and child on the reservations—is taken away from them? Why are they not consulted as to the price they shall receive for the leaseholds? It is because this bill is a white man's bill, conceived and advocated on the broad historic grounds that the only rational thing to do to an Indian is to kill him. I am not at all surprised that in accepting the renomination for Congress the author of the bill named its introduction and advocacy as the most prominent act of his congressional career to which he could point with pride; and that his most popular promise to his constituents, in case of his re-election, was the pledge to use his utmost efforts to secure its enactment. His constituents are all white men. The Indians do not vote.

Yet the people of that congressional district are as humane and enlightened as any in the world. But they live in contact with the Indians, and are controlled as you and I would probably be under the same circumstances, by the inexorable rational law which Hawthorne so frankly enunciated.

They find excuse, too, as all humane people do when impelled to inhuman acts; as all just people do when seemingly forced to commit injustice. They say—and most of them believe—that this taking of the \$200,000 is absolutely necessary in order to secure the Indians in a perfect title to their lands whenever, as citizens of the United States, they shall take them in severalty. This excuse involves the assumption that the Ogden Land Company has a lien upon the lands, or some kind of a claim which, in case of severalty ownership, would cloud the title unless it were previously removed. It also ought to involve the assumption that this is the best way to remove the cloud if it exists.

Hon. Charles Andrews, late Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of this State, who, while a Justice of the Supreme Court, made an exhaustive study of the Indian titles, in a recent letter on the subject of the Vreeland Bill and the Ogden Company's claim, says, "The right asserted by that company should be very clear, as it seems to me, before Congress would be justified in taking \$200,000 out of the fund for the Indians and paying it to the Land Company." I believe this Conference will concur in the opinion of this venerable jurist. Therefore, with confidence that your influence

will be exerted against those who would despoil the Indians upon a mere assumption, I beg your attention to a brief recital of the facts on which the Indian title and the Ogden claim are respectively based as I have found them after painstaking research, assisted by courteous librarians at Columbia and Cornell, and guided by the suggestions of able lawyers in New York, Rochester and Buffalo, whose humane interest in the Indian has led them to give me much of their valuable time.

I have consulted original documents, and on all disputed points will give my authority. The Indian title is based not on aboriginal occupancy, as the Ogden attorneys assert, but upon treaty stipulations. The Ogden claim is based upon rights granted by New York to Massachusetts in 1786, in a compromise settlement of conflicting claims between the two States.

These claims were as follows: Massachusetts under the Plymouth Charter extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but very soon by the treaty between England and Holland lost the part included in the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands, whose boundaries were rather indefinite on the west. When New Netherlands by conquest and treaty became New York, its independence of Massachusetts was further confirmed by royal charter, but its boundaries left unchanged. After the conquest of Canada from the French another royal charter extended New York to the Detroit River and Lake Huron in a grand parallelogram north of Pennsylvania, thus cutting out another piece of the Massachusetts claim, while treaties with Spain and France also restricted it to the lands east of the Mississippi. It is a noticeable fact, however, that all of the New York charters recognized a *quasi* sovereignty in the Six Nations, who during the entire colonial period were valuable allies against the French.

Under the Articles of Confederation all of the public lands belonged to the individual States in severalty, and none of them to the United States in common. West of the settlements the boundaries were indefinite and many of the claims conflicting. Many considerations pointed to the wisdom of conveying all these lands—by a sort of quit-claim deed—from the States to the general Government. New York magnanimously led the way, as early as March, 1781, by conveying to the nation all her claim and title to lands west of a meridian passing through the western bounds of Lake Ontario. Virginia, Massachusetts, and others followed the generous example. These cessions, the treaty with England, the Federal Constitution, and the statutes under it now make the general Government proprietor of the least. Massachusetts quit-claimed all west of New York, but with Yankee thrift insisted that she had certain rights in the territory lying between the Old Dutch Colony and the new western boundary of New York. The treaty of 1783 had in the meantime despoiled New York of all west of Niagara and north of Lake Erie, and New York resisted the claim of Massachusetts. The dispute waxed warm, and it seemed that the general Government would

have to interfere. In fact, Congress did provide for a court of arbitration.

But while these disputes were going on something else took place. The Iroquois, or Six Nations of Indians, who had proved valuable allies to England and her colonies as a buffer against France, had during the Revolutionary War remained loyal to the old empire, and by Sullivan's campaign had been driven out of New York State, were a factor which the statesmen of the period thought worthy to take into consideration. Most of these Indians were sojourning in Canada, but they still had large possessions in Ohio. They were in a sullen, revengeful mood. Other warlike tribes of unknown strength held the great Northwest. Experience had shown that the Iroquois were valuable as friends and dangerous as enemies. The correspondence of that date shows that the leading men of the young republic were fearful of an Indian war, fomented and abetted, if not aided, by Great Britain. For they all realized as Franklin said, that the War of Independence from England had yet to be fought—as it was in 1812. The wisdom of the fathers, therefore, sought the friendship of the Iroquois.

So in February, 1784, a resolution which may be found in the Journals of Congress for that year was adopted, directing General Schuyler to invite the Six Nations of Indians to return to their lands in New York State, assuring them of the friendly feelings of the new republic, and offering to meet them for the purpose of forming a treaty of alliance and friendship with them.

The Indians accepted these assurances and this invitation, and in October, 1784, a treaty was made with them at Fort Stanwix, by which the Indians ceded to the United States all their lands west of New York and Pennsylvania; and the United States on their part guaranteed that the lands in Central and Western New York should be the property of the Indians forever. This treaty may be found in the Journals of Congress for 1785. It was renewed after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and notably in 1794, in a treaty signed by Washington, whose object was declared to be to remove from the minds of the Indians "all cause of complaint, and to establish a firm and permanent friendship with them." The treaty of 1794 was made with the Seneca nation, because New York State, within the ten years, had amicably arranged with the other tribes as to their lands. Its guarantee, however, was quoted from the treaty of 1784, and is as follows:—

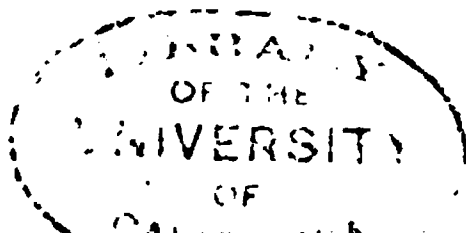
"Now the United States acknowledge all the land within the aforementioned boundaries to be the property of the Seneca nation; and the United States will never claim the same nor disturb the Seneca nation nor any of the Six Nations or their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase."

Thus the lands over which New York and Massachusetts were disputing were confirmed to the Indians by treaties which the

courts have since declared gave them "an absolute fee," "an indefeasible title" forever. And it is a fact which the records of the land offices attest that not one foot of this land is now in the possession of a white man, except his title can go back to an Indian deed since 1784.

There remained, however, to the States the right of sovereignty, which carries with it the eminent domain or ultimate title; the right by means of which the State seizes private property for public purposes, as lands for a railroad or schoolhouse site; the right by which, in case of abandonment, as when an owner dies intestate and without heirs, his estate vests in the State. Had the Indians remained in Canada, had they not been invited to return, and had not the title to the lands been vested in them by solemn treaty, this right of sovereignty would have carried with it immediate ownership of the lands. But after the treaty of Fort Stanwix it carried only the ultimate ownership should the Indians again abandon them, or the right of eminent domain become desirable. With this sovereignty and ultimate ownership, moreover, was connected another right which had an immediate cash value and furnished a basis for a happy compromise between New York and Massachusetts. From the earliest dealings between the colonists and the Indians, ostensibly for the protection of the latter, but probably also for the revenue it brought, the governments treated the aborigines as disqualified for making bargains with individuals. This disqualification extended both to real and personal property, and found its expression in intercourse acts and pre-emption charters. These instruments provided for licenses to trade with Indians. These licenses were sold by the Government and carried exclusive rights. They differed in no way in principle from the licenses to trade in liquors which most of the States now issue. They did not carry title to anything more than a saloon-keeper's license gives him—ownership of the beer or whiskey he may handle. The licenses to trade in personal property do not concern this discussion, though they were protected by fines and penalties against unlicensed dealers. The license to buy real estate was called the pre-emptive right to first purchase of the soil from the Indians. Both grew out of the sovereignty which the nations of Europe claimed by right of discovery and superior civilization.

Now, as we have stated, this license to buy the land for speculative purposes furnished an opportunity for a happy solution of the rival claims of New York and Massachusetts. In Yankee phrase, "they made a dicker." Massachusetts, whose right was the more doubtful, said to New York, I will withdraw all my claims to sovereignty if you will in return give me the exclusive license to buy the lands in half the territory under dispute. In 1786 a settlement was made on this basis at a convention held in Hartford. This compact was reported to Congress, and may be found in the *Journal* for 1787. It is a significant indication of the temper of the times that Congress took no action whatever in the matter



except to record the transaction. This compact had various phrases; but it carefully avoided a statement as to the conflicting claims, being in substance a mutual quit-claim of the rights conceded. In this discussion we are concerned only with what Massachusetts obtained, and still further what she received authority to sell; for this last is the only thing which the Ogden Company possesses. As to this, there is not only the language of the compact, but the meaning put upon it by the Legislature of Massachusetts after an exhaustive examination. The declaration of the Legislature is as follows:—

“Massachusetts held the sole and exclusive right to purchase the lands whenever the Indians should voluntarily dispose of them.” “The sole and exclusive right to purchase the lands of the Indians gave no other title or interest in the land whatever.” “Such interest or title could be assigned only by a sale or conveyance thereof by the Indians.”

See proceedings of the General Council of Massachusetts for 1840.

I fully concede that the Ogden Land Company is the legal possessor of all that Massachusetts had the power to sell.

To any fair-minded man the history of these transactions must prove that the claim that the Ogden Land Company has any title or interest in the lands, except the first right to purchase when the Indians voluntarily choose to sell, is totally unfounded. Its claim that New York and Massachusetts divided the lands between them is absolutely false. Neither New York nor the general Government ever conceded the claim of Massachusetts to the sovereignty of any of the lands, and Massachusetts, in the compact, distinctly renounced this claim. Hence it follows that the claim of the Ogden Company that it would succeed to the title should the Indians abandon the lands or receive them in severalty has no grounds for support. It is simply bluff. The fee is in the Indians, and cannot be alienated except by their voluntary action.

We are not, however, left to our own judgment as to the value of the respective titles of the Indians and the Ogden Company. In the witty language of the late William M. Evarts, the Supreme Court of the United States has guessed at it; so also has the highest court in the State of New York; and they have both guessed one way.

At one time the Ogden Company, flushed with its success in bribing Indian chiefs, United States Commissioners, and the representatives of Massachusetts, attempted to try titles with the Indians in the courts. It put forth the same claim which is now asserted in defense of the Vreeland Bill. Indeed, the very words of some of the arguments are found in a brief of the company's lawyer more than sixty years ago.

The Indians, in the winter of 1836–37, cut and sold some logs on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and the Ogden Company sued for trover, claiming that the fee of the land was in it, and the Indians were only occupants. The company was beaten in the Circuit

Court at Buffalo in 1842, and it appealed to the General Term, whose decision may be found in 6 Hills, 546. The whole subject was fully discussed, and the case was decided on the respective merits of the Indian title under the treaties of 1784, 1789, and 1794, and the Ogden title under the grant of New York to Massachusetts. On page 549 the court say :—

“New York ceded the right of pre-emption to the soil of the native Indians. The words which follow, ‘and all the other right, title, and estate which New York hath,’ were not intended to enlarge the grant into an unqualified fee. This point is rendered still more clear by a subsequent clause in the deed of cession. By the tenth article Massachusetts was authorized to grant the ‘right of pre-emption,’ and nothing more; and her grantees were only to acquire ‘good right to extinguish by purchase the claims of the native Indians.’ The two States not only acknowledged the right in the Indians which could only be extinguished by purchase, but they took care to guard the Indians against imposition and fraud in all the negotiations which might be had for the acquisition of their title by the grantees of Massachusetts. The Seneca nation have never parted with their title to the lands on which the timber was cut [the present Cattaraugus Reservation]. Their right is as perfect now as it was when the first European landed on this continent, with the single exception that they cannot sell without the consent of the Government. They are not tenants of the State nor of its grantees. They hold under their own original title. The plaintiffs have acquired nothing but the right to purchase whenever the owners may choose to sell. In the meantime, or until the tribe shall become extinct, the Seneca Indians will remain the rightful lords of the soil.”

This decision naturally did not suit the Ogden Company, and it again appealed, this time to the Court of Errors, then the highest tribunal in the State. The final decision was rendered in 1846, and is reported in V. Denio, 628, as follows :—

“Senators Barlow, Porter, Putnam, and Spencer delivered written opinions in favor of affirming the judgment, on the ground maintained by the Supreme Court that the Indian title to the lands is an absolute fee. The decision was unanimously affirmed.”

The Ogden Company could not appeal further. It had been beaten three times in succession, and was out. So far as I can learn it never again tried titles with the Indians in court. Its agents and attorneys have, however, haunted Washington, trying to realize through Congress on its discredited claim.

The United States Supreme Court also has passed upon this question of title. There are a multitude of decisions in reference to the rights and limitations of the Indians in the various States and Territories, where condition is not parallel to that of the Seneca Indians. The attorneys of the Ogden Land Company quote some of these, unblushingly, claiming that they apply in this case, and thus beclouding the issue. What they do not quote, however, is Chief Justice Marshall in regard to the Cherokees in Georgia. It is found in 6 Peters 515, and reads :—

“The words ‘treaty’ and ‘nation’ are words of our own language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings by ourselves, having each a definite and well-understood meaning. We have applied them to the Indians as we have applied them to other

nations of the earth. They are applied in the same sense." It is true that President Jackson said, "Justice Marshall has made his decision; let him enforce it if he can"; and straightway proceeded to override it in a manner that would have caused his impeachment had not the sufferers been Indians, whose rational fate it is to be killed.

But the decision stands as authority; and when, in 1866, the respective titles of the Indians and the Ogden Land Company came before the Supreme Court of the United States, this dictum of Justice Marshall furnished the basis of the decision which is found in 5 Wallace's Reports, pages 760 *et seq.* I quote some of its paragraphs, page 768:—

"The rights of the Seneca Indians do not depend upon this or any other statutes of the State, but upon the treaties, which are the supreme law of the land. It is to these treaties we must look to ascertain the value of these rights and the extent of them."

The Court then quotes the clause of the treaty of 1794, which I have already given, stating that the United States will never claim the lands "nor disturb the Seneca nation in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase"; and adds, "These are the guarantees of the United States, and which by her faith she is pledged to uphold."

On page 769 the Court, referring to the compact between Massachusetts and New York, say:—

"The two States possessed *no power to deal with the Indians' rights or titles.* They were dealing exclusively with the pre-emption right after the Indian title was extinguished."

Further on, as to the extent of the rights granted to the Indians by the treaty of 1794, the Court, on page 771, say:—

"All agree that the Indian right of occupancy contains an indefeasible title to the reservations that may extend from generation to generation, and will cease only with the dissolution of the tribe, or their consent to sell to the party possessed of the right of pre-emption."

To a person who understands plain English these decisions of the courts are conclusive that the Ogden Company has no rights whatever, except the right to purchase of the Indians when the latter choose to sell, and therefore that their claim is neither a lien on the lands nor a cloud on the title. But the attorneys of the Ogden Company are equal to anything. They bring forward a decision of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, which they say, being later, is better law.

This is the Christie case found in 126 New York Reports, page 128 *et seq.* Mr. Vreeland quoted from this case to convince the Indian Commission that if the Indians should abandon their lands, or if the tribe should be dissolved, the title would at once pass to the Ogden Land Company. He made the plea with so much appearance of candor that he frightened the Commissioners into acquiescing in his scheme of robbery.

I took the case to an able New York lawyer. He examined it carefully and said that there was no ground whatever for Mr. Vreeland's claim. Hon. John J. Van Voorhis, of Rochester, also wrote a brief showing that no such deduction could be made from the decision.

Let me give you this case in a nutshell. In 1826 the Indians sold a tract of land in Erie County to the Ogden Land Company, took the pay and gave possession. About fifty years afterwards some lawyer induced the Indians to attack the title on the ground that the sale was illegal, a violation of the Intercourse Act and of the Federal Constitution. The Court gave its decision in an elaborate opinion by Justice Andrews, afterwards Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals. There was an exhaustive investigation of the respective rights of the Indians to sell, of the Ogden Land Company to buy, and of the manner of the sale. In the decision, page 146, the Court found

"that the grant of August 31, 1826, was a valid transaction, and was not in contravention of the Federal Constitution, or of the Intercourse Act of 1802, and vested in the purchasers a good title in fee simple absolute to the lands granted."

That is, the court decides that the deed which the Indians signed gave a good title in fee simple absolute to the lands purchased. Does it need a lawyer to understand that this finding does not convey title to land which was not purchased?

As I have already remarked, the Ogden Company has very carefully kept away from the courts ever since the adverse decision of the highest courts in this State. It has not, however, ceased its activity; and a little sketch of its history will indicate whether its claim contains an equity, and also will throw some light upon its success in securing by deception the acquiescence of some friends of the Indians, in its propositions to rob them, "for their benefit."

The value of the Massachusetts grant was simply the profit that could be made by buying of the Indians and selling again. It was purely a speculation. The profit would depend on two things: the relative price of buying and selling per acre, and the number of acres which could be bought and sold. Neither Massachusetts nor any of her grantees had a right to expect that all of the land would ever come into market. The Indians would certainly need some of it for their subsistence even should they become civilized and be made citizens of the United States. The price paid for the license to buy proves that this was taken into consideration. Moreover, and this is an important point, this use of a portion of the lands for the support of the civilized Indians was one, and the first named, of the objects of the Plymouth grant under which Massachusetts claimed her rights. The first, or Virginia, charter to the Plymouth Company granted lands only one hundred miles westward from the coast. The patent for New England issued in 1620 is the basis of all the further Massachusetts charters. It was granted soon after information had come, as it recites, that "By God's visitation there

had rained a wondrefful Plague, together with many horrible Slaughters and Murthers . . . to the utter Destrucion, Devastacion and Depopulacion of the whole Territory." Now, the very paragraph, nay, the self-same sentence that grants the land, gives the reasons therefor, the king expressing his pious gratitude for having the first chance at it. After reciting this woeful desolation the charter says: "In Contemplacion and serious Consideracion whereof, Wee have thought it fitt accordingly to our Kingly Duty, soe much as in us lyeth, to second and followe God's sacred Will rendering reverened Thanks to his Divine Majestie for his gracious favour in laying open and revealing the same unto Us, before any other Christian Prince or State, by which Meanes, without Offence and as We trust to his Glory, Wee may with Boldness goe on to the settling of soe hopefull a Work which tendeth [note the three objects] [1] to the reducing and conversion of such Savages as remain wandering in Desolacion and Distress to civil Socitie and Christian Religion; [what we would call civilization, citizenship and severalty ownership] [2] to the Inlargement of our own Dominions, and [3] the Advancement of the Fortunes of such of our Good Subjects as shall willingly intresse themselves in the said Imployment. . . . Wee therefore, . . . do . . . grant the Territories," etc.

Now I submit, as a legal proposition, that the first-named object, no less than the third, carried with it such land as might be necessary for its attainment. This proposition, it seems to me, is conclusively proven by the persistent limitation of all the grants to such lands as "the Indians may voluntarily choose to sell"; and also by the declaration of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1840, that these grants carried "no rights or title whatever," except such right to purchase; demonstrating that the pious object of King James has always been kept in view. Retained rights are as firmly established by limitation of those granted as by actual reservation. Thus if a man sells twenty-five of his one hundred acres it is not necessary for him formally to reserve the other seventy-five in order to prevent the buyer from taking possession of his entire farm. The original Massachusetts charter provided for the subsistence of the Indians as following God's sacred will, and every one of these grants has recognized this provision by its self-limitation to "such lands as the native Indians voluntarily choose to sell"; thus by implication reserving the other lands which the individual Indians will need for this use when, as the old charter said, they are "reduced" to a state of "Civil Societie." I believe that if the question ever comes before the courts they will sustain this contention.

The earlier grantees, Phelps and Gorham, Robert Morris and the Holland Land Company, while driving close bargains with the Indians, still treated them honorably, and there was little cause for complaint. Finally, the unpurchased land was reduced to 196,335 acres, and the pre-emption right to this was sold at fifty cents an

acre to David A. Ogden. Now, neither the Holland Land Company which sold, nor Mr. Ogden who bought, had any right, as we have shown, to believe that he would have an opportunity to speculate on all of this land. They all knew that the nearly three thousand Indians who owned it would never voluntarily sell all of it. Where would they live if they did? If they sold half of it the pre-emption right would have cost one dollar an acre, and the profits on that would have been worth a fortune. Let one incident prove: after a large portion of the tract had been bought at sixty cents an acre the Tonawanda band refused to leave their ancient homes, and so bought them back of the Ogden Land Company at twenty dollars an acre. Other lands brought still more, and the company has actually bought and sold about one hundred and forty thousand acres, leaving less than thirty thousand to the ownership of the Indians.

But Ogden was a scheming, crafty man. He organized not a company, though it is so called, but a trust—the first in the United States (and it had all the revolting, rapacious, conscienceless features which have been ascribed to the modern Octopus; but only Indians were its victims). This trust conceived the idea of exterminating or removing from the State all of the Indians, so that it might speculate on all their lands. It was Ahab and Naboth's story literally repeated. Some of the men in the trust made arrangements for purchasing the fertile lands of the St. Regis and the Oneidas. It was a great scheme. All of the Indians of the State were to be removed so as to fatten the Octopus with the rich land of their ancient heritages. The scheme nearly succeeded. Congress was induced to grant lands in Wisconsin to be exchanged for the New York reservations; thus the whole nation was made to contribute to the "trust." The Oneidas and a part of the St. Regis fell into the trap, and the trust reaped a rich harvest. To-day not an Oneida owns a foot of their valuable reservations in the State; some two hundred of them are homeless, living on the charity of the Senecas and Onondagas. But the Senecas could be neither bribed, cajoled, nor forced into the trade. The growing settlements in the Northwest crowded upon the reserved lands, and the Ogden trust had influence enough to secure the gift of a large tract in Kansas with which to prosecute its nefarious scheme. The Senecas were, however, resolutely opposed to the transfer. Then came the blackest page in the history of dealings with the New York Indians. This Ogden trust bribed the superintendent sent by Massachusetts to look after the interests of the Indians; it bribed the commissioner of the United States appointed for the same purpose; and both these men aided it in debauching and bribing the chiefs to sign a treaty which exchanged the New York lands for the wilds of the desolate Kansas plains—and sixty cents an acre; the latter sum being the cost to the Ogden trust, while the Kansas lands were to be donated by the general Government. The bribery of the chiefs was so flagrant that, as it was stated on

the floor of the United States Senate, every chief who signed away the homes of his people had a written agreement from the Ogden trustees to deed him in fee simple a tract of land in New York State.

I have used strong language, but it is no stronger than the case demands. If you wish corroboration read the two reports of the Committee of the Society of Friends appointed to look after the Six Nations, published about 1835 and 1843. Read also the Congressional record from January to April, 1840; and particularly Senator Seviere's speech of March 11th, and the documents he presented. The offense was so rank, however, that it defeated itself. Congress intervened in 1842, and saved to the Indians their present meager reservations, but with all their old rights and privileges.

Neither Congress nor public sentiment, however, could change the character of the Ogden trust. The spots of the leopard were too deep. Its next move was attempted seduction of the leaders of the tribe. In 1880 it induced a respectable Indian—Harrison Half-town—to make a proposition, giving him, as he said to the council, written authority to sell the "claim" for \$50,000. The council spurned the offer, and the Octopus took a nap.

About 1890 it became evident that nearly \$2,000,000 would be coming to the Indians from the Kansas money, and the Octopus awoke.

There are always in this wide-awake country of ours bright, conscienceless men who are looking for chances to make money, and care not how or at whose expense they make it. A little sub-company of this kind was formed, and it undertook to realize on the Ogden claim. The terms between this company and the parent trust were not known at the time; but Mr. Appleby, the sole surviving trustee, acknowledged the contract in a conversation with Hon. Darwin L. James, Chairman of the Indian Commission. Moreover, the authority from Appleby to the representative of the speculators is on record. This sub-company undertook to work Congress for a portion of the Kansas money. When Mr. Dawes introduced his bill providing for citizenship and lands in severalty, it raised such a hue and cry about the half-forgotten Ogden claim that Mr. Dawes, having no time to investigate the merits of the case, dropped the New York Indians from his bill.

In 1895 these speculators prepared to strike Congress for a large sum of the Indians' money. They found a complaisant Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and secured from him a report entirely in their interest. The unfairness of this report is evident from these facts:—

First: It gives equal importance to decisions of the courts in favor of the Indians and claims of attorneys in favor of the Ogden Company.

Secondly: In quoting the decisions in favor of the Indians it does not quote the vital, decisive portions.

Thirdly: It publishes as an appendix the brief of the Ogden.

Company's lawyers, without any counteracting statement of the Indians' side of the question.

To the meanest criminal—even to the despicable assassin of our martyred President McKinley—our courts assign learned counsel. Had Commissioner Browning even desired to be fair, he would have employed an able attorney to defend the rights of the Indians, and would have printed his brief by the side of Maxwell's.

These are the facts. I say nothing of the motives that influenced the Commissioner; yet this report and the accompanying brief have been quoted to me as final authority by men whom I believe honestly to be, and whose official position certainly should have made them, friends of the Indian. It did not, however, as we shall see, convince Congress.

Armed with this report, the speculators secured the introduction of a bill appropriating \$300,000 to be taken out of the Indians' money and paid to the Ogden Land Company. How much of the sum would have reached the Ogden Company no honest man knows or cares; although it has been admitted that the speculators were to have all above \$200,000.

The bill failed to become a law. Hon. Charles Daniels of Buffalo, afterwards made Judge of the Court of Appeals, Hon. John J. Van Voorhis of Rochester, and Gen. Daniel E. Sickles of New York City were among those who having examined into the matter became satisfied that it was unmitigated robbery, and succeeded in defeating it; although it once passed the House of Representatives by a dastardly trick, which General Sickles exposed so vigorously that the vote was reconsidered.

During the debate on the measure another who had investigated the subject, Hon. William S. Holman of Indiana, long known as "the watchdog of the treasury," one of the ablest and most upright men that ever served in Congress, said:—

"The decision of the Court of Appeals in the State of New York settles the question beyond all doubt that the title in these two reservations was in the Seneca Indians absolutely; and that the Government would acquire nothing by the payment of this \$300,000."

Mark Judge Holman's conclusion, "would acquire nothing."

This ended the matter until 1902, when the Vreeland Bill came in backed like the others by a powerful lobby, employing able and unscrupulous attorneys,—men skilled to "make the worse appear the better reason," who for the retainer in hand or fee in prospect will argue that black is white; will falsify history, garble court decisions, and strenuously maintain as true what they know to be false. The Apostle Peter speaks of those who "wrest the Scripture to their own destruction." These men wrest the law and the facts to the destruction of the Indians. They would deceive the very elect. In fact they have deceived them. Some most excellent men, anxious to place the Indian in a condition where it will not be the rational thing to kill him, and believing that citizenship and ownership of land in severalty furnish that condition, have

been so alarmed lest the Ogden claim should bar the citizenship or cloud the title in severalty that they have been willing to consent to the payment of \$200,000 (of the Indians' money) to get rid of this claim. They are needlessly alarmed. Let them consider Judge Holman's deliberate conclusion, that nothing would be acquired by the payment of the money.

The Indian title is in no danger. In other States and in the Territories the change from common ownership to fee in severalty has already taken place. Able jurists declare that it would in this case, and no court has ever decided otherwise. These jurists say that the absolute fee now held in common by the tribe, when distributed by the paramount authority of the United States, would be as absolutely unimpaired as is the title of heirs to an estate when they become of age and receive from the court their individual shares. The individual Indians would be the heirs of the tribe; suffering now the disqualification of minors, they would by the conferring of citizenship be lifted to the majesty of manhood, and enter at once upon their rightful inheritance. Any other conclusion is absurd in its unrighteousness.

As to the speculative option of the Ogden Land Company, two able lawyers have expressed to me their opinion that, inasmuch as it was based upon a disqualification imposed on the Indians by the Government, whatever part of the option remained unexercised when that disqualification was removed would be destroyed forever; as if a father had sold to a neighbor an option on such of his land as his heirs while minors might choose to sell, upon their becoming of age the option upon unsold portions would expire by its own terms.

But even if the option remained it could work no injury and little inconvenience. It could apply only when an Indian wished to sell to a white man, and lawyers tell me that a simple method could be devised by which, through the County Clerk's office, the Ogden Company could have a chance to exercise its option on each sale.

There is another consideration. The value of this Ogden right, this option to purchase, depends upon the ability to buy for less than the land is worth. It is a value that continually decreases as the intelligence of the Indian increases. In 1820 it was worth \$20 an acre. In 1880 it was offered for eighty cents an acre. No one knows how much the Ogden Company would realize out of the present proposition to pay \$3.50 an acre; probably the fifty cents, while the \$3.00 would go to the speculators and the Congressional lobby. Again, if an Indian should never desire to sell his land, but wish to keep it for his heirs forever, he would have no use for the Ogden right, and it would be unjust to make him pay for it.

As to the provision for the sale of the leased lands, I have but two things to say: first, it is not fair or honorable, and I doubt if it be legal, to give the Indian no voice in fixing the price of his property or deciding whether he will sell or keep it.

Secondly, it is not honest to fix the prices on the basis of the rentals made years ago. Would Trinity Church renew its leases or sell its property on the basis of the rentals at the beginning of this century? Yet the Trinity corporation has had but little more to do with increasing the value of land in New York City than the Indians have had to do with the same thing in Salamanca.

In consideration of all these things: of the arbitrary terms for the sale of the leased lands; of the absolute fee and indefeasible title of the Indian ownership of the reservations as declared by the highest courts of the State and Nation; of the simply speculative character of the Ogden rights conveying no title whatever but simply an option, and the fact that in equity they have long ago been satisfied; of the utter impossibility that this option can act as a bar to citizenship or a cloud upon individual title, or even as an inconvenience except, perhaps, when an Indian desires to sell, and in that case can be satisfied in some inexpensive manner; of the exorbitant price proposed in the bill to be paid for this option, being one fifth of the Kansas money of the Indians interested, or \$75 for every man, woman and child among them; of the opinion of Judge Andrews that Congress ought to be very sure of its ground before taking the Indians' money for this purpose; of the deliberate conclusion of Judge Holman, that the Government or the Indians would acquire absolutely nothing by the purchase of the claim,—in view of all this, I confidently ask this philanthropic body to set the ban of its disapproval upon these provisions of the Vreeland Bill, and to exert its great influence to secure their defeat.

Most of you believe that citizenship and individual ownership constitute the condition in which the Indian can best live like the white man, and thus be lifted from the unfortunate estate where his rational fate is to be killed. Let me tell you that the enactment of the Vreeland Bill with these obnoxious provisions will postpone that result until all of us lie in forgotten graves. The Indians know that the bill is robbery; they know that the price is four times the offer which they rejected. The might which though national power may take the money from them will never be *right* in their eyes. The fact that it is coupled with the proposition of citizenship will make the latter hateful to them. Indians have long memories; and I warn you that the resentment bred by this robbery will be cherished for generations and render them forever hostile to the boon you offer. The men who expect to divide the \$200,000 among them do not care for this, but I trust you do.

I have been among this people; I have heard them individually and in general council discuss this measure. Their deep-seated hostility is to these two provisions. On the question of citizenship, without preliminary robbery, they were divided, those favoring being a fair minority. Now you can count on your fingers those who favor citizenship, while every man, woman and child of them opposes the other provisions of the bill. It is pathetic to hear them talk; they cling with blind faith to their constitutional guarantees

in the treaties, but they realize continually their powerlessness against the rapacity of those who covet their lands or their money. They feel within their heart of hearts that in the final contest the Indian has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. When we tell them that citizenship will cure these disabilities, yet couple our prescription with a fee of gigantic plunder, is it not natural that they should doubt either our medical skill or the sincerity with which we proffer our advice? They know what we also know, that every transaction, whether sale or lease, has diminished their holdings until of all their broad domains,—half of the State of New York,—to which they returned on our invitation, making alliance of friendship with us, less than 70,000 acres remain to them; and they know, too, and feel, members of this Conference, that in the eyes of the white man these meager lands and the little money which is due them are a Naboth's vineyard, with plenty of cunning Jezebels, like the promoters of this bill, to suggest means of seizure to the Ahabs, who have the power to take.

In ancient times in the old pagan world the Roman master crowned his slave before he freed him. If, in this twentieth century of the Christian era, in this republic which boasts its generosity even to conquered foes, we are to free our Indian wards from the inferiority and disqualification of the tribal state, let not history record that our last preceding act was to rob them.

Judge Charles Andrews, of the Court of Claims, followed.

THE VREELAND BILL.

BY JUDGE CHARLES ANDREWS.

I have been asked to say a few words upon some of the legal aspects of the "Vreeland" Bill for the allotment of the lands of the Seneca Nation. It is impracticable to enter here at large upon the subject, but, preliminarily, I desire to express my cordial concurrence in the able and thoughtful address of Bishop Huntington's this morning, and in the view that the moral aspect of the questions involved should control the purely legal ones if the two are irreconcilable. Unless the allotment of the lands in severalty is justified by the strictest considerations of equity as applied to the dependent race, the proposed legislation ought not to be enacted. The primary and fundamental question, therefore, in my view is, whether the best interests of the Indians as well as the general interests of civilization require that the tribal relations of the Indians should be weakened, if not dissolved, and that they should become incorporated into the body of citizens. The proposed bill, if enacted, will abrogate the system of local government by the tribes, and go far to destroy the distinctive character of the Senecas as a *quasi* nation. I do not think that the bill can be justified upon the

assumption that the proposed allotments will furnish to the individual Indians adequate means of support out of the allotted lands, in view of their training and their inexperience in agriculture. The twelve or fifteen acres of land to which each Indian would be entitled will, in my judgment, be insufficient for this purpose. But the Indians do not now, as a rule, derive their support from their lands. They find employment as laborers, and this is supplemented by the small annuities received from the Government. I repeat, therefore, unless the interests of general civilization, including not only the interest of the white race, but the interest of the Indians also, justify this measure, which, in effect and in its main purpose, is to dissolve the tribal relation and subvert their right to local self-government, and the control which they have hitherto exercised over their civil and domestic affairs, then this bill ought not, in my judgment, to pass. I shall not dwell upon this branch of the discussion, which has been so ably presented by others, but content myself with affirming my conviction that the general principle of the bill, which is the allotment of the lands in severalty, is justified by public considerations and the best interests of the Indians. I favor, therefore, the general purpose and motive of the bill, and the principal question as to its justice and equity relates to the provision that \$200,000 or thereabouts of tribal money, out of \$2,000,000 held for the New York Indians, shall be applied to the extinguishment of the alleged title of the Ogden Land Company to the lands in the Alleghany and Cattaraugus Reservations. The opponents of the bill contend that the Ogden Land Company have no title to these lands. If the Ogden Land Company have no title or no right, the relinquishment of which is essential to the carrying out of the allotment policy, then I think every fair-minded man would say that such an appropriation, although it might be within the power of the Government, would be arbitrary and unjust. The crucial question, therefore, is whether the Ogden Land Company has anything to sell; if it has not, then the appropriation ought not to be made; if it has, then it is within the discretion of Congress to determine whether on the whole the interest of its Indian wards would be promoted by the appropriation.

The rights of the Ogden Land Company depend primarily upon the nature of the Indian title to lands on this continent. It became the settled principle of public law among the nations of Europe, that discovery vested in the government by whose subjects the discovery was made, the ownership of the soil and the ultimate fee of Indian lands, subject to the Indian right of occupancy during their national or tribal existence, which possessory right might be extinguished by a sale or cession thereof by the Indians to the sovereign or his grantees. The right to acquire the possessory title of the Indians inured exclusively to the owner of the ultimate fee, and came to be known as the right of pre-emption. These general principles as to the nature of Indian titles have been firmly established, and are now generally recognized. If any question might

be raised as to the justice of the principle upon which the European nations acted, it is now too late to attempt to disturb it. It is embedded in the law of nations, and is irrevocable.

At the time of the American Revolution the title to the lands in the western part of the State occupied by the Seneca Indians was either in Massachusetts, which claimed jurisdiction over that territory under a prior and earlier charter, or in the colony of New York, whose charter limits embraced a portion of the same territory which it was claimed had been previously granted to Massachusetts by the Crown. This led to a controversy between the State of New York and the State of Massachusetts in respect to the ownership of this territory, and it was terminated by a voluntary compact made between those States in 1786, which was afterwards ratified by Congress, as required by the Federal Constitution, whereby Massachusetts ceded to New York the right of government and sovereignty over this disputed territory, and New York relinquished to Massachusetts the right of pre-emption of the soil from the native Indians, and all right, title, and interest possessed by the State of New York other than that of government and sovereignty. So that it left, as I understand it, in the State of Massachusetts, as the result of that compact, the fee of the Indian lands subject to the Indian right of occupation according to the rule of international law, which had been settled for more than a hundred years. This compact also conferred upon Massachusetts the right to convey to its grantees the pre-emption right to the lands ceded to Massachusetts by the State of New York. And it is under that provision that Massachusetts, in 1791, conveyed to Robert Morris 5,000,000 acres of land, including nearly the whole territory ceded to Massachusetts by the compact of 1786, which grant vested in him the rights which Massachusetts had in and to these lands by virtue of that compact. The Ogden Land Company, in 1810, through mesne conveyances from Robert Morris, acquired, as I understand the law, the ultimate fee to 196,000 acres of these lands, subject to the Indian right of occupancy, including the present Alleghany and Cattaraugus Reservations, with the sole right to purchase the Indian title, and, by treaties made from time to time, the right of the Seneca Indians to the 196,000 acres of land so conveyed to Ogden and Troup in 1810, was so reduced that to-day the once powerful tribe of the Senecas are confined to a territory of about 50,000 acres of land, the only remnant of their ancient patrimony.

Now the question is, if allotment takes place, can it be effectual so as to confer absolute title upon the individual allottees among the Indians with the right of alienation of the fee if, after the probation period has expired, they may wish to sell their title to the whites or to whomsoever may become the purchaser? While there is some divergence of view upon this question it follows, I think, from principles which have been judicially settled, that the grantees of the State of Massachusetts, including the Ogden Land

Company, are substituted in the place of that State as the owners of the ultimate, although it may be a mere technical fee, with the sole right to acquire the Indian right of occupation. If this is true, it is apparent that until the title of the Ogden Land Company is extinguished, neither the original Indian allottees nor any subsequent grantee of such allottees can ever acquire a perfect title to these lands; there never could be an alienation of these titles which would convey complete ownership. And, moreover, if the other view obtains, that the Indians have the absolute fee to these lands and the Ogden Land Company merely the exclusive right to purchase, and that an allottee would take an absolute fee which the Indian nation as such possesses, and that a grantee of an allottee would take the same title, it would nevertheless be subject to the compact between the States of New York and Massachusetts, by which the Ogden Land Company as successors was invested, with the exclusive right to purchase these lands from the Indians. If, on the other hand, the absolute ultimate fee is in the Ogden Land Company, then assuming that the dissolution of the tribal relation would not result as a mere consequence of allotment, and that the possession by the allottees in severalty would not constitute an extinguishment of the Indian occupancy, nevertheless no white person could buy from such an Indian, because the very moment this occupancy was terminated by the Indians' own act the right of the Ogden Land Company would accrue, and their fee would be made perfect by the union of the right of Indian occupancy and the ultimate fee which that company possessed. The question is not whether these Indians are to be "robbed" of \$200,000 of their money, or whether it is a "colossal" fraud to make the proposed appropriation. If this money is applied toward the extinguishment of the Ogden Land Company's claim, the Indians will receive compensation in the increased value of their property, because as allottees they would then take an absolute title alienable like that of the title of any white person in the State to his lands.

Hon. John Van Voorhis was invited to speak.

Hon. JOHN VAN VOORHIS.—Bishop Walker's letter, read before this Conference this morning, shows that the Seneca Indians are not the miserable, cursed, wicked, terrible things that Bishop Huntington finds the Indians to be on the Onondaga Reservation. The charges against the Senecas are not new. They were made many years ago. The Presbytery of Buffalo, ten or twelve years ago, investigated these charges, and its report, favorable to these Indians, which I have in a pamphlet here, shows how false these charges are. The Indians, as Bishop Ryan stated, have no friends. This is strictly correct as to Cattaraugus County.

At the opening of this Conference this morning our host, Mr. Smiley, expressed the hope that no personalities would be indulged in in this debate. That was proper. This is no place for per-

sonalities. But the truth should be stated. To characterize the Vreeland Bill as it deserves is not a personality. In opening this Conference yesterday morning Mr. Smiley read the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah. That indicated his opinion of the freedom of this discussion. The first words he read were, "Cry aloud and spare not. Lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions."

Where such a command as this is made by the Almighty, and indorsed by Mr. Smiley, it is orders to me to speak of the measures now pending, affecting these friendless Indians, as they deserve. I look upon the Vreeland Bill as an infamous bill, promoted by the enemies of these Indians to destroy the Seneca nation, and make these Indians pay two hundred thousand dollars, which they don't owe, for the privilege of being destroyed. Mr. Vreeland claims that they are incapable of self-government; that they have no sense of justice; and are incompetent to be citizens. The Vreeland Bill declares in thunder tones that they are not fit to be citizens. It says they shall not exercise the right to control their own property for twenty-five years after the passage of the bill. Can you conceive anything stronger than this to show that they are not fit to be citizens; not fit to have their property in severalty; not fit to take their chances against the land grabbers that infest their borders? It is a bill, the effect of which will be that the Indians and their land will part company as soon as they get the power to get rid of them. In twenty-six years after the passage of this bill very few Indians will have any land. It is a bill to make it easy for the Indians to exchange their land for whiskey.

The Indian problem is a great one, and no experiments should be made at the expense of the Indians, and without their consent. In the ten minutes allowed me I cannot enter into an analysis of this bill. I have only time to refer to one or two things.

There is a provision in the bill that the bill shall not take effect unless the consent of the Indians be first obtained. That is a provision to be remarked upon. Mr. Vreeland says it ought not to be there. But it is there, and I cite Mr. Vreeland as authority, that in his opinion there is something wrong in the bill; and Mr. Vreeland ought not to support it for that reason, and the bill ought not to pass. Of course it is wrong to let the Indians have anything to say about what shall be done with them or their property, in Mr. Vreeland's estimation. How, and in what manner, is the consent of the Indians to be obtained? The bill is silent on that point. No *modus operandi* for obtaining that consent is provided in the bill. Mr. Vreeland stated in his speech that the bill provided that the Secretary of the Interior should canvass the Indians for that consent. But he is mistaken; there is no such thing in the bill. I will thank Mr. Vreeland to refer me to any such clause in this document. I think it is intended to get that consent by the aid of three machine politicians in Cattaraugus County. The bill has a provision, to the effect that if any Indian desires to get rid of his land without wait-

ing twenty-five years, he can do so by making terms with these three machine politicians, and when he has done so they will certify to the Secretary of the Interior that he is fit for citizenship, and he can get rid of his lands at once. Thus all the Indians on the reservation are to be placed in the hands and power of these three machine politicians, and they are to decide when each Indian may sell his land. These three politicians are county officers of Cattaraugus County; enemies of the Indians, every one. It is a terribly shocking, bad bill. Of course the men who promote the bill don't know it. Mr. Vreeland don't know it. There are a great many things in heaven and earth that Mr. Vreeland hasn't found out yet. I think he will be wiser when he comes to take a vote on this bill in the House of Representatives.

He says the distinguished men of Western New York favor this bill. He should, and doubtless intended, to confine that statement to Cattaraugus County. In the little town of Rochester, with 170,000 people, probably ten men are not to be found who favor this bill.

Mr. Vreeland told the Committee of the House that 100,000 of his constituents want this bill. He says he offered the bill at the request of citizens. That means citizens of Cattaraugus County—all unfriendly to the Indians. That means white people who are hostile to the Indians, and are grabbing their lands wherever and whenever they can, and getting them away from the Indians. That is what that means, and all it means.

What about the Seneca Indians' oil lands? I listened in vain to hear Brother Vreeland, in opening this discussion, tell us how the Standard Oil Company came to own all the valuable oil rights in the lands of the Seneca nation. I have heard it rumored how that corporation got these rights. I should prefer that Mr. Vreeland, who knows all about it, should tell us all about it in his closing speech. He can tell us what syndicate it was that got these oil lands away from the Senecas, and turned them over to that company. He can tell us who organized that syndicate, and how much that syndicate made out of the Indians or their oil lands, and whether anyone who supports this bill in Congress got rich out of that transaction. I make no charge. I only call upon the man who knows, to tell us all he knows concerning that matter.

I have examined the Ogden Land Company's claim, and assert that that company has no existence, and never had. It is the shadow of a shade. There was never a corporation with that name. Three men, claiming to have a pre-emption right to the Indian lands, called themselves the Ogden Land Company. They are all dead long ago. It is their descendants—their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren—who have succeeded to their rights. Not one of these, so far as I can learn, has ever applied to Congress to pass the Vreeland Bill. There are said to be over one hundred and twenty of these heirs scattered all over the country. Other parties than these heirs are pushing this bill. The Bank of England, I am

told, has an interest in it. The Ogden Land Company has never established any interest in these lands in any court. It has no title in these lands to be extinguished. It only claims the right to be the first purchaser, if it is the highest bidder, when the Indians want to sell, and not till then. The title of the Indians is original, absolute, and conclusive.

Don't let us pass any bills against these Indians in a doubtful case.

I indorse every word that Bishop Walker and Charles T. Andrews have said in their able papers presented to this Conference.

Mr. J. S. Whipple was called upon.

Mr. J. S. WHIPPLE, Clerk of the New York Senate.—Let me say, for the benefit of the ladies and gentlemen present, that I have lived near to and upon the Alleghany Indian Reservation for forty-five years, having moved there with my father's family in 1857. Necessarily I have some personal knowledge of the Indian question, at least as much as our good friend the bishop, at Buffalo, who has known something of the reservations for two years. The greatest question for this Conference to consider and for Congress to consider, in my judgment, is the social and moral question. The legal questions Congress will take care of. Our American Congress does not do things half way or illegally. I have faith in the intelligence of the men who make up the Congress of the United States.

The Indian situation in the State of New York challenges the attention of every lover of good government, every respecter of the home. The home conditions among the Indians challenge the close attention of every woman in the Empire State. A condition that will prostitute motherhood and debase infancy, that will start youth always on the wrong way, is worthy of your attention, and should receive the earnest attention of this Conference. There can be no excuse offered for the present conditions among the New York Indians. My old friend the bishop, from Syracuse, sends forth the right tone in his speech. It has the true ring in it. I remember when I made an investigation in 1888, as chairman of a legislative committee, that we took 35,000 folios of evidence, going over every phase of the subject.

Dr. M. E. GATES.—May I interrupt to say that the speaker is Clerk of the Senate of New York, and he was chairman of the Special Committee appointed in 1888, and made the only exhaustive report on the condition of the Indians in New York which has ever been printed. It is still a standard document for facts. I thought the hearers this morning ought to understand that they are listening to one who has made a very full study of this subject.

Mr. WHIPPLE.—In that report of 35,000 folios we had the evidence of Bishop Huntington, Chancellor Simms, and of hundreds and hundreds of other witnesses, not confined to white men, but of Indians, who testified to the fact that stands uncontradicted to-day,

that the condition of all of the reservation Indians, Senecas, as well as Onondagas, was intolerable in a social way, and that great question is the thing to deal with.

I intended to say something about the Ogden Land claim, because that is the stone upon which everything strikes and stops. The splendid legal statement of Justice Andrews is so clear and so true that no man need try to better it. Necessarily I have studied that question because it was part of our business. He states the history of the claim and the law, and he also stated the law in "126 New York," in the case known as the Christie Case. If he had not made this statement I might have said more, but I will take Judge Andrews' opinion against that of Mr. Van Voorhis' as to the legal proposition in the case.

The letter which was read from the good bishop at Buffalo is to me funny in some respects. He charges that under no circumstances should we try to make these Indians citizens within five years, because they are not prepared for citizenship; that they are not qualified; and then he goes on immediately to state that they are intelligent, quick of perception, have good common school education, and that qualifies them for citizenship.

The Indians upon the Alleghany Reservation, as a whole, are intelligent people. They have had common schools for years. The trouble is they are not kept in school long enough, but they are as capable of being citizens, on the whole, as the naturalized population of the State of New York, and know much more about our system of Government. Some gentlemen hesitate a little about the amount of land each Indian would have under the allotment. The truth is that they will have every foot of land that they have now, and they don't farm the half of what they now have; so you need not stop to think about that a great while. It is said that not one third is farmed now, and that indifferently. If one third will support them now, then three thirds will take care of them when they are citizens. The amount each one will have is nearer twenty acres, but they will have all that they now have. There are 55,000 acres and 2,300 people; you can divide it for yourselves.

Mr. Van Voorhis insinuates something about oil land. We ought not to stop even for insinuations when there is a great moral question up of such importance. If you will look into it, you will find that they get rentals annually of something like \$10,000 a year from leased lands, and one eighth royalty on their oil lands, that has run from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year; and that is all any white man gets, so there is nothing wrong about that.

If I had time to go into details about this whole proposition and let you understand it as I understand it, by having been to school with Indian children, known all about them, know the names of a great many upon the reservation, you would not stop one minute, or hesitate over the mere technical question as to how this money is to be paid or where it is to be taken from. The great thing is to do it. Can any man tell me why the Seneca Indians should not be citizens when 70,000 Indians, with a hundred years less of civilization about them, are made citizens? Stop and think of it. They cannot, un-

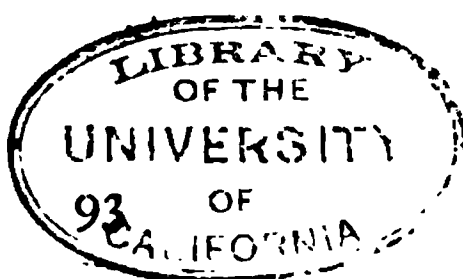
der this bill, be deprived of one cent or one inch of land. It is an insult to the intelligence, the patriotism, and decency of men to charge that any man interested in it is interested for some unlawful or illegal purpose. Are there no philanthropists except those who live far away from the reservation? There are good men in Cattaraugus County, and every decent-minded man wants to see the condition of things improved. This must be done, and the Vreeland Bill is a just and feasible way. This Ogden claim must be disposed of, or you endanger every inch of land forever. If you were the guardian of a child and he had a farm and there was a cloud, even a small cloud, on the title that prevented him from disposing of it as a man, and he had money with which you could do it, would it not be your duty to clear off this cloud from the title and enhance the value of the land? The fact is that this Indian land would not bring \$10 an acre, as a whole, at present. If the title of the Ogden claim were united with the Indians' right of occupancy, then it would be worth \$30 an acre, and the Indian would benefit that much. That is the fact stated by business men who know the situation. This bill is just; and not only this, but it is imperative if you want to make anything out of the Indians. It is the only way by which it can be done. The men who accomplish things do not stop at technicalities; they go forward; they do as President Roosevelt did,—they march on and accomplish things.

Rev. W. S. HUBBELL.—For twenty years I have been familiar with these reservations, and for fifteen years it was my duty to make an annual report to the Presbytery of Buffalo on the condition of these Indians; and from constant correspondence during the last five years with the men interested there, I feel that I know more about this problem than many who discuss it freely. The Chairman will pardon me for saying that the first Indians who were taken away from the New York Reservations to government schools, were taken in a car by myself, and at private expense, to Captain Pratt at Carlisle; and the first permission from Washington for these Indians to attend school at Hampton and Carlisle was secured by me from President Harrison. It was revoked by President Cleveland, and was restored by President McKinley. In all, about three hundred have been educated at Hampton and Carlisle. I have lived to see and rejoice in this.

I made a figuring of the amount of land each Indian would have in case of "severalty." Much of the land is rented to whites, and much besides is unfit for cultivation. My calculation was that if all the lands rented and unrented, good, bad, and indifferent, were divided, the Indians would have about fifteen acres each. If only such land as is available should be divided, they would have about eight acres each.

There are other conditions to be considered. Some of these Indians are married to Mohawk and to St. Regis wives, and the mother carries the title, so that these families will have less land under this distribution, because the children are not accounted Senecas.

My opinion is that the time has come for the division of the New



York Reservations in severalty. The Indians are as ready now as they ever will be to become citizens. This bill is as fair a measure as they can expect to secure. Some of the statements made in Bishop Walker's paper would seem to show that those astute and clever Indians have misled him. He will need more than two years of experience there before he can draw safe conclusions as to what should be done for the Senecas. If the financial objection could be taken out of the way; that is, if, instead of paying \$200,000 out of the Seneca funds to extinguish the Ogden Land Company's claim (which I regret to believe is a good claim), the United States Government should pay this \$200,000 out of our treasury surplus; then nine out of every ten Indians would doubtless approve of the Vreeland Bill. I think that is the way to settle this matter; otherwise the Indians will refuse their consent. One of the most prominent lawyers in New York holds that it is not morally proper and not legally right to take the Indians' money to pay this claim. The Senecas are agreed in considering that such an act would be robbery.

I fought you in this Conference with all my might ten years ago with regard to the alleged debased condition of the New York State Indians: I am with you to-day in favoring the Vreeland Bill with this financial change.

Mr. PHILIP C. GARRETT.—I wish to call attention to two or three points from some notes that I made.

As regards the question of the Ogden Land Company's claim, without going into the legal aspects of the case in detail, I am rather disposed to differ from the last speaker as to the legal point that the Ogden Land Company does hold the fee. But suppose it does. Mr. Whipple asserts that while the land would not bring more than ten dollars an acre now, if that claim were settled it would bring thirty dollars an acre. The increment resulting from the expenditure of this \$200,000 would be a million dollars. The Indians would make a net gain of \$800,000. Whether it is right or not from a moral point of view to take this money from the Indian Trust Fund, my way of looking at it is this: while I would personally prefer that we should take it from the United States funds, it would pay the Indians to take the money from their own funds in order to remove the flaw from their title, and make the consequent profit of \$800,000. I think they should advocate it from the motive of self-interest; that is the point of view from which I favor that part of the bill. I think, nevertheless, that it is right to take it from the Indian Trust Fund, if Congress so decides, as any guardian would take money from the other property of a ward to discharge a blot upon the title to the real estate he held for that ward.

If one of us had a piece of land with a cloud resting on its title such as this, our conveyancer would not pass the title, and no purchaser would accept it; and we would therefore make haste to wipe out the blot. In this case, although in point of mercantile value I think the claim worthless, I would recommend the Indians or the United States to buy the claim for the lowest price at which it can be bought. This, Mr. Appleby says, is \$200,000. I believe it would be money in the pockets of the Indians whether they or the

United States pay the money. It is sometimes cheaper to pay out money than to keep it.

As regards the validity of the Ogden Land Claim we need not inquire too closely whether it is a fee simple to the land or merely a pre-emption right; we may leave that to the casuists. Its history is before us; and whichever theory is correct, it is an undoubted cloud upon the title of these lands which has been recognized for one hundred and fifty years. The Indians have sold large tracts at low prices under the compulsion of this claim. The holders of it aver that it is a fee simple, but subject to the Indians' right of occupancy. They claim that this is only their right as a tribe; and if the tribe cease to exist, or cease to occupy the land as a tribe by dividing it, the Ogden Company will become absolute owners, which is doubtful. No way has yet been found of bringing this simple question before the United States Supreme Court for final adjudication. If it is neither more nor less than the right to buy when these Indians want to sell, the claim is a misty one, without much merchantable value. The Indians so regard it, for, say they, we never will want to sell; and if they do not want to sell even for twenty-five years, the interest for that time is enough to eat up the principal of the claim.

Again, the United States should perhaps assume its payment. A treaty between the United States Government and the Senecas, proclaimed Jan. 21, 1795, provides, "The United States acknowledges all the land within the above-mentioned boundaries" (being the land in question) "to be the property of the Seneca nation; and the United States will never claim the same nor disturb the Seneca nation, or any of the Six Nations, nor any of their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase." By this treaty the United States would seem to have perpetually bound itself to defend their title, and therefore perhaps to pay for the expungement of the Ogden Land Claim. But that is for the courts to decide.

Now as to this bill. I advocate this bill. I believe it is the right legislation to enact. The criticism has been made that it will not give each Indian enough land to live on. Very well; it neither increases nor diminishes the amount that they have now. If they are able to live on it now, they will be still more able to live on the same amount of land when held by them in severalty whether it be 100, or 160, or 200 acres per family.

It is said the Indians do not advocate it; but the crucial question as to this bill is not merely whether it is what the Indians want or what they need; it is not that primarily; it is what is best for the country; and that country is composed mainly of whites,—say seventy million whites, eight million negroes, and a quarter of a million Indians. What is best for all these? Is it better for this mixed eighty million that there should be several heathen nations festering as cancers in the midst of the body politic, or should they be removed? The Indians want communal land because they

want barbarism and not civilization. They do not want law, nor marriage obligations, nor Christianity; they do want heathenism.

When the white man came among them they did not own the land any more than the air, the water, and the game. Now they claim that their tenure of land is communal, and they resist the steps necessary to their acceptance of the laws of their state and country. If we return to their ancient order of things, they have no ownership at all of land. But they want to hold a part of the white man's way and not the whole, clinging to heathen usages as far as they please. They resist citizenship so as to keep immorality, indolence, and lawlessness. Why should the nation make this easy? Are we not then to be loyal to our country, to our laws, and Christianity? We all believe, and are sure, that the white man's way is the best. Then let us give it to the Indian, without asking his leave, for his country's good, and for his own, too; his prejudices are to his own hurt. If civilization is better than barbarism for us, it is also better for him; if not, we had all better study New York reservation civilization and adopt it. If it is better, let us adopt it as the law of the land. It is high time for the farce of recognizing Indian nationalities with other laws than ours to cease. It is time to stop all distinctions in point of rights, privileges, and immunities between Indians and white men. They are men, and capable of obeying our civilized law. There is no reason why the residents on these reservations should be exempt from the laws of the State of New York. One hundred years more, five hundred years, will not change their character unless the reservations are broken up and they forget that they are Indians. "God hath made of one blood all nations of the earth for to dwell on the face thereof." Let the whites and Indians hereafter be of one blood, and let the eighty million people enact this.

The Indian formerly lived by the chase; buffalo and deer then abounded. Since he began to become a white man his days as an Indian are numbered, and soon every vestige of the old order of things will have vanished. The more we hasten this revolution the better it will be for the Red man.

The object of this bill is to make the New York Indians citizens of the United States, and to abolish so far as they are concerned, reservations and separate laws and governments for them. Whether looked at from the Indians' point of view, or that of the people of the United States, or that of the people of New York, or the people of Salamanca and Red House, it is expedient to pass it. The mistake, in my mind, is in saddling it with the amendment making it null and void unless it has the support of a majority of the Indians. They are handicapped by their prejudices, and want to remain heathen. The country needs their civilization, their enfranchisement, their enrichment by severalty ownership; and they need it, but do not know it. Oblige them to take these inestimable blessings in spite of themselves, and hereafter they will forever bless you.

Mr. Charles Joseph Bonaparte was invited to take part in the discussion.

Mr. BONAPARTE.—I rise as a neophyte, knowing nothing about this subject except what I have learned to-day, but I want to ask two questions: First, whether I am right in my understanding of the report of the committee, which I read this morning, that the only matter in controversy regarding the claim of the Ogden Land Company is whether it is a claim to the fee or a claim to the right of pre-emption? In other words, whether it is a concession that they have either one or the other? My reason for asking this question is, that I think Justice Andrews has made it perfectly clear that, for the purpose of affecting the title to the Indian lands, it makes very little practical difference whether they have the fee or merely a right of pre-emption. In either case the effect would be to cloud the title to any lands that might be acquired in severalty, as it would certainly serve to deter any probable private purchasers.

There were some statements made in the course of the discussion to the effect that the company had no claim at all, but that does not seem to be what is alleged in the report of the committee; it is there stated that they have an admitted claim either to the fee or to the right of pre-emption.

The second question which I wish to ask is, if it has been considered by those in charge of the bill whether it would be practicable to obtain a judicial determination of the validity of this claim? It appears to me that it ought not to be very difficult to provide in the bill for a proper proceeding to clear the title; and if that could be done, if it could be determined by the proper court of last resort what was the extent of this claim on the land, that fact probably would go far toward removing some of the opposition which seems to have been aroused to the measure by those who think that it provides for using the Indians' money to buy up a claim of very doubtful value. I make this suggestion as an inquirer, not as a critic.

Andrew John, a Seneca Indian, was the next speaker.

ANDREW JOHN.—I would like to show the real object of the bill before this Conference. My people are almost unanimously opposed to it. We have a reservation of fifty thousand acres of very good land, and the white men are scheming to get it out of the hands of the Indians. It is the same old story from the time of the discovery of America by Columbus. Once we had the whole domain; where are the Indians to-day? We have to fight all the time to keep the little reservations that we have left. The white men get on the reservations. We could not help it, because the railroads cross it from all points. The Indians always come out at the smallest end of the horn of anything.

The discussion was closed by Mr. Vreeland.

Mr. VREELAND.—To me this has been an occasion of the highest interest. I have been particularly pleased to hear the venerable Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, out of his great learning and long experience on the bench, verify

the claims which we have made based on the decisions of the courts, that the Ogden Land Company stands as a rock in the road which must be removed before we attempt to allot the lands of the Seneca Indians. The people who live on the reservations, in the villages laid out by act of Congress (about 8,000 in number), are required by this bill to pay something like \$20,000 toward the purchase of the Ogden title. They pay their just proportion according to the amount of land they occupy. They would love to see this bill pass, and they will work for its passage, but they want to see nothing done that would do injustice to the Indian in any way. I stand here to say that in my judgment, nowhere in the history of dealings with the Indians of this country have they been treated more fairly and honestly than they have in these reservations, occupied by these villagers. Bishop Walker says they are paying mere pittance for these lands, and cites the case of the value of land in Salamanca. When the railroads were built through the reservations, and these lands were occupied by the whites, they were swamps. No one would think of valuing the land as it then stood at more than \$10 an acre, and this would be upon the assumption that title could be given. Under the provisions of this bill these lands in Salamanca are paying on an average one hundred times more for the land than it was worth when the whites took it; some of it which was worth \$10 an acre, pays under the provisions of this bill \$5,000 an acre to the Indians. The leases already in force run for more than ninety years, with the right at the expiration of that time of renewing them. The bishop would hardly argue that these Indians should be kept in their present condition for nearly a century in order that the term of these leases may expire and a higher rate be obtained.

Under this bill the white lease-holders are to have the right to buy the lands which they hold by paying such a sum of money as put at interest at four and one-half per cent would produce the present rental. This means that they are paying about \$180,000 for the title to these lands besides the \$20,000 which they pay toward the Ogden Land Company's claim. The whites, then, who keep this little portion of these reservations, pay in for the benefit of the Indians a sum sufficient to buy of the Ogden Land Company the title to their whole 56,000 acres.

I wish to state to this Conference that no man on earth has a dollar's interest in passing this bill; that no man outside of the Ogden Land Company is to receive a dollar if it does pass, not even for expenses, not even for taking witnesses to Washington, not even for the drawing of a paper. The agreement with the Ogden Land Company is, that they furnish a deed to the property, and aside from that, they are not to pay a penny to anyone on earth for any purpose whatever in the passage of this bill. This is only my statement, but I can show to you that if it is not true all the world must know it. If this bill passes, the check goes from the Secretary of the Interior to the trustee of the Ogden Land Company, Mr. Appleby of New York City, now an old man, over eighty, with a long and honorable business record behind him: a man of wealth, reputa-

tion, and character, if we may believe those who have known him all his life. This check goes to him for the benefit of the hundred or more tenants in common that make up the Ogden Land Company. Many of these will be represented by administrators and executors, to whom the money will be paid by the trustee for the benefit of the heirs. The reports of these administrators and executors will be spread upon the public records of the Surrogates Courts of New York, and if there is any leakage, if any of this money is lost or stolen, the public records will show it. I have been president of a bank in the county where I live for the past fifteen years. When my term in public life has expired, I intend to go back to the bank and again become a respectable member of society. Under the provisions of this bill I am requiring my customers and neighbors to pay \$20,000. They are willing and glad to pay this, because after many years of examination they know that the Ogden claim must be got out of the way before they can get title. But suppose they should find out after the passage of this bill that there was a vulgar steal in it; suppose they are made to pay more than they need to, and the excess goes into someone's pocket: what would my neighbors and friends think of me? what would become of my business? I hold myself responsible for every detail of this bill, and I say that no one has any interest in its passage; no one receives any pay for its passage, even to the value of a postage stamp. I think it must be evident, even to the type of mind carried by my friend from Rochester, that considered as a matter only of self-interest, I could not afford to profit, nor permit others to profit in any illegitimate way by this legislation. Two hundred thousand dollars has been the price asked by the Ogden Land Company for many years. Occasionally claim lawyers have thought they would like to get this bill through Congress and get the money from the National Government. The Ogden Land Company has always said to them that their price was \$200,000, but if anyone could get more, he could have the difference. When I went to Washington, three years ago, I found that some lawyers had a contract with Mr. Appleby by which they would have all over \$200,000 that they could get from the Government for the claim and title. Their contract did not run out until last winter. Mr. Appleby let the contract run out, and until that time I refused to introduce the bill. Mr. Garrett and Mr. James went with me to see Mr. Appleby, and we asked him for the lowest cash price he would sell the claim for, and after consulting with the members of the company he stated the price named in this bill. I want you to understand that in supporting this bill you are supporting a bill to which no breath of scandal can ever honestly attach; no secrets or surprises can be sprung in relation to it. It is as clean as a hound's tooth from beginning to end.

Two million dollars will soon be paid to these Indians by the United States. What will they do with it? Let me tell you what the missionaries say about it. They say that in the majority of cases this money will be a curse to the Indians; that the reservation will be a Saturnalia of debauchery until the money is spent, and the reservations will swarm with fakirs, sharpers, and blackguards. A

million dollars of that money belongs to Indian children. What will become of their part of the money? It will be paid to their parents, and will be squandered. Under the provisions of this bill the Indians are put under laws of the States in which they live; the money of these Indian children will come under the protection of the Surrogate's Court, where it must be put on interest, and bonds given for its security until these Indian children shall become of age. There will be about \$1,500 for each average family—more money than they have ever dreamed of. If they were to pay their proportion of the Ogden claim it would amount to about \$300 per family, leaving about \$1,200 to each Indian family, which we hope will be spent by them in making a home and improving a piece of land for themselves and their children forever. We believe they are much more likely to spend it for this purpose if they own their own land than they are if they do not own it in severalty, and it belongs to the tribe as a whole. That is what we propose to do under this bill; take \$200,000 of this money and extinguish that claim, that all these blessings may flow from it, and we are sustained by the highest courts in this position.

These Indians are intelligent enough to know that they have no title to their lands. Thousands of acres of rich river bottoms have not been taken up and cultivated because of this uncertainty. Uncertainty as to the future has the same effect on these Indians that it has upon the business of the white man; and their young men will not take up and cultivate these lands without knowing whether they are to receive the benefits of their labor; and yet Bishop Walker proposes that we shall continue this state of uncertainty for at least five years more.

The gentleman from Rochester has expressed his opinion that this is an infamous bill. I will express my opinion, and I do it candidly and honestly. The most deadly enemy that these Indians have in the world can do them no greater injury than to defeat the legislation proposed in this bill. They would live in the stagnant pool of the reservation with no chance to become American citizens, with no protection for their homes and their property, with no courts worthy of the name, treated not as individuals but as a tribe,—a relic of barbarism and savagery set down in the midst of a high civilization.

I am asked whether it makes any difference whether the Ogden Company has the fee or the right of pre-emption. The gentleman was right in saying that it does not matter whether it is the fee or right of pre-emption. In either case it must be removed before allotment can take place. My claim is, that the right of pre-emption and the ultimate fee must always go together, that the one would be practically worthless without the other.

In the treaty of 1842 the Seneca nation of Indians conceded that the right of pre-emption is in the Ogden Land Company. We contend that no matter if, as some of the opponents of this bill claim, the Ogden Company has only the right of pre-emption without the ultimate fee, this legislation then cannot take place, and such claim will forever stand as a rock in the road until the good people of this country who are interested in the Indians roll it out of the way.

The condition of the Indians is just as our good friend Bishop Huntington has stated. Their domestic relations are a disgrace to the State of New York. Talk about the Sultan of Zulu and his many wives; we have a hundred sultans of Zulu on the reservations of this State. No people have ever advanced along the lines of civilization until they had a home, and until womanhood was respected. These Indians advance along intellectual lines: they are better educated than they used to be; they know more of geography and more of the white man's way, but they are not advancing along moral lines. A missionary—a faithful man who has lived among them twenty-five years—told me within a few days that he was never more discouraged during that time than he is to-day.

We send these Indian girls to Carlisle to be educated; we send them to schools maintained by the Quakers. What happens to those girls that come back from school? I would like to present to this audience a list of names which I have of Indian girls who have been sent to these schools and come back on the reservation. There are few legal marriages among them. There is no public opinion, no responsibility to the law. The girl comes back from school, is ruined, and nobody pays any attention. The conditions along these lines are horrible. They are unworthy of a Christian civilization. The laws of property are little better. Their so-called courts are corrupt.

Where does the Indian opposition to this legislation come from? It comes from the pagans among them, of whom Andrew John, who has just addressed you, is credited with being the leader. It comes from those pagans who resist every advance, who are opposed to schools, Sunday schools, to anything leading toward civilization. That is one element. The other element is among the young and thrifty: the intelligent Indian, those who hold office, the president, secretary, treasurer, sixteen councilors, the marshals, those who handle the money of the nation and do its business. They do not like to be legislated out of office any more than white men do. I believe with all my heart in this legislation. I have lived thirty years where I have seen these Indians; I would not harm a hair of their heads. In considering the facts of which I speak I know of my own knowledge. I have filed with the Indian Committee at Washington more than a hundred letters from prominent men in Western New York, from judges, priests, ministers, editors,—those who know about what they write, and are interested in the welfare of all concerned; and these letters are in favor of the passage of this bill and the legislation that will grow out of it.

Mr. SMILEY.—As I understand it, Mr. Appleby is an old man, and if he were to die we could not secure the title.

Mr. VREELAND.—He is over eighty, and holds in his hands all the threads of this Ogden title; he knows the location of all the heirs who are scattered over the world; the Bank of England has two shares. It would be a very difficult thing if he were to die for anyone to gather up this information.

During the last winter I received a communication signed by eighteen of these Ogden heirs, drawn by a young lawyer in New

York City who is one of them, in which they professed to be indignant at selling this claim for \$200,000, and saying that they would not be bound by the price given us by Mr. Appleby longer than the present Congress. As the years go by the difficulty of securing legislation on this subject will increase in every direction. This great sum of money coming to the Indians will be distributed and squandered. The time to pass this bill is *now*.

Mr. HUBBELL.—What objection is there to paying \$200,000 out of the United States Treasury?

Mr. VREELAND.—You will find that Mr. Cannon and other watch dogs of the Treasury will oppose it. They will inquire, Why should the people of the United States pay this \$200,000? The benefit goes to the Indian, and a large amount of money will be squandered and wasted if it is used for that purpose.

John Sherman once said that in all his years in the Congress of the United States he never introduced a bill which was passed just as he wanted it. We cannot enact this legislation just as everyone wants it in every particular. If we wait until a bill can be drawn which will suit everybody we will wait forever.

The PRESIDENT.—This has been one of the most interesting discussions in the history of this Conference. It has dealt with ethical and legal questions: We have had the light which the bishops could furnish, and we have had the light of the law. I think we have made some progress.

Mr. SMILEY.—When we began this discussion my mind was not made up. The discussion by such eminent men has cleared the sky of all clouds in my mind, and I am fully persuaded what is best to do.

The CHAIR.—So am I.

Adjourned at 1.15 P. M.

57TH CONGRESS,
1ST SESSION.

H. R. 12270.

[Report No. 2591.]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MARCH 7, 1902.

Mr. VREELAND introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and ordered to be printed.

JUNE 18, 1902.

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to the Indians in the State of New York and extend the protection of the laws of the United States and of the State of New York over such Indians, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That after the consent of a majority of the Indians hereinafter mentioned shall have been obtained to such allotment the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized to allot the lands upon the Allegany and Cattaraugus Reservations, within the State of New York, in severalty to the Indians who are located on said reservations, or are entitled to share in such allotments; and in determining who shall be entitled to share in such allotment of land the rolls of the Seneca Nation of Indians (excluding the Tonawanda band), according to which annuity money is paid, shall be controlling; but any error in such rolls may be, for the purposes of allotment, corrected by the commission hereinafter appointed, such corrections to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

SECTION 2. That for the purpose of making the allotment provided for in this Act a commission of three men shall be appointed by the President (one of whom may be recommended to the President by the president of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians, provided such nomination be made within thirty days after the date of the approval of this Act), the appointment of such commission to take effect and the duties of said commission to begin immediately *after the consent of a majority of said Indians to said allotment has been obtained*; and said commission shall make their final report as soon as practicable, and certainly within two years of their appointment, and all their functions as a commission shall cease and determine at the time of the submission of their final report. All allotments as made by said commission shall be certified by such commission to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in duplicate, one copy to be retained in the office of the New York Indian agent and the other copy to be transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his action, and to be deposited in the General Land Office. It shall be the duty of said commission, in making said allotments, to appraise the value of all the lands upon said reservations which are not explicitly excepted from allotment in the succeeding sections of this Act, but such first appraisement shall not include the value of buildings, orchards, or other improvements on such lands; and such lands shall be appraised in lots sufficiently small to secure a fair uniform valuation per acre in each lot thus appraised, and when the entire value of the land subject to allotment in said reservations shall thus have been appraised and estimated, said amount so estimated shall be divided by the number of Indians who are entitled to allotment at the date of allotment; and the result of such division shall be regarded as a "full share" or "unit of value" in the proposed allotting of lands; and each Indian shall be entitled to an allotment of land of the value of one such "full share." In assigning allotments to individual Indians each Indian shall, so far as practicable, receive the allotment upon which are situated the buildings and improvements now owned by

such individual. The area of the allotment made to any individual shall not be diminished in consequence of the value of any improvements thereon which belong to the allottee; but the area of an allotment to any individual shall be diminished in proportion to the value of any improvements thereon when such improvements did not at the time of allotment belong to the Indian to whom the land on which they stand is allotted. Wherever any individual Indian, at the time of allotment, holds and occupies any of the lands of said reservations which he has acquired by purchase, descent, or devise, in conformity with the laws and usages of his nation, he shall be reimbursed to the extent of the reasonable value of his improvements on and interest in all such land so belonging to him which shall not be allotted to him. The compensation to be made to any Indian as aforesaid for improvements on and interest in land theretofore held by but not allotted to him, as aforesaid, shall be assessed and determined by the commission appointed by the President to make such allotments, and shall be paid upon the certificate of such allotting commission by the Secretary of the Interior from any money in his hands derived under the provisions of Section 4 of this Act.

SECT. 3. That upon the approval of the allotments hereinbefore provided for by the Secretary of the Interior, he shall cause allotment patents to issue therefor in the name of the allottees, and upon receipt of said patents of allotment each of said allottees shall be and become a citizen of the United States and amenable to the laws of the United States and of the State or Territory where he may then reside; and said patents of allotment shall declare and be of the legal effect that the United States does and will hold the lands thus allotted in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment has been made, or his heirs, according to the laws of the State of New York, for a period of twenty-five years, and that at the expiration of such period the United States will convey the same by patent to the said Indian or to his heirs, as aforesaid, in fee, discharged of said trust and free of all charge and incumbrance whatsoever; and if any conveyance shall be made of the lands set apart and allotted as herein provided, or any contract made touching the same, before the expiration of the time above mentioned, such conveyance or contract shall be absolutely null and void: *Provided*, That in taking an allotment and becoming a citizen under the provisions of this Act the right of any Indian to tribal or other property shall not thereby be affected or impaired. *Provided further*, That at any time after the expiration of one year after such allotments have been made the Secretary of the Interior, upon presentation of a certificate signed and acknowledged by the county judge, the surrogate, and the clerk of the county in which any such allottee may reside, stating that such allottee, in their knowledge and opinion, is temperate, industrious, competent to manage his affairs, and qualified for citizenship, may cause such patent in fee simple to issue at once to such allottee under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

SECT. 4. That none of the lands upon the Allegany Reservation within the limits of the villages of Vandalia, Carrollton, Great Valley, Salamanca, West Salamanca, and Red House, as surveyed and located pursuant to an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to authorize the Seneca Nation of New York Indians to lease lands upon the Cattaraugus and Allegany Reservations and to confirm existing leases," approved February nineteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy-five, and none of the lands of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians on the Cattaraugus or Allegany Reservations outside of said villages which have been leased and are now legally held by the lessee or grantee thereof pursuant to authority of Congress (other than the lands leased for oil purposes) shall be allotted. Each lessee of such lands, his assigns or grantees, may pay a sum of money, four and one-half per centum of which equals the annual rental upon the lands so leased by him, and a further sum, bearing the same proportion to the two hundred thousand dollars hereinafter specified as the area of the lands so leased by him bears to the total area of the lands to which the claim of the Ogden Land Company attaches on the Cattaraugus, Allegany, and Tuscarora Reservations, to the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of said Indians; and when such lessee, assignee, or grantee shall have fully paid said respective sums as herein provided, the Secretary of the Interior shall cause a patent to issue vesting in such lessee, assignee, or grantee the full and absolute fee to the lands so leased by him, subject, however, to all valid liens and incumbrances existing thereon at the date of such patent.

That the lands now used and occupied by the Thomas Orphan Asylum on the Cattaraugus Reservation, not to exceed one hundred and sixty acres in area, *and also the lands used and occupied by the Presbyterian Board of Missions*, and the lands upon either of said reservations now used and occupied as cemeteries, church, or schoolhouse sites, not exceeding *two acres* in area, respectively, shall not be subject to allotment under this Act so long as such lands are actually used and occupied for said purposes.

That nothing in this Act contained shall in any manner affect the payment of royalties or rents under any oil lease of lands upon either of said reservations, but such royalties shall continue to be paid the same as heretofore.

SECT. 5. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and hereby is, authorized and empowered to purchase, in the name of the United States, in trust for the benefit of said Indians, as provided in this Act, for a consideration not exceeding the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, all the right, title, claim, and demand of the Ogden Land Company, and of the various individuals constituting such company, in and to the lands on the Cattaraugus, Allegany, and Tuscarora Reservations; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay, upon the requisition of the Secretary of the Interior, from and out of the funds hereinbefore appropriated by Congress for the payment of the judgment of the Court of Claims, as finally

determined by the Supreme Court in favor of the New York Indians against the United States, in case numbered seventeen thousand eight hundred and sixty-one on the docket of said Court of Claims, such part of said sum of two hundred thousand dollars as may be necessary with which to make such purchase, the same to be deducted from the portion of the said judgment belonging to the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians in proportion to the area of the lands of their respective reservations to which the claim of the Ogden Land Company attaches. The balance of said moneys so appropriated and now remaining for distribution, together with the balance of the moneys derived under Section 4 of this Act not expended in accordance with Section 1 hereof, shall be divided among the several beneficiaries thereof as soon after the passage of this Act as the census or rolls of the New York Indians, now being prepared by direction of the Secretary of the Interior, are completed and filed. The portion of such fund belonging to any Indian under the age of twenty-one years shall be paid to the general guardian of such Indian, duly appointed by the court having jurisdiction in the county where such minor resides, or to some legally qualified depository authorized by the laws of the State of New York to receive and hold in trust the fund of minors; the same to be accounted for upon the arrival of such Indian at the age of twenty-one years.

SECT. 6. That this act shall not take effect, except for the purpose of purchasing in the interest of the Indians the claim, title, and interest of the Ogden Land Company in and to such lands as above specified, until such purchase has been consummated, but shall take effect in all respects directly after such purchase has been made.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Night, October 23, 1902.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P. M. by the President, who introduced Hon. Wm. A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as one of the few politicians who have recommended the abolition of his own office.

Commissioner JONES.—I had sincerely hoped in coming to this Conference that I might be permitted to visit you in peace and not be asked to talk. Your business committee has decreed otherwise, and I am expected to say something in connection with the policy of the Indian Office in its dealings with Indians other than those residing in New York.

Before I begin on that subject, I would like to add my hearty endorsement of the provisions of the Vreeland Bill, which was so intelligently discussed this morning. There is one feature of it that I think has been criticised and I have heretofore felt that I did not care to support; that is, the taking of \$200,000 from the Indian funds and applying it to the payment of the Ogden Land Company's claim, but after listening to the statements made here this morning I am convinced that that is a proper thing to do. There is another provision of the bill which I think ought to be amended, that which submits it to the tribe for ratification. If the enforcement of this bill, if it should become a law, depends upon the consent of the Indian tribe, it will be fifty years before you see any change.

Bishop HUNTINGTON.—Undoubtedly it will.

Mr. JONES.—I know from what the most intelligent members of that tribe have said that they are as much opposed to it as their ancestors would have been a hundred years ago. I believe that that feature ought to be eliminated from the bill before it becomes a law.

Bishop HUNTINGTON.—Yes, it ought to be. We take not an atom from the Indians. We simply prescribe how they shall have their money. The community has a grievance against that reservation, and it has a right to demand that the land shall be divided.

Commissioner JONES.—We have an illustration of what we may expect of these people in the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory. These tribes have opposed any change to their condition, and they refused to consider any proposition looking to the dissolution of the tribal relation until the passage of the Curtis Bill in 1898, when it was arbitrarily proposed by the Government to

abolish their tribal government and to allot their lands in severalty. The conditions are almost precisely the same in the Seneca Reservation. The fact is that until last year the most intelligent of the five civilized tribes, composed largely of men and women who are almost as white as the people here, almost as intelligent, were the last to enter into negotiations with the Dawes Commission, and that is the Cherokee nation. Two thirds of this tribe are as competent to take care of their own business as I am, and until last winter they refused to consider any negotiations. The same will be true in fifty years of the Seneca Indians of New York.

Miss DAWES.—May I interrupt? Had there not been voluntary agreements made by three of the five tribes before the Curtis Bill was passed?

Mr. JONES.—Yes.

Miss DAWES.—Isn't it somewhat unfair to say that these tribes were forced into this measure by the Curtis Bill when they had already made agreements, and some of them once or twice over; and is it quite fair to the Dawes Commission that it should be said here and put on the records that the Curtis Bill arbitrarily forced the Cherokees and Creeks to accept allotments? Does the United States wish to stand in that light in the official record as represented by its Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and as saying that the tribes were forced to take the wishes of the Commission?

Mr. JONES.—If it had not been for the passage of the Curtis Act I am of the opinion that conditions in the Cherokee and other nations would be to-day what they were twenty-five years ago.

Miss DAWES.—The Choctaws and Seminoles had not only completed their agreement, but had voluntarily made application for allotment before the passage of the Curtis Bill. The condition is extremely like that of the New York Indians in some other respects. The Conference will, I hope, excuse my interruption, but I thought the Commissioner himself would like to qualify what had been said.

Mr. JONES.—The only point that I intended to make is that the intelligence of the tribe has nothing to do with their willingness to give up their old ideas. The most intelligent tribe in the Indian Territory—the Cherokee—was the last to complete an agreement with the Dawes Commission, and they did it because the passage of the Curtis Bill compelled them to accept allotments.

I have been asked by your business committee to discuss the "new policy" of the Government toward the Indian. There is nothing new about this so-called new policy. It is a policy that was imposed on the human race about six thousand years ago, and we are now trying to put it into force in the Indian service. You will remember that in the beginning our ancestors were told, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." I believe that the red man, the white man, and the black man came from a common ancestry, and that the edict ought to apply to the red man as well as to the white.

The present movement began some two years ago, and arose out of a communication from chiefs and headmen of the Sioux Indians

of the Rosebud Agency. About October, 1900, they addressed a letter to the President, representing that they were headmen of the Sioux Indians of Rosebud Agency and represented the tribe; that under the "Black Hills Treaty" of 1876 they were to be given certain rations; that these rations had been cut down from time to time until they were getting much less than the amount stated in that agreement; that they were hungry most of the time, especially the old and crippled, and that before the winter was over they would suffer very much; that in former years they could make some money by freighting, but as their annuity goods had been taken away, a large part of their freighting had fallen off; that in years past they got the hides from the beef cattle killed for issue, which were a great help in procuring things to eat; that they would obtain more benefit from the hides if issued to them direct than if they were sold and the money paid to them once a year; that they needed the hides to make moccasins and covering for their beds, etc.; that as they got little freighting and no beef hides, and were unable to raise much on their land, they had to depend on the rations issued by the Great Father; that while they wanted to obey his orders, yet they could not sit down and see their people starve; that they had talked many times with their agent, who was powerless to do anything without the authority of his superiors, and that they would like to have some assurance that something would be done for their relief. They therefore asked the President to answer them through their agent, and tell them if he could help their people.

Recognizing that the tone of that letter was probably symptomatic of the feeling then pervading the Sioux people generally, and that the conditions at Rosebud were similar to those existing at other Sioux agencies, and further that the action taken with regard to the Sioux would have an important bearing upon other tribes similarly situated, the office, with a view of contributing to the better understanding of the matters referred to the office, submitted to the department, along with the Indians' letter to go to the President, a communication treating of the Sioux nation as a whole. That communication, after reciting the substance of the Indians' letter, took up the consideration of the Black Hills Treaty, the true intent and meaning of which has been the subject of so much contention, and quoted the articles of that agreement relating to the matters under discussion as follows:—

ARTICLE 5. In consideration of the foregoing cession of territory and rights, and upon full compliance with each and every obligation assumed by the said Indians, the United States does agree to provide all necessary aid to assist the said Indians in the work of civilization; to furnish them schools and instruction in mechanical and agricultural arts, as provided for by the treaty of 1868.

Also to provide the said Indians with subsistence consisting of a ration for each individual of a pound and a half of beef (or in lieu thereof, one half pound of bacon), one half pound of flour, and one half pound of corn; and for every one hundred rations, four pounds of coffee, eight pounds of sugar, and three pounds of beans, or in lieu of said articles the equivalent thereof, in the discretion of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Such rations or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be continued until the Indians are able to support themselves.

Rations shall, in all cases, be issued to the head of each separate family; and whenever schools shall have been provided by the Government for said Indians, no rations shall be issued for children between the ages of six and fourteen years (the sick and infirm excepted) unless such children shall regularly attend school.

Whenever the said Indians shall be located upon lands which are suitable for cultivation, rations shall be issued only to the persons and families of those persons who labor (the aged, sick and infirm excepted); and as an incentive to industrious habits, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may provide that such persons be furnished in payment for their labor such other necessary articles as are requisite for civilized life.

The Government will aid said Indians as far as possible in finding a market for their surplus productions, and in finding employment, and will purchase their surplus, as far as may be required for supplying food to those Indians, parties to this agreement, who are unable to sustain themselves; and will also employ Indians, so far as practicable, in the performance of Government work upon their reservations.

It was then shown that the rations provided for the Sioux at the time were sufficient, unless the Indians were improvident, to prevent want. The letter then went on to say that the Sioux rations, as well as rations for all other tribes, had been gradually reduced; that this was in accordance with the policy of the office and the spirit of the Sioux agreement of 1877, and that the true intent and meaning of that agreement was forcibly expressed by a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, nearly ten years before. In writing to the Secretary of the Interior at that time in relation to the subsistence supplies issued to the Sioux, Commissioner Morgan quoted Articles 4 and 5 of the agreement, and then said:—

This agreement is still in force, and the questions now raised are questions as to how far the Government has kept its obligations.

It is worthy of special note that the end aimed at in the agreement was the civilization of the Indians. They were to settle down permanently; their children were to be educated; they were to live like white men, and the rations issued to them, or so much as might be necessary, were to be continued until "the Indians are able to support themselves." It is clearly evident that the Government never intended that the Indians should look to it for continuous support; that no promises of this kind were ever made, and that the Indians themselves did not expect it, and apparently did not desire it. The object of the rations was not that the Indians might be fed by the Government, but simply that they might be assisted and kept from want during the period of the probation while they were learning the art of self-support.

No one will question the wisdom of this policy. No intelligent man will doubt that the welfare of the Indian demands that just as soon as possible he shall be rendered self-supporting, and that any help in the way of food or other supplies furnished him by the Government in excess of his absolute needs so as to remove from him the spur and stimulus to labor is not a kindness, but an injury.

The only serious question which can be raised in this connection is, How long a time are these rations to be continued, and under what circumstances the Government shall reduce or discontinue them?

It should be noted that the agreement expressly stipulates that:—

"Whenever the said Indians shall be located upon lands which are suitable for cultivation, rations shall be issued only to the persons and families of those persons who labor (the aged, sick and infirm excepted); and as an incentive to industrious habits the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may pro-

vide that such persons be furnished in payment for their labors such other necessary articles as are requisite for civilized life."

It certainly will be accepted as a truism that the Government had a right to demand of the Indians that they put forth for self-support whatever efforts might reasonably be demanded of them considering their nature and surroundings. It will also be admitted that, considering the end in view, it would be a humane act on the part of the Government to decrease the rations, even though such decrease should bring temporary hardship, provided such hardship should serve as a stimulus to labor and self-help. Of course no one would urge that the Indians should be starved. In fact, all that can be demanded, either in fulfillment of treaty obligation or as an act of justice or humanity, is this, that the Indians shall put forth all proper exertion in the way of gaining a livelihood by their own labor, as other men are forced to do, and that in connection with such effort on their part food supplies shall be issued to them in such quantities (not exceeding the amounts named in the agreement) and for such length of time as a sincere regard for the highest welfare of the Indians shall dictate.

This was forwarded to the President by the Secretary of the Interior in a letter dated November 26, 1900, which is referred to and partially quoted in his last annual report, the conclusion of which was that the time had come for Indians either to support themselves or at least to furnish a part of their own support; and this conclusion was heartily approved by the President.

It then being winter, it was not considered judicious to make any immediate change in the prevailing policy, and so the issue of rations was continued as usual the remainder of that fiscal year. Before the next fiscal year opened, however, steps were taken to carry out the views expressed. On June 20, 1901, a letter was addressed to the Sioux agents, which, as it is the first enunciation of the future policy to be pursued, is given in full:—

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, June 20, 1901.

SIR: As the next fiscal year is approaching, when new arrangements will go into effect for the support and civilization of your Indians, it is a proper time to address you on the subject of the issuance of rations to the Indians on the Sioux reservations.

As you are doubtless aware, this subject has had the earnest attention of those who are actively engaged in the Indian Service as well as those who, though not connected with it in an official capacity, sympathize in the work, and the almost universal opinion is that the indiscriminate issue of rations is a hindrance rather than a help to the Indians.

The fact is recognized that a majority of your Indians, perhaps a large majority, are unable to support themselves, even if they would, except only partially, and therefore must be subsisted wholly or in part as contemplated by the agreement of 1877. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that a large number of persons classed as Indians have profited by the assistance they have received from the Government, and are now not only beyond want, but in many instances are prosperous and often affluent. How many of these there are is not known to this office, but it is certain that having reached the stage of self-support they are no longer entitled to the ration prescribed by the agreement referred to.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the meaning of this, the earnest attention of your Indians is invited to a correspondence that took place last fall. In October, 1900, the office received a letter signed by Sioux

Indians of the Rosebud Agency, addressed to the President, relative to their condition, their prospects and their needs. They referred to the Black Hills agreement of 1877, the reduction that had been made in the ration prescribed thereby, the loss of income by reduced freighting, their inability to raise much upon their land, and asked the President to answer them through their agent and tell them if he could help their people.

This letter was forwarded to the honorable Secretary of the Interior with a brief report as to the number of the Sioux, the benefits and meaning of the so-called Black Hills Treaty, the rations provided for the current year, the disposition of hides, the income from their trust fund, the number of cattle they were able to sell the Government to be issued back again, and other particulars relating to their welfare.

The Secretary of the Interior transmitted the Indians' letter to the President on the 26th of November last, together with the report of this office, and after referring briefly to the several items of that report referring to the Rosebud Indians in particular, became more general and said:—

"Article 5 of the treaty of 1876, known as the Black Hills Treaty with the Great Sioux Nation (of which the Rosebud Indians are a part), which was ratified by the act of Congress approved February 28, 1877 (19 Stat., 254), provides for assistance for the said Indians in the work of civilization; to furnish them schools and instruction in mechanical and agricultural pursuits; also a certain prescribed ration, which ration, 'or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be continued until the Indians are able to support themselves.'

"From the representations made by the writers of the communication referred to it does not seem that they or the other Indians of the Rosebud Agency are any nearer the goal of self-support than they were twenty-four years ago, when the treaty was made. Regardless of the provisions in the treaty looking to the reduction in the ration as they become able partly, if not wholly, to sustain themselves, which they appear to be able to do, and notwithstanding the facts stated by the Commissioner that individual Indians of this band own nearly 20,000 head of cattle, and that more than 1,500 head were purchased from them last year, at a cost to the Government of more than \$50,000, which cattle were afterwards issued to and eaten up by the band, they still claim full benefits under the treaty named."

He concluded his letter by saying—and this is commended to the serious consideration of your Indians:—

"From the facts stated, it does seem that the time has come when individual Indians who are so well qualified to at least furnish a part of their own support, as some of these Indians seem to be, should be required to take upon themselves a portion of the burden of their own care. The Government has faithfully and well fulfilled its obligations to them, and as the treaty of 1876 is mutual in its provisions, I respectfully recommend that such individuals as are known to be able to do so, be required to furnish their own support, or at least to contribute toward it, so that the Government may be relieved of their care, and the spirit of the treaty of 1876 in that respect carried into effect by them as well as by the Government, and that answer to this effect be communicated to them through their agent, as requested."

It is understood that this matter received the earnest attention of the President, and that he gave the Secretary's letter, just quoted, his unqualified approval.

In the face of this, the indiscriminate issue of rations to all alike must stop.

It therefore becomes your first duty to go over the ration rolls of your agency and erase therefrom all those who are wholly self-supporting. Your next duty will be to regulate the ration issued to the necessities of the recipients. As now practiced, it is understood that rations are issued to all alike—that is, they are distributed equally among the Indians of your reservation without regard to their worldly possessions. This should not be continued longer. Many families are, perhaps, partially self-supporting, but in different degrees. In such cases the ration should be issued according to the particular needs.

In determining who shall receive rations one important consideration must not be overlooked. Rations must not be issued to those who have no disposition to attempt to support themselves. The law and regulations to this effect are old, but in many cases seem to have been honored more in the breach than in the observance. Nevertheless, they are good, and should be enforced so far as conditions will allow.

The office is unable to lay down any particular rule for the guidance of agents in arriving at correct conclusions in these matters. Indeed, an arbitrary rule would not work satisfactorily. In some cases it will not be a difficult task to determine who is self-supporting, in others it undoubtedly will. Neither will it be easy at all times to determine just to what extent a family or an individual should be assisted. In all cases it will be a matter of judgment in which that of the agent will or should largely predominate.

The duty herein prescribed is an onerous one, and affecting as it does so deeply the present and future welfare of those under your charge, you will recognize the propriety of bringing to its discharge the most impartial, conscientious care. If the assistance of this office is needed, it will be given for the asking.

It is possible that some of those who are able to support themselves may voluntarily withdraw from the ration roll, and thus contribute to the cause by their example. To the knowledge of this office there have been instances of this, and doubtless if the object to be obtained were properly presented there would be others.

It is admitted that perhaps progress will be slow, but the time to begin it is here, and the object of this letter is to bring the Indians to a realizing sense of the attitude of the Government.

At the proper time it is proposed to send you, as was done last year, a statement of the quantities of subsistence purchased for your Indians for the next fiscal year. They are believed to be ample for the needs of all who should receive rations if the spirit of this letter is observed.

There is another class of Indians to whom the issue of rations would seem to be uncalled for. I refer to those drawing a salary from the Government. The number of these is large, many of them holding desirable positions, with very liberal salaries. A hasty examination of the salary list of the Sioux agencies shows that over one hundred and fifty of the agency employees alone are Indians receiving salaries from \$840 per annum down to \$120, very few, however, of the latter. The majority of these earn as much as, if not more, year in and year out, than the average laborer of the country. There is no question in the mind of this office that the issue of rations to these should stop.

There are also a large number employed in the schools with salaries from \$300 down, besides quarters and other conveniences. The impression prevails here that many of these, if not all, draw rations. If so, the office can see no reason for the continuance of the practice.

These two classes, therefore, should be eliminated from the ration roll.

The Indian police are excepted from this ruling, as their salaries are very small and their duties are peculiar. There may be other exceptions to the rule; if so, the office will consider them on their merits.

It is the desire of this office to have this new departure go into effect as soon after the beginning of the new fiscal year as possible.

This letter has been addressed to the agents in charge of the Sioux of different tribes, except Santee.

Later on, in September, 1901, a similar letter was sent to all other ration agencies on the ground that what was good for the Sioux was good for all, so that by the fall of 1901 all of the ration agencies were on the same basis with respect to the self-supporting.

While this was a step in the right direction, it did not remove the great evil to be overcome, which was the support of Indians in

idleness. The extent and demoralizing effects of this evil were generally recognized and universally condemned, except, perhaps, by a mistaken philanthropy which ignores the natural law that man must earn his living by the sweat of his brow. Much had been said about this evil, and sporadic attempts had been made to check it, but with little avail. For years the Indians had been fed and clothed and allowed to spend their time in the devil's workshop.

It was felt that it was time for a change. Heretofore the dealing had been with the tribe; it would now be with the individual. He would no longer be looked upon simply as one of a dependent community to be dealt with as a whole, but would be considered independently and treated as one capable of developing those qualities which would lift him above the level of a pauper and fit him to become a useful member of society. His manhood would be appealed to. An attempt would be made to teach him self-reliance and self-respect. He would be induced to acquire habits of industry and to forsake the ways of idleness. Necessity, and necessity alone, would do this. He must want before he would work; he must come to the bitter realization that idleness and hunger go hand in hand, and understand that he must put his hand to the plow if he would live. His rations would therefore be stopped and he would be offered work instead,—work that he could do, not aimless work, but work with an object; not made to dig a hole one day and fill it up the next simply for the sake of doing so. That would deprive labor of the very essence of its worth,—a definite purpose. He would be put at something which would give him not only a present living, but which he could see would bring him benefit in the future. He would be paid fairly and promptly for his work, and then left to provide for himself.

Accordingly in the early part of January of the present year agents were advised that rations would no longer be issued to the able-bodied, but that the money thus saved would be used to pay them in cash for labor in building roads, dams, or reservoirs for storage of water, or any other work that would give them profitable occupation for the present and lead to their self-support in the future. Men were to be paid \$1.25 a day of eight hours, and men with teams \$2.50. Not only were the agents to employ the Indians to the fullest extent themselves, but they were to use all of their influence in finding employment for them in the surrounding country; and it was suggested to them that they should devote the greater part of their time to the civilization of their Indians, leaving the minor details of administration to subordinates, and that an Indian agency should be a bureau for employment of Indians rather than a center for the gratuitous distribution of supplies.

As this has been the subject of considerable animadversion, and been stigmatized as a plan for the encouragement of contract labor, it is proper that some particular notice should be taken of these strictures and the false charges refuted. As to the assertion that

the plan is to hire out adult male Indians as contract laborers, nothing can be further from the truth. In all the correspondence there is not even a hint of such a thing. It was simply suggested to agents that they should circulate the information in the surrounding country that laborers could be obtained at their agencies, if such were the fact. If they could not give the Indians work themselves, they were to find it for them if they could. And that was their plain duty. If reference is made to the Black Hills Treaty, already quoted, it will be seen that the Government obligates itself to aid the Sioux Indians in finding employment. The agents, therefore, in publishing the fact that there were Indians willing to work, were simply carrying out both the letter and spirit of that agreement. In all of this there was not the slightest suggestion of hiring the Indian out under contract. That implies coercion. There was not a thought of such a thing. He was to be given an opportunity to work, that was all. If the Government did not have it, it was to find it for him. He could work or not as he chose. He was as much a free agent with respect to this as anyone else. Only if he were given the opportunity to work and refused, he was not to expect to be supported by the Government.

The new policy was received with much discontent in some quarters, and passive, if not open, opposition in others. There were a few mutterings and a good deal of talk about vested rights, some sympathetic expressions over the hard lot of poor Lo, and here and there a prophecy of an "uprising." Interested parties endeavored to create a sentiment against it, while self-constituted conservators of the Indian either cast aspersions upon its authors or damned it with faint praise.

In spite of these and other adverse influences the office persevered with its policy, and is now in a position to form an intelligent idea of its effect. Everywhere the results have been favorable even beyond expectation. Misgiving in some quarters has given place to confidence, and while, perhaps, the experimental stage has not been passed, there is every reason to believe that the final success of the plan if carried out judiciously is assured.

As a first result over 12,000 have been dropped from the ration roll, being wholly self-supporting. As a second result a large number of Indians have been put to work, or work has been found for them. As to the effect of this let others speak.

One agent writes :—

The Indians are eager for work ; even some of the older ones, classed by the physicians as physically unable to work, insisting on having work. . . . These Indians are working as faithfully and intelligently as could be expected of people who have never had occasion to work for their support, and there can be no question as to the wisdom of the new policy and its good effect on these people.

Another says :—

The results so far are very gratifying. . . . As soon as the fact that work could be secured was known by the tribe, applications came faster than they

could be employed. One man, over fifty years of age, when drawing his pay for a few days' work, acknowledged it was the first money he ever earned, and seemed pleased that it was possible to secure money without waiting for annuity or lease payments. . . . There is no question but that the time was ripe for the adoption of the present policy.

Another :—

I think this new policy has had a very desirable and stimulating effect upon these Indians to look for employment, while a great many of them are always ready to work when they can see that they are to be compensated for it; yet they seem now to be more anxious for work than ever before.

These extracts could be multiplied, but those given are sufficient to show the trend of sentiment of those having an experimental knowledge of the situation.

During the progress of the change in policy an incident occurred which is only noticed now because of the importance attached to it at the time by the public, and because it affords a striking illustration of what great matter a little fire kindleth. About the time the orders were issued to cut off rations and pay the Indians for labor instead, the office, realizing that the Indians could not continue to observe some savage customs and be industrious too, called agents' attention to these customs in a letter, and urged that they be discouraged. The letter became public, and the effect was immense. For awhile it was the talk of the town. No official notice of it was taken at the time, but that the office was not altogether indifferent the following letter will show :—

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, February 19, 1902.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Some references of yours in a recent conversation afford me an opportunity, of which I avail myself, to offer some expressions upon a matter which has occupied the public mind for some little time past. Although comparatively trivial in my estimation, it seems the entire press of the country considered it otherwise, for it has thought it important enough to give it extended notice, and make it the subject of unfavorable comment on the one hand, and some wit and much good-natured badinage on the other; the latter, according to my observation, largely predominating. Indeed, the principal object of the papers seems to have been to get out of it all the fun they could. And it must be admitted they have succeeded very well. With all of this I find not the least fault. But now that the excitement has subsided and we have had our laugh, let us put on a sober face and indulge in a reflection or two on the serious side.

The innocent cause of all this agitation was a letter written by this office in the usual course of business to agents having charge of Indian tribes, in the latter part of December last and the early part of January.

Here it is :—

"SIR: This office desires to call your attention to a few customs among the Indians which it is believed should be modified or discontinued.

"The wearing of long hair by the male population of your agency is not in keeping with the advancement they are making, or will soon be expected to make, in civilization. The wearing of short hair by the males will be a great step in advance, and will certainly hasten their progress toward civilization. The returned male student far too frequently goes back to the reservation and falls into the old custom of letting his hair grow long. He also paints profusely, and adopts all the old habits and customs which his education in our industrial schools has tried to eradicate. The fault does not lie so

much with the schools as with the conditions found on the reservations. These conditions are very often due to the policy of the Government toward the Indian, and are often perpetuated by the agent's not caring to take the initiative in fastening any new policy on his administration of the affairs of the agency.

"On many of the reservations the Indians of both sexes paint, claiming that it keeps the skin warm in winter and cool in summer, but instead this paint melts when the Indian perspires, and runs down into the eyes. The use of this paint leads to many diseases of the eyes among those Indians who paint. Persons who have given considerable thought and investigation to the subject are satisfied that this custom causes the majority of the cases of blindness among the Indians of the United States.

"You are therefore directed to induce your male Indians to cut their hair, and both sexes to stop painting. With some of the Indians this will be an easy matter; with others it will require considerable tact and perseverance on the part of yourself and your employees to successfully carry out these instructions. With your Indian employees, and those Indians who draw rations and supplies, it should be an easy matter, as a noncompliance with this order may be made a reason for discharge or for withholding rations and supplies. Many may be induced to comply with the order voluntarily, especially the returned student. The returned students who do not comply voluntarily should be dealt with summarily. Employment, supplies, etc., should be withheld until they do comply, and if they become obstreperous about the matter a short confinement in the guardhouse at hard labor, with shorn locks, should furnish a cure. Certainly all the younger men should wear short hair, and it is believed by tact, perseverance, firmness, and withdrawal of supplies the agent can induce *all* to comply with this order.

"The wearing of citizens' clothing, instead of the Indian costume and blanket, should be encouraged.

"Indian dances and so-called Indian feasts should be prohibited. In many cases these dances and feasts are simply subterfuges to cover degrading acts, and to disguise immoral purposes. You are directed to use your best efforts in the suppression of these evils.

"On or before June 30, 1902, you will report to this office the progress you have made in carrying out the above orders and instructions."

To my surprise this letter created considerable excitement, outside of the service at least, and the impression seemed to prevail that the Government intended to accomplish its desires by main strength and awkwardness, and there was some silly talk about "revolt" and "uprising." To counteract any mistaken impression, the following was written on January 21 to those to whom the former letter was addressed:—

"SIR: From criticisms that have appeared in the newspapers, and from information that has reached this office from other quarters, it appears that the recent circular letter issued, directing the modification or discontinuance of certain savage customs prevailing among Indian tribes, has been misunderstood. This letter is therefore written to remove any doubt on the subject.

"The circular letter referred to was simply a declaration of the policy of this office, and indicated what should be carried out by those having charge of the Indians, using tact, judgment, and perseverance. It was not expected or intended that they should be so precipitate as to give the Indians any cause for revolt, but that they should begin gradually and work steadily and tactfully till the end in view should be accomplished. Let it be distinctly understood that this is not a withdrawal or revocation of the circular letter referred to, but an authoritative interpretation of its meaning."

This is what is known as the "short-hair" order, and this is all there is of it. From beginning to end there is not a single suggestion of force as applied to the untutored Indian, but, on the contrary, patience, tact, perseverance. With the case of employees and returned students the case is different. The former is a salaried servant of the Government, employed because he is an Indian, while the latter has been the recipient of bounteous favors. In both cases the Government has a right to expect a proper observance of rules established for their good. The letter, it will be observed, deals with

several objectionable and immoral practices, long hair, painting, dancing, feasts, etc., but curiously enough the press has noticed only that part which advocates the cutting of the hair. In it there is nothing new, nothing but what has been according to the precept and practice of twenty years and more. In 1882 Senator Teller, then Secretary of the Interior, who perhaps was, and is, as well equipped, both by observation and experience, as any other person to speak intelligently on the Indian question, addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which I would like to quote as extremely pertinent to the subject under discussion, but refrain on account of its length. He presented in vigorous language what he regarded as hindrances to civilization; he named the continuance of the old heathenish dances with their degrading influences; he spoke of the laxity of the marriage relation; he included the medicine men and their practices in his category of obstacles; he urged the inculcation of the value of property as an agent of civilization, and concluded by saying:—

“It will be extremely difficult to accomplish much toward the civilization of the Indians while these adverse influences are allowed to exist.

“The Government having attempted to support the Indians until such time as they shall become self-supporting, the interest of the Government as well as that of the Indians demands that every possible effort should be made to induce them to become self-supporting at as early a day as possible. I, therefore, suggest whether it is not practicable to formulate certain rules for the government of the Indians on the reservations that shall restrict and ultimately abolish the practices I have mentioned. I am not ignorant of the difficulties that will be encountered in this effort, yet I believe in all the tribes there will be found many Indians who will aid the Government in its efforts to abolish rites and customs so injurious to the Indians, and so contrary to the civilization that they earnestly desire.”

Upon this the office, with the approval of the Department, organized the court of Indian offenses, with a code of regulations the purpose of which was to suppress the practices the indulgence in which was fatal to Indian progress. The judges of these courts (always Indians) are appropriated for by Congress. The rules governing their courts will be found in the regulations of the Indian Department. It is true long hair and painting may not be specifically mentioned, but it is not necessary, as they are merely concomitants of the demoralizing practices proscribed. It may be interesting to note that although these rules are stringent to a degree beyond anything suggested in the recent letter which has created so much excitement, and have been enforced all these years, yet they have not received, so far as I can learn, any adverse notice from the press, if they have been noticed at all.

But, whether there be a precedent for the late letter or not, I have no apology to make. I still think, with all due deference to the opinions of others, that it is not only in the line of sound public policy, but it is in the interests of decency and justified by practices which are still too prevalent—practices which are too often encouraged by white spectators, sometimes, I regret to say, in the name of science, who are either actuated by a morbid curiosity or impelled by a desire to gratify the longings of a depraved taste.

It was only a few years ago that issue day at some of the ration agencies partook somewhat of the character of a levee. Visitors would come from a distance to see the animals, wild by nature and frenzied by their surroundings, turned loose to be hunted down over the prairie by the whooping and yelling Indians in imitation of the savage methods of buffalo days. This has been done away. But other and worse things remain. Dances that are degrading, and so-called religious rites that are immoral, though gradually disappearing, still prevail. It is these, and similar practices, and the customs that are incident to them, that the Indian must relinquish if he is to succeed, and it is against the encouragement of these that the letter was aimed.

It is a familiar saying that error lies at two extremes and truth in the middle; and a striking illustration of the truth of this is found in the Indian question. At one extreme there is a cold brutality which recognizes the dead Indian as the only good Indian, and at the other a sickly sentimentalism that crowns the Indian with a halo, and looks up to him as a persecuted saint.

Between the two will be found the true friends of the Indian, who, looking upon him as he really is, and recognizing his inevitable absorption by a stronger race, are endeavoring in a practical way to fit him under new conditions for the struggle of life. With these I desire to be numbered.

A year ago, and again recently, in the annual reports I had the honor to make to you, I took occasion to make some observations upon the obstacles in the way of the Indian's progress, and to offer some suggestions looking to their removal and his becoming an independent factor in our civilization. It is not necessary to repeat them here. It is enough to say that the central idea was that the Indian must work out his own salvation. To do that he must learn to labor. He must put aside all savage ways that are inimical to that. He must adapt himself to the ways of the civilization around him, and cease to be a mere curiosity and a show. It was ideas like these that led to the writing of the letter under discussion, and others in the same direction. There was no idea of interfering with the Indian's personal liberty any more than civilized society interferes with the personal liberty of its citizens. It was not that long hair, paint, blankets, etc., are objectionable in themselves—that is largely a question of taste—but that they are a badge of servitude to savage ways and traditions which are effectual barriers to the uplifting of the race.

Let me say in conclusion that I have no objection whatever to any legitimate criticism of any action taken by this office. In fact, it is invited. In the multitude of councilors there is wisdom, and I cannot help feeling that if the Indian question were more closely studied, and better understood, any honest effort to elevate the race would meet with better entertainment than a sneer.

Very truly yours,

W. A. JONES, *Commissioner.*

Hon. E. A. HITCHCOCK,
Secretary of the Interior.

This incident is now almost forgotten, and may be closed with the statement that the reports of agents on the subject are now all in, and the concensus of their opinion, as expressed by one of them, is that "the order, while it has been bitterly denounced in the press, appealed to me as a step forward and in the right direction."

Dr. Merrill E. Gates was then introduced and invited to give an outlook of the next step to be taken in behalf of the Indians,—the breaking up of the great tribal funds into individual holdings.

THE NEXT GREAT STEP TO BREAK UP TRIBAL FUNDS INTO INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS.

BY DR. MERRILL E. GATES, SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

When the invitation from the Board of Indian Commissioners came to me in Europe asking me to succeed our honored colleague, General Whittlesey as Secretary of the Board, at Washington, the invitation was to me commanding and decisive. I felt that there was reason to hope that one who had been a member of the Board for fifteen years and its chairman for more than half that time, by his familiarity with the questions involved, through a few years of residence at Washington in such semi-official relations with the

Government as are involved in this position, might reasonably hope to be useful in bringing general principles to bear in shaping regulations and helping to shape legislation upon Indian affairs. The Board of Indian Commissioners was designed to stand between the American public and the Bureau of Indian affairs in such a way as to interpret each to the other, and as far as possible to strengthen the efforts of the thoughtful Christian American people to bring to bear steadily upon the problem of Indian affairs the light of Christian principle and of non-partisan love of justice and righteousness. It seemed not too much to hope that, looking out over the field from the position of Secretary of the Board, and trying to bring to bear upon Indian affairs certain of the principles of political science and ethics which had for years been the subject of his own study and teaching in college work, one who was freed from the pressure of the details of administration which always throng upon and sometimes embarrass the office holders of the department might make some helpful contributions toward that solution of the Indian problem by the incorporation of our Indian population into the great body of intelligent American citizens toward which we all look.

It is with the hope of helping in the attainment of this end that when I speak to you, friends of the Mohonk Conference, who have so often listened to me with friendly and reassuring interest, I take as my theme a view of *that general line of progress* which ought to mark the dealing of our Government with its Indian wards. If the frequent changes in Indian agents, and the quick succession of Indian Commissioners (never until this last year have we had a Commissioner of Indian Affairs who has remained in office for five successive years); if the pressure of "practical politics" and the disturbing influence of partisan changes, make it difficult for the Government to formulate in thought, and to carry out successfully in detail, a uniform, helpful policy toward the Indians,—certainly a permanent board of philanthropic citizens such as the Indian Commissioners, and a body of public-spirited citizens such as the Mohonk Conference, can in no way be more helpful than by seeking to mark out those lines of policy and those measures in the treatment of Indians, which experience has proved tend most helpfully and most rapidly to Americanize our aboriginal Americans.

Somewhere Emerson says in substance, "If I can voice in my thought and speech eternal justice, why need I trouble myself about the last statute passed by Congress?"

In certain moods this is an attractive presentation of that "omnipotence of a principle" to which we all love to yield. But, after all, the point of view of the student of social problems and of the statesman is, that if principles are to triumph, it is necessary that by well-planned legislation, by well-organized administration, these principles be linked in living union to the daily life of men and women in the actual world about us. Principles that bear upon life should be a living force in the laws and customs that make up the life of a nation. And we know well that admiration of abstract principles is not enough for the betterment of society. The function

of law and of organized government is "to make definite what has been indefinite, to make certain what has been uncertain, and to render to every man his due."

RADICAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN AMERICAN LIFE AND INDIAN LIFE.

When we ask ourselves what radical principle marks and determines the essential difference between the life of the Indians as they have lived it, and the life of our American citizens, all thoughtful persons are inevitably brought face to face with the fact that our American citizenship emphasizes the *value of the individual*, and of the individual living *in the family*, which is God's unit of social life. In Indian life, on the other hand, *the individual is lost in the mass of the tribe*. Individual property, with its educating effect upon the man who holds it and manages it, Indian life disregards; merging it in the mass of tribal property. The personality of the individual—and *most sadly the personal value of woman*—the Indian life does not recognize. The individual is merged in the tribal mass.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that in educating and guiding Indians out of their savage tribal life and into the enlightened social life of American citizenship, this radical difference between tribal life and citizenship in *the responsibility of the individual*, and the *value placed upon strong personality*, should be a guiding principle in determining laws and measures which are likely to be helpful?

GRADUAL EVOLUTION IN OUR INDIAN POLICY OF EMPHASIS UPON THE VALUE OF PERSONALITY.

Experience in practical administration teaches the same lesson which the study of other savage, barbaric, and nomadic peoples has taught other generations of thoughtful men.

First, Congress became convinced in 1871 that "no more treaties should be made with Indian tribes as tribes"; and in reaching this decision erected a notable milestone at a turning point in the history of our Indian policy. We were beginning to see that *we must deal with the individual* if we were to make the most of manhood and womanhood in Indians.

Then came the prolonged effort on the part of wise friends of the Indians to secure the General Allotment Act. Its significance lies in the fact that this law is a mighty pulverizing engine for breaking up the tribal mass. It does not deal with the tribe. It shatters the tribe that it may act directly upon the family and the individual. By providing a homestead for every family, an individual holding of land for each Indian person, and grouping these holdings in family groups, and by making every Indian who comes under its provisions a citizen of the United States, it puts a new allegiance and loyalty to our Government in place of the old allegiance to the Indian tribe. It has given a mighty impulse toward family life and the cultivation of home virtues. Already more than 70,000 Indians, by its provis-

ions, have been made citizens of the United States, and as such are now subject to the laws of the states and territories where they reside. What this means was made vividly clear to my mind in a conversation about Indian affairs with that impersonation of high principle, clear thinking, and incarnate energy who (with far more of measured deliberation than those who do not know him attribute to him) in the White House embodies so much of what is best in our American life. President Roosevelt, a short time after he entered upon the duties of the presidency, in speaking with me of Indian Affairs, said with great glee: "At a political meeting in one of our Northwestern states in the last presidential campaign, a candidate for Congress took me aside before I was to address a large meeting of voters, and said, 'Be careful what you say upon this particular question' (naming the point), 'for there are several hundred Indian voters in my district, and they feel very strongly on this matter, and I want their votes.'"

NEED OF LICENSED MARRIAGES AND FAMILY RECORDS.

With 70,000 Indians already admitted to citizenship in the United States, until within the last few months there has not been at any agency an authentic official record of the family relationship of these citizens (if we except the work done by Miss Alice Fletcher, perhaps the best work in allotting Indians ever done). Yet you can see at once that only a permanent record of family relationships among these Indians can prevent the grossest confusion as to legal title to allotted lands, when the period of twenty-five years of protected title expires, and deeds are to be given in fee simple by the United States to "the allottee or his heirs" in each case. How shall our courts determine who are the heirs of deceased allottees? Some years ago I raised my voice in warning in this Conference as to the confusion that would result when speculating lawyers should begin to buy up titles to the allotments of deceased Indian allottees. Already hundreds of such claims have been bought up by speculators. During this last year the difficulties that attend upon the question of the disposal to be made of the land of deceased allottees, have been among the most annoying which have come before the Indian Office. A permanent system of registration of Indian families is absolutely necessary.

VAST LANDED INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED.

Again we are face to face with the white man's greed of land and the Red man's need of law. We often hear Indians referred to as "the vanishing races which have been dispossessed of all their lands." There is much which is unlovely and unjust in the history of our dealings with the Indians. But we need not exaggerate what is wrong; nor should we forget that upon the whole the dealings of the Government with the Indians for the last thirty years have been dictated by principles of justice, and have been more considerate than the history of the world elsewhere can show in the relations of a conquering to a conquered race. The census of 1890 gave the

number of Indians in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, as 259,000; the census of 1900 gives the number as 270,000. While pure-blood Indians are less in number than they used to be, those who are classed as Indians, and seek the tribal rights and privileges of Indians, are more numerous. The Indians are about one three hundredth of the population of the United States. While we have taken from the Indian reservations much which we had assigned to them when our supply of Western land seemed inexhaustible, the reservations which are still held for them are greater in extent than the combined territory of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and half of Pennsylvania. *One thirtieth* of the entire acreage of this country is held for the Indians, who are *one three hundredth* of our population. That is, the average Indian occupies about ten times as much land as the average white person. Let us not forget this fact. Much of the land in these reservations is worthless for agricultural purposes. Three years ago, by correspondence with all Indian agents, I tried to ascertain how much of the land of our Indian reservations, in the opinion of agents, is fit for agriculture. Replies gave me a body of statistics imperfect, but, such as it was, more encouraging as to the amount of tillable land than I had expected. I have just sent out letters of inquiry to all the Indian agencies asking further information upon this subject, and upon allotments, leased lands, etc.

CATTLE RAISING AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD CIVILIZATION.

Much of the land on these reservations which is not tillable is well fitted for cattle raising. If you visit one of the Western reservations from three to six thousand feet above the sea, where there is not a month in the summer without a killing frost, it is pathetic to see the efforts made by the Indians, under the advice of careful agents, to raise vegetables in gardens which are hit by the frost once or twice in each summer month. But upon many of these reservations all the conditions favor the raising of cattle or of sheep. Not all of the Indians can be made farmers. Many of those in our Western tribes will be successful cattle breeders before they become agriculturists. From savagery up through successive stages of barbarism, as breeders and herders of cattle, into civilization,—this is the course which many nomadic tribes have taken in other countries; and cattle raising on our Northwestern reservations is not a continuance of savagery or of barbarism. In Montana and North Dakota, where Indians learn to store the wild hay of the prairie to feed their stock through the winter; where the cattle are herded in sheltered spots through the winter, and are fed by the hay which has been cured and stacked by the provident labor of these Indian men in cutting the wild grass of the prairie during the summer; where herding cattle through the summer months takes the men away from their homes, to be sure, but makes possible a home for each family upon allotted, tillable land along the river bottoms, with a little garden for each family,—a home to which the husband and father returns several

times during the summer, and where he lives with his family during the winter; in this kind of cattle raising you have the natural pathway into civilization for the men who used to live by hunting the buffalo, but who now live by breeding and herding the tame representative of the buffalo in the form of beef cattle. Often I see the faces and hear the voices of those young Indians—returned students from the East—who came to me at the close of a long afternoon council which I had held with several hundred Indians on a Montana reservation. In this council these returned students had offered the wisest and most helpful advice to their people, until one of the chiefs had said at the close of the meeting: “A light has come from the East. Our *young men who have been East to school* have seen it. We must follow them. The buffalo are gone. The white man’s way is the only way for us.” These young Indians came to me and said in substance: “Please carry a petition to Washington. They have been sending us rations and clothing which we do not need, and agricultural tools which we cannot use. Ask them to send us mowing machines to make hay of this prairie grass, and men to teach how to take care of stock cattle, and to send us good breeding cattle instead of rations; and we can make our own way at once; and we can teach our fathers and our older brothers how to make their way by raising cattle.”

Individual holdings in land strengthen the family. Individual ownership in cattle, and the successful breeding of cattle, will strengthen the personality of the Indian men who engage in it, and will lead them toward civilized ways. But several of the great tribes which might be most successful in cattle raising, are kept from doing anything for themselves by *the communistic system of great tribal funds*, which belong not to individuals but to the tribe, and by the division, to idle and industrial Indians alike, of payments from these funds, and of money payments from the leasing of great sections of tribal land to *white cattlemen who work, while Indians sit still in barbarism* subsisting upon the rentals of these tracts of tribal land.

THE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION MUST GO; THE RESERVATION AND
NEEDLESS AGENCIES MUST GO; THE GREAT TRIBAL
FUNDS SHOULD BE BROKEN UP.

The American public is convinced that upon the whole the reservation system for Indians is thoroughly bad. It has some mitigating features when the agent is a good man, and teachers and missionaries are experienced, faithful, and helpful. But the general principle of isolating savages from civilization, and keeping an inert mass of savagery segregated from American citizens and cut off from all the life-giving currents of civilization and Christian life, is thoroughly bad. We cannot speak in public of all the iniquities that our eyes have seen on these reservations. If Christian men and women, who know what reservation life means for Indian women and for Indian men, sometimes lose patience with the lovers of the picturesque and the admirers of the exceptional in anthropology, it is because

admiration for the exceptional and the picturesque in Indian life sometimes becomes a serious obstacle to the efforts of teachers, philanthropists, and patriots who wish to make useful American citizens of this quarter of a million of our population, and not to maintain them in a picturesque paganism for the sake of perpetuating the exceptional for purposes of study! There is danger in the half-romantic willingness to sacrifice the souls of men and women, to shut out from enlightened and civilized life the descendants of these American savages, because of a desire to see perpetuated grotesque and unclean dances, and debauching practices which are practiced by pagans, but should not be tolerated on the territory of a civilized Christian nation.

To get through the mass of the tribe to the individual; to break up the mass of reservation land into individual and family holdings; to lay hold of the life of men and women, of boys and girls, one by one, and bring them into the civilized life of American citizens, should be the object of all our efforts for the Indian. And this work cannot be effectively done until we begin to *break up the great tribal funds*, as we are breaking up tribal government and the great tribal reservations. Pagan practices which are distinctively immoral; so-called tribal "councils" and "governments," which are notoriously schools for political debauchery, and the vices of "ring government" methods imported from our worst city centers, must give way; and the people who are kept in ignorance by them, must be brought under the strong and helpful tuition of the local life of the American people, political and social. The teaching which comes to Indians when they begin to share in the local affairs of the town, the county, the state; when their children take their places in the public-school system of the township and the county where they live,—is a transforming influence from which we have too long shut them out.

In past centuries when the white people on this continent were so few in number that they were compelled to make treaties with tribes of the aborigines, we began a system of recognizing the local authority of the tribe. Then for a century or more this great nation excused itself for the absolute lawlessness and unchecked crime of white men and Red men upon the Indian reservation, by affirming that it had turned over local government on these reservations to the authority of tribal chiefs and the sway of tribal Indian law. The utter lack of law and the folly of treating petty bands of savages as if they were civilized nations—sister states in the great international family of civilized states—became so evident, more than a generation ago, that Congress decided in 1871 to make no more treaties with Indian tribes. This was the first step toward the disintegration of the tribe; toward the "Americanizing" of the Indians. Then we turned our attention to these great masses of land held by tribal tenure. They had to be broken up in the interest of the Indians themselves. The Dawes Bill—the General Severalty Act of 1887—struck at this vast mass of tribal land. Friends of the American Indian should never forget the debt the Indians owe to Senator Dawes of Massachusetts. We have never had in Congress at Washington any man who has

devoted so much of legal learning, so much of that strong common sense and sound practical judgment which a New England constituency demands in its Senators, and so much of high Christian principle, convincing eloquence and persistent and long-continued effort to securing wise legislation for the Indians, as did Senator Henry L. Dawes. We miss his influence for the Indian at Washington. In the Senator who stood nearest to him in wise interest in the Indians, Senator Platt of Connecticut, the Indians have always had a friend of the same type; and if he were not heavily loaded with duties in our colonial affairs, we might expect from him the same persistent and efficient help for the Indian. Many other members of Congress are wisely thoughtful for the interest of the Indian, and absolutely stanch in their devotion to righteous measures of law and administration for the Indians. The first severalty bill was drafted in 1869 by the Board of Indian Commissioners; but it was nearly twenty years before a measure for allotting lands in severalty became a law—in 1887. And, humanly speaking, that law could not have passed Congress then, or for years afterward, had it not been for the strong personality and the unfailing energy of Senator Dawes. But we got the law in 1887; and that law began to pulverize the reservation system.

There still remains a third mass in which the Indians are isolated from civilization, and behind which the personality of the Indian hides itself, and eludes the civilizing effect of American citizenship. That mass, too, we must break up! It is the mass of undivided tribal funds.

UNDIVIDED TRIBAL FUNDS STAND IN THE WAY OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE INDIANS.

An undivided interest in such a fund tends to keep an Indian from leaving his tribal relation and taking his place as a citizen of the United States. Three years ago a boy of seventeen, from one of the Southwestern reservations, came to me in our office at Washington to ask how he could get free from the reservation life and get into an Eastern college, which he was nearly prepared to enter. We can always secure the help of a free scholarship at some reputable college for such a deserving youth, and I assured him of such assistance. There was nothing in his manner or his speech to indicate Indian blood. Everything in his appearance argued his readiness to take his place among the youth of our land who are fitting themselves by a college course for intelligent leadership in the life of American citizens; but his half-breed mother, who was with him, said, "I think a great deal of my boy, and if he stays at home he is sure of his undivided share of the tribal funds in the territory; if he goes to college and leaves us he will lose his share." She forced him back to reservation life.

Not only by disposing Indians to hold fast to the tribe rather than to enter upon citizenship do these huge tribal funds work injury;

they have a debasing effect upon the white people who come into relation with them. The fact that money is to be received and paid out to the tribe in large sums through an Indian agency leads multitudes of white people in the neighborhood of these agencies to object to seeing the agency discontinued and tribal life broken up. When the House, by its action on an Indian appropriation bill, has followed the suggestions of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, and has reduced by eight or ten or a dozen the list of Indian agencies to be continued; when the House has decided that these needless agencies shall cease, and has made no appropriation for their continued support, and the bill thus amended goes to the Senate, the conservative effect of these tribal funds is shown in many ways. Some senator, who is known as a man of the highest character and as right in his convictions upon Indian subjects, goes before the Senate Committee and says: "You know that I am all right in my convictions upon the Indian question; but you ought not to strike out this agency *in my State*. You will cripple my influence in the State if that agency is discontinued. It will make me unpopular; *my people are not willing* to have it given up." And he makes it a matter of senatorial courtesy that this particular agency be put back upon the list; so it goes back. And perhaps at the next meeting of the committee comes another senator who may be uniformly opposed to what is best for the Indians, and he says in substance, "You have put Senator ——'s agency back upon the list, and now you must put back the two or three agencies you discontinued in my State, or I shall see to it that your bill has trouble!" And so, one after another, almost the whole list of discontinued agencies is restored to the bill.

This is one result of the indirect influence of these tribal funds. The people about reservation centers wish that this money shall continue to be spent—squandered—by the Indians in this way.

While these tribal funds remain undivided, we cannot get legislation that is needed to do away with unnecessary agencies. The influence of such funds tends to perpetuate the Indian Bureau and a separate Indian administration; and we stand committed, as a Conference, to the view that the Indian Bureau should have for its aim its own destruction. We hope that not many years may pass before the Indian Bureau and the Board of Indian Commissioners shall cease to be needed. We ought to break up these great tribal funds, and in the interest of the Indians themselves to recognize the debt which the United States owes to these Indian tribes as *a debt on the part of the United States to the individual Indians* who make up the membership of the tribe. With proper safeguards to secure the welfare of the Indians, we should recognize in them individual creditors; and as fast as is consistent with their own welfare, the Government should pay the interest and the principal of these great funds to the individual Indians to whom this money properly belongs.

TENTATIVE DRAFT OF A BILL TO BREAK UP TRIBAL FUNDS.

Not with the hope that the first attempt at such a measure may prove altogether practicable, but for the sake of bringing forward a definite proposition for consideration and discussion, the following bill has been drafted and criticised and considered by some of the wisest friends of the Indian in the Senate and in the House. It is presented here not with the thought that in its present form it is a measure likely to be enacted as law without any modification; but following the suggestions of some of our wisest members of Congress in both Houses, the measure is brought forward for discussion, and is offered in its present form in the hope that it may be made the basis of a "campaign of education" upon the important question, "What shall the United States Government do with the immense tribal funds which it holds in trust for the Indians?"

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE DIVISION OF INDIAN TRIBAL FUNDS INTO INDIVIDUAL SHARES, AND FOR THE PAYMENT OF SUCH SHARES TO INDIVIDUAL INDIANS AS THEY BECOME FIT TO RECEIVE AND USE THE MONEY.

Be It Enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:—

SECTION 1.—That on January 1, 1904, each Indian Agent, or Superintendent or Clerk in charge of an Agency, shall file at the office of his Agency a list duly authenticated, of all the persons of Indian descent in his Agency or under his care, who are entitled to share in the undivided tribal funds or lands which on that day may be in the custody of the United States Government; and on that day shall send a copy of said list duly attested to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington. Each such list shall give the Indian name and the English name of each such Indian, so far as possible where both names are known and used, and so far as is practicable shall conform to the manner of making records of names and relationships now in force at Indian agencies, under regulations already prescribed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

SECT. 2.—No child born after January 1, 1904, shall have any right in his own name to an undivided share in Indian tribal funds or lands or other tribal property; but each such child shall have such rights, and only such rights, as may belong to him (or her) through inheritance of a part or the whole of a share or shares from father, mother, or other relative, under the laws which on that date (or thereafter) shall govern the inheritance of citizens of the United States in the State or Territory where said child resides, or where the will of said Indian relative deceased shall have been duly probated, or where such real estate so to be inherited is situated.

SECT. 3.—As soon as practicable after January 1, 1904 (and in case of every tribe before January 1, 1905, unless such tribe be explicitly excepted until a later date by executive order of the President of the United States), there shall be opened at the Treasury of

the United States an account with the Indians who were entitled on January 1, 1904, to share in each fund held in custody by the United States Government for the benefit of each such tribe; the principal and accrued interest due to each such tribe shall be divided into a number of equal individual holdings or shares, one share to each Indian who on January 1, 1904, was entitled to share therein; and the individual Indians thus entitled to share in this fund shall be credited each with his or her own share on the books of the Treasury of the United States.

SECT. 4.—In case of payment of annuities or of interest from any Indian tribal fund after January 1, 1904, such payments of annuities or of interest shall be made *pro rata* by Treasury check to each of the individual Indians whose name appears upon the books of the Treasury as being thus entitled on January 1, 1904, to a divided share in said tribal fund. And in case of the decease of an Indian thus entitled to a divided share, his or her part of such principal, or annuity, or interest, so payable, shall belong to, and be duly held for and be paid to his or her heirs, under the laws of the State or Territory where such Indian resided at the time of death.

SECT. 5.—In case of each tribal fund thus divided into individual holdings upon the books of the Treasury, as soon as the President of the United States shall be clearly of the opinion that the Indians of such tribe, or the great majority of them are capable of managing their own money or will be benefited, by learning to manage their own money, he shall by executive order fix a date on which the individual shares of such tribal funds, principal and accrued interest (if any) shall be paid to the Indians entitled to receive it; and such payments shall be by Treasury checks to individuals on said lists who have survived to receive such payments; and payments due to any Indians deceased shall be held for or paid to the heirs of said deceased Indians, in accordance with the laws governing inheritance from deceased citizens in the State or Territory in which said deceased Indian resided at the time of his death.

Miss ANNIE BEECHER SCOVILLE.—Twenty years ago we worked for the Indian only to relieve suffering and still the cry of pain; to-day we work for him because we believe there is something in his life and character which can add to our national power and which should be conserved.

This position has both its helpful and its dangerous side. When you know the old Indians who have cut out their lives for themselves, you see that the Indian has something besides vice and laziness to give us. Take old Thunder Hawk for an example: as a wild and painted savage he rescued Father DeSmett from his own people and took him safely through the Indian country. When years after Thunder Hawk was taught of God at the Congregational mission he said, "I cannot be a Christian because I have three wives, and now that they are old it would not be right to put them away, but my sons shall marry but one woman and be Christians." And now an old man he came East last winter to plead for

his land. Such a man demands our respect; yet much of his life, its customs and conditions, must be swept away, and the danger is that we shall save the curious customs and picturesque dance at the expense of character.

This love of Indians as artistic objects is to-day a "fad" with us, but there are material elements of his civilization, such as the basketry, which are bound to live for their essential beauty, and which we should cultivate for their educational value to the people.

There has been too much teaching the Indian to work because he did not like it rather than for its future value to him. There is little good in teaching a man who lives in a pueblo to be a plumber. Work which a man neither enjoys nor sees the value of is a waste of time and strength, while work that he loves, that he can teach us or excel us in, builds both character and purpose.

I remember a shy, indifferent girl in one of my classes; she was a faithful student, but never one that we expected to see lead. Yet a year ago when I was in a hard place on the reservation an Indian wrote me: "Why don't you send for A? She is more of a woman than any Indian girl I know." And again this summer when there was a time of need in my own home a teacher at Hampton sent word, "If you can get A, you'll be all right."

This testimony aroused my curiosity, and when she came I found that the passive girl had developed into a quiet, capable woman, keenly alive to the world about her. With much interest I asked of her life since we had parted three years before. She had graduated at Hampton, gone to her own home to study their arts, and is now teaching pottery and basketry at Hampton. She told a simple story of her home life, of walking five miles a day to teach a district school, of taking basket lessons of an old man and woman who alone know all the stitches once used by the Cherokees, and of going to the only woman in the mountain who could make pottery and learning her trade. She told me how much interested her home folk were in her doing this work, how surprised they were that an educated girl should care to know these things, and how several others have followed her example.

She saw that this work was a direct appeal to her people to use that which they had at hand; but I saw that it had also been the best appeal to her own womanliness, that it had given her that higher education which the school can only prepare for and life give. It is thus we should conserve Indian life,—not by the Wild West Show which degenerates, but by the handicraft and activity which regenerate.

Miss MARIE IVES.—My work has been educational, in the line of educating white people to be interested in Indians. For twelve years I have been in charge of the young people's work in this direction, trying to educate them in such a way that there shall be no Indian problem by and by. I worked through the Sunday schools, King's Daughters circles, and similiar societies. Last

January I took charge of the *Indians' Friend* for spreading information about Indian matters. A literary woman recently married and I went to visit her. She had written on a great many topics, and I asked her husband one day what his wife thought on such a matter. He replied, "I never ask her about such things because she always says, 'I refer you to my published utterances.'" The *Indians' Friend* is for subscription, and there you can read my published utterances, so that I need say no more here.

The CHAIR.—Miss Ives has the honor of having made the shortest speech in the Conference.

Dr. Henry G. Ganss, financial agent of the Roman Catholic schools among the Indians, was invited to speak.

Dr. H. G. GANSS.—During my last visit to our Catholic Indian reservations I met one of our Jesuit missionaries from Alaska (which geographically, if not jurisdictionally, is in Dr. Sheldon Jackson's diocese), who told me a story that strongly suggests this ten-minute limit for speeches. He was preaching in the native tongue to the Alaskans, when he came to the text, "The devil goeth about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour." The zoölogy of Alaska, although somewhat enlarged by Dr. Jackson, is naturally limited and restricted. To make his illustration effective and vivid, he had to substitute the bear for the lion, and his remarks were to the effect that "the devil goeth about like a roaring bear seeking whom he may devour." One of the natives interrupted him: "Father, does the Great Spirit say that?" "Yes," was the reply. "Is it so written in the Great Book?" continued the Alaskan. "Yes." "Well, if that is so, both are wrong. The bear never goes about; he makes straight for you." On this principle, I suppose, I must go straight to my subject.

To give you a history of Catholic missions in the New World would be to give you the history of the country, because the history of Catholic missions is coexistent with the discovery of the country, whose inspiration was, to use the words of Columbus, that "great deeds might be done for the glory of God and the exaltation of the church." On his second voyage Columbus already brought the Catholic missionary. With the banner of Spain was planted the standard of the cross. From that moment the church has labored incessantly for the conversion of the Indian. The hopes and disappointments, the difficulties and privations, the successes and failures, of that mission are matters of history, fully recounted by our historians Bancroft, Parkman, Prescott, and Fisk. They may at times have misapprehended the doctrine they taught, the discipline they inculcated; their motives may at times have been misinterpreted, and their lives misunderstood, but all concur with a singular unanimity that these missionaries were men of the true

heroic type, of dauntless courage, tireless energy, a consecrated devotion to duty, urged on by an insatiate love of humanity and quenchless thirst for the salvation of souls. On the beadroll of Catholic missionaries we have no less than the names of thirty who have crimsoned the American soil with the blood of martyrdom, not to mention those unknown heroes whose deaths are unrecorded, whose graves unmarked, whose very names no record or epitaph commemorates. Our very geography ineffaceably perpetuates these men and their labors, so that Joliet, Marquette, Champlain, St. Augustine, Santa Fé, St. Paul, Sacramento, are names inseparably linked with the missionary spirit as well as the history of the nation.

However, our national movement inaugurating work among the Indians began when General Grant established his Peace Policy in 1869. By this policy, as you know, different tribes and reservations were allotted to the various church denominations. We agreed to take up the working field apportioned to us, and threw into it our best efforts. In twenty-five years, on the presumption that the Peace Policy would continue until the last Indian would be a Christian and a citizen, we expended no less than \$1,500,000 in the erection and equipment of schools and missionary stations. As a result of this work and that preceding it, out of two hundred and sixty-seven thousand Indians given in our last census, one hundred and six thousand are members of the Catholic Church. This estimate, we believe, is not large enough.

But our work was suddenly interrupted, our schools seriously handicapped, if not jeopardized. The work on the scale of magnitude mapped out, the lavish expenditure of money for the erection of schools, the concentration of our best efforts, was perfected, with the assurance of the Government in view that it would support the schools. We recall the unfortunate condition which brought about the abrogation and downfall of that plan when the appropriations by Congressional enactment were revoked.

Still, the work was not discontinued; and since 1895 has been going on with undiminished zeal, but a somewhat diminished enrollment. We have two thousand children in thirty schools—if memory serves me right—which are supported by the church in part, but mainly by the munificent charity of Mother Katharine Drexel, who, in addition to devoting her fortune, has consecrated her life by a religious vow to the uplifting of the red and the black man.

Our schools cost us \$140,000 annually,—allowing about seventy dollars for each child educated,—this including, of course, food, clothing, books, tuition. Our missionaries and four-fifths of our teachers are priests or nuns; consequently never receive a cent for salary.

Our future prospects are encouraging; in fact, most hopeful. Catholic charity never exhausts itself in its help to the poor and oppressed; and the more the status of our Indians is known to them the more liberal is the response. But a still more hopeful

condition prevails in the fact that under the broad, enlightened, and charitable policy of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ryan, who control the destinies of our Indian work, the most amicable and helpful relations exist between the church and Government schools; between ecclesiastical and State authorities. And why should they not?

Why should we not sink all difference, religious, political and social, in the one supreme act of Christian humanity; silence the voice of an accusing conscience and smarting rebuke by a concerted act of national reparation; prove to the nations of the earth that the republic which staked its very life to strike the shackles from the enslaved black man is not reluctant but eager to mete out the fullest justice to the red man?

In this policy you can count upon the fullest co-operation of the Catholic Church. It will have the heartiest endorsement of our zealous Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and I am equally confident of a man whom I bitterly antagonized at one time, but whom I now feel proud to call my friend,—Colonel Pratt, of Carlisle. The Chief Executive of the United States expressed himself to the same effect, and the future of the Indian never looked more promising if all Christian and philanthropic bodies sink their non-essential differences and espouse the cause.

Rev. H. B. Frissell, D.D., of Hampton, was introduced.

Dr. H. B. FRISSELL.—I am very glad that the Catholic Church is continuing its work; it is a reason for thankfulness. It seems to me that we must all be thankful that we have come as never before into close co-operation with the men who are trying to do this good work. I am sure we all felt this sense of thankfulness as the Archbishop led us in prayer this morning. We in Hampton for many years have been glad to welcome Catholics and Protestants alike. Very often the Catholic priest has led our morning devotions. Our Catholic students have been among the best workers in the churches to which they have returned. It seems to me that instead of having jealousy between Catholics and Protestants they should work together for the coming of the kingdom. I have been called once or twice by Miss Reel to preside at gatherings of the workers in the West, and the thing which has struck me has been the desire which these men have that some religious life should go into these schools, and yet the feeling that they did not quite dare to put religion into the front.

Now I think we ought to put religion into the front. We have fought out here the question of State and Church; certainly we do not want the separation of the church and religion; we do not want the separation of the school and religion. We do want religion, and the most earnest sort of religion, put into our Indian work in the schools. Some time ago when the Indian Committee from Washington came down to Hampton, I remember that one

of them was a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and after looking over Hampton he said, "I shall vote this year for the appropriation for Hampton because it is religious." It seems to me that the time will come when we shall have to put religion into our public schools, into all our schools, and that both Protestants and Catholics will unite in seeing that this is done. I am sure that we have, as we gather here, reasons for encouragement. Mr. Smiley has done a great many things for us. He has helped to make us friends and to see the best that is in one another. Every year we are coming into closer co-operation; we are working more and more hand in hand, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile; the church school and the boarding school are understanding one another better, and that is one of the good things which this Conference has brought about.

Something was said this morning in regard to those who had gone back from Carlisle and Hampton. There are often those who fail; neither Colonel Pratt nor I would deny that. When these young people have gone back to those agencies with all the conditions against them, some of them have not stemmed the tremendous tide; but both he and I can tell of students, boys and girls, who have stood by the principles taught at these schools. I have heard of those who have died in their struggle to live in the white man's way. Those of us who know of Harvard and Yale and Princeton know that there have gone out men from those universities who have done a sort of work much worse than that referred to this morning. Everyone who knows the history of a large institution for whites knows that there are many students whose records we should be glad to hide. But we do need to remember the saintly men and women who, in these last years, have been pioneers for better things in our agencies. I wish I had time to tell you to-night of those who have stood for the right and the true.

The outgrowth of this work at Mohonk is felt in many ways, and it has had great influence upon public thought. I will speak only of one of its indirect effects. There was established a few years ago, upon the plan of Mohonk, a similar conference down in Virginia, out of which has grown the Southern Educational Conference, which last year numbered nearly a thousand members. This new conference met year before last in North Carolina, and last year in Athens, Georgia. It has tried to do for the South just what Mr. Smiley is trying to do for us in the Indian work,—that is, to make people in different parts of the country friends. So the result of the Mohonk Conference, both directly and indirectly, is very great.

We have established for these conferences at the South a bureau of information in New York, and we have also a bureau in Knoxville, Tenn., and are now collecting statistics in regard to work for the negroes and among the Southern white people. It seems to me, that we ought in some way to have Dr. Gates establish a bureau

which will furnish information in regard to Indian affairs to those who need it.

Col. R. H. Pratt was asked to follow Dr. Frissell.

Col. R. H. PRATT.—I want especially to endorse what the good Bishop said in his classical paper this morning. It went right to the root of the matter. The conditions in New York are not exceptional. I also endorse the Commissioner's short-hair order. It is good because it disturbs old savage conditions.

A celebrated American writer makes one of his characters say,

"The great American idee
Is to make a man a man
And then to let him be."

In dealing with the Indian the eternal thing with us is his property. Property is the stumbling block all the time, and I am glad to see any steps taken to get it out of the way. The Indian's property and our greed for it stands in the way of the Indian's progress. If we can make the Indian a man and get him to the point where he has ability to take care of himself and then let him alone, there will be no trouble.

✕ Segregating any class or race of people apart from the rest of the people kills the progress of the segregated people or makes their growth very slow. Association of races and classes is necessary in order to destroy racism and classism. Almost all the humanitarian and Government contrivances for the Indian within my knowledge are segregating in their influences and practically accomplish only segregation.

We have brought into our national life nearly forty times as many negroes as there are Indians in the United States. They are not altogether citizen and equal yet, but they are with us and of us; distributed among us, coming in contact with us constantly, they have lost their many languages and their old life, and have accepted our language and our life and become a valuable part of our industrial forces. The Indian, on the contrary, through our contrivances and control, has been held away from association with us, with all his affairs entirely under our control. We constantly treat him as an alien, and even in his education and industrial training we alienize him from all association and competition in our schools and industries. The system has been successful in making him the most un-American and foreign to our affairs of any of our peoples. Ten millions of negroes are all English speaking and have been made citizens. Two hundred and fifty thousand Indians, one fortieth as many, are yet largely speaking their own languages and living their own old life.

Long experience proves that it is just as easy to give the Indian the English language and our American industries, Yankee shrewdness and the push-and-go of our people, as it is to give it to any other man of any race. The only condition necessary to the ac-

complishment of such results is the one condition that succeeds with all other races; that is, the associating with, and participating in, the life and affairs of the nation. No other man of any foreign race is made American except through being educated, trained in and permitted to participate in, all there is of America. Our very contrivances to help the Indian hinder him in reaching these relations and getting these benefits. Even the Indian schools we have instituted have become a barrier to him in reaching the opportunities of association and competition, and so are a means of keeping him Indian and tribe. We all indorse the public school as the best influence for Americanizing and unifying our people. Put the Indian into the public school, give him a chance in the American family, and he soon learns to take care of himself and his property; keep him out of the public schools, away from the family, and his property in the hands of agents, and he remains Indian and tribe to the end.

A limited experience and a limited education among our people enables the Indian to demand, and gives him the ability to control, his own property, and ends the necessity for agents and traders and rids us of all expensive supervision.

A lady in this room, in a quiet way, has done great things for Indian boys by giving them just these advantages. In the course of twenty-one years she and her husband welcomed thirty-two Indian boys from the Carlisle school into their family and employed them on the farm, sent them to the public school near their home, and taught them to live as we live. Neither Carlisle nor any other Indian school could do that so well; in fact it cannot be done in any other way.

Give the Indian a chance to get out and away from his past. Give him a chance to learn America and its industries, its education,—to get the push-and-go of it into him by actually participating in it. Remove the restraints and influences that keep him on his reservation in tribal life, and nothing but a liberal chance will be necessary to transfer him into our American life, and that very quickly. It is not a work of generations. It is not a work of one generation under such conditions and influences. It is a work of many generations under the tribalizing system we are pursuing. The Indians are in our hands. We have assumed absolute control over them. We have destroyed all the resources of their old life. It is impossible for them to continue it if they would. They understand that a good deal better than we do. Having assumed this control, and the old life being no longer possible, it would not be a greater strain upon right and upon kindness to force them to move out and away from the tribe and enter into these benefits, than the restraining, hindering, and tribalizing influences we do enforce. Our Government intends to be honest and kind. The long-continued appropriation of vast sums of money to help the Indians shows this. Indeed, one of our greatest mistakes has been, and is, the gift of large sums of money. It becomes the engine of their

destruction. The Indians do not have it long. It goes into the hands of the people about them, and the most debasing enticements are used by those of our own race to get it from them. The distribution of money to an Indian tribe is always regarded by those living near the Indians as a contribution to the development of that district. That it harms the Indian is not considered. It is easier to get money or property from ignorant Indians than from those who have been educated, and especially from those who have been educated and trained among our own people. No gifts of money can possibly compensate them for the denial of opportunity to earn and to learn to compete and become equal to us by actual experience.

I have no sympathy with any plans which compel these people to think all the time that they are dependent upon and must be provided for by the Government or their friends, nor with any movements that claim great sums of money for them. It is the greatest possible wrong to prolong their Indianism, whether we do it for humanitarian or so-called scientific reasons.

We have a bureau in Washington which gets large sums of money for the alleged purpose of investigating the mysteries of Indian life and discovering their origin. What particular benefit would it be if we knew their origin? and what possible influence upon the welfare of the country or of the Indians themselves could it have if we knew all the music and all the modes and methods and every feature of the old Indian life? What the Indian was is past, and cannot be restored. The only question of material interest to either the white people or the Indians is that which relates to their and our present and future welfare in relation to each other.

The ethnologists prefer the Indian kept in his original paint and feathers, and as part and parcel of every exposition on that line. Years ago the head of that Bureau in Washington berated us for our Carlisle plan, and claimed that we were interfering with his plans; that he was trying to get at the history and life of the Indians and their language; and that he should never be able to accomplish his work if our school and its purposes went on. It seemed at first large opposition, but I was afterwards glad of it, for it was high scientific testimony that we were on right lines. It will be a happy day for the Indians when their ethnological value is of no greater importance than that of the negro and other races which go to make up our population.

Once an anthropologist-ethnologist came to Carlisle and carried away fifty or sixty specimens of hair from the heads of as many young people from the different tribes represented at the school. I suppose they wanted to split them. We have had others come to take facial and cranial measurements of all our students. These people get out from year to year at Government cost very expensive books giving minute accounts of their discoveries concerning our two hundred and fifty thousand Indian population. The ten million negroes seem scarcely to attract their attention. The In-

dian Bureau is trying to put the Indian on his feet as a self-supporting citizen; but its reports not being illustrated nor highly colored, are not particularly in demand for distribution among the electors.

Father Ganss, who preceded me, formerly the priest for nine or ten years at Carlisle, has intimated that we quarreled at one time. At the same time that we disagreed about certain things we were friendly. His presence and the presence of the great bishop of his church here in this convention is promise of good. It is as it ought to be; we are all coming to work in harmony.

In the Carlisle School we have a strong Y. M. C. A., and the Catholic pupils have been members of it right along. Some of them have been sent as delegates to the conventions of State organizations, to the national conventions, and to the great gatherings year after year at Northfield. We have a number of King's Daughters' Circles. The lady in charge when organizing them found that the Catholic girls desired to join. At my suggestion she spoke to Father Ganss about it, and he told her to let them join the circles by all means. There has been no clashing of interests at Carlisle, but people at work for the churches among the Indians, especially for the Catholic Church, have found a good deal of fault, and alleged a great many things that were not true. Carlisle tries to be United States, and is non-sectarian. We give every church the fullest opportunity to work with and for our pupils.

When I took the first party of Indians to Hampton a Catholic priest appeared and claimed his own. General Armstrong asked what he ought to do about it. I said, "Your Indian work is at Government expense, and the children should be placed under the religious care of the churches to which they or their parents belong." Not only should the Indian have the benefit of church help, but he is entitled to go into the higher schools and even the colleges and universities, not at Government expense, and it is not necessary that the Government pay for his higher education. Every young Indian capable of attending a higher school can be provided for, and the way should be open for him clear to the top.

One of the best features of Carlisle is our outing; the working part of it I have explained, but the school opportunities connected with these outings are of the greatest value. Every fall we arrange to leave from three to four hundred of our pupils out in families for the winter to attend public, private, normal and other schools. The association and competition in school with the children of our own race fits the Indian for association and competition later in all the business and affairs of our American life. We put our newest and most ignorant pupils out early in the spring. Living in families they take on English far more rapidly, and learn our ways of life and how to care for themselves and their property affairs better than it is possible to train them in any school, because these lessons are practical, while in the school they are of necessity theoretical.

One thing which makes this course popular with our young

people is the fact that they earn money. This last year, ending June 30th, the earnings of the boys and girls of the Carlisle School amounted to over \$30,000, and in the twenty-three years' history of the school their total earnings under the outing have been above \$350,000. That large sum would not be paid to workers that were not worth it, and it becomes an unanswerable argument in favor of the system.

No separate system of industries need be created. It calls for no great appropriation by Congress, and becomes no tax upon the charity of the country to make it go. In order to carry it out we must loosen the bands with which we have bound the Indians to reservations, to tribal life, to agency supervision, and open the way for them to thus break up their community systems. The community system for any of our peoples is against Americanism, against Christianity, against the best interests of either the people concerned or the United States. We have Italian communities in our great cities, and German communities in certain localities, where only Italian and German are spoken. In Berks County, Pennsylvania, there is a German community, where the fourth generation finds the people unable to speak the English language. It is an inexcusable sentiment that would favor this condition. The operation of our system of schools and association with our people, if allowed to prevail, practically breaks up such community systems, and lifts those diverse peoples into the knowledge, ability and desire to be real Americans.

The PRESIDENT.—We may be proud of the United States Army when we see men who have devoted their lives, not to destroying their fellow beings, but to elevating them and to instructing them in the principles of civil government. Our army is sometimes criticised very severely, but there are men who deserve the highest honors the Government can bestow for what they have done for the elevation of humanity and in the illustration of civic righteousness, and Colonel Pratt is one of them, but I want to qualify one of his statements as to scientific people. I am sure he would not include among those whom he criticises our friend, Miss Alice Fletcher, who is not only an ethnologist but a philanthropist. She is able to look back without being turned into a pillar of salt.

Colonel PRATT.—Miss Fletcher is all right. It wasn't Miss Fletcher who came to get the different kinds of hair.

The PRESIDENT. Our session this morning has shown how blessed it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 24, 1902.

The Conference was called to order after morning prayers, led by Rev. Hector Hall, at 10 o'clock.

Mr. J. H. Seger, of Colony, Oklahoma, was introduced.

Mr. JOHN H. SEGER.—When I came to this Conference I was told that I would probably be called on to say a few words, and I imagined that I should feel a good deal as I felt about twenty-five years ago when I was surrounded by twenty-four Indians, and their guns were pointed at me. But when I was told that I would be allowed only ten minutes, I thought I did not care how soon the exercises would be over. Where I live, when the Indians want to say something that will make me feel good, they say I am just like an Indian; and after I had been here two days I could say that you are just like Indians, and I do feel a great deal easier in facing you than I imagined I would.

I entered the service in 1872, and during the time since I have been right with the Indians. I have been away from them but a few times. Although the Government allows thirty days yearly, I have taken leave only three times in thirty years. If I had not expected to get some information here, I should not be away from the Indians to-day.

Since I have been with the Indians I have been studying them, and they have been studying me, and I have found out that they are human beings, and I have come to the conclusion that if we want to elevate them we must elevate them as men, women and children. Since I have been studying them I have seen other people who were studying them, and they reminded me of two blind men who wanted to find out just what kind of an animal an elephant was. They thought that if they could not see him they could feel him. The first one felt his ear, and said, "He is like a fan;" and the second blind man took hold of his tail, and said, "He is just like a rope." I have found out that the Indian is not like a fan, nor like a rope, but like a man. One class of people who have studied the Indian were newspaper reporters, and from them many people have got their idea of what an Indian is. I have met these men in the Indian camp. They would say: "I have come to stay a few days to find out all about the Indian. To-day I went inside an Indian lodge. I wonder what my folks would say if they knew it! I saw where they sleep and how they cook. They are a lazy

set. They let the women do all the work. The children are very interesting; they never cry, never quarrel, and never laugh; they are very interesting. I am going to tell my paper all about it, that people may understand Indian character." That man thought the Indian was just like a rope.

I will tell a story to illustrate the other class of people who think they know all about Indians.

Once after the Cheyennes had been on the warpath and had had quite a fight with the whites, they were under the guard of the military,—a kind of prisoners of war. They were not allowed to go west of the Canadian River when hunting. About that time I took the contract to carry the mail one hundred and sixty miles west from Reno, and the reason I took it was because they said no one but Indians could carry it, because it had to go in thirty-six hours, traveling night and day, and there being no path, they said white men could not do it. And they said further that no one could get the Indians to do it but "Johnny Smoker," so the contractor asked me to have the Indians carry it, as I was the only one who could do so. So I went to Little Robe, the ruling chief of the Cheyennes, and I made an arrangement for him to carry it, and I said I would locate him on the Wachita River. It was necessary for me to go over the route and stake it out and explain to him how to carry it. Just before we started on our trip Little Robe said: "We are going to be alone for several days, and we shall probably see no other human beings. The Cheyennes have been fighting with the white people, and the white people have killed a good many Cheyennes, and the Cheyennes have killed a good many white people. You don't know me very well, and I don't know you very well. I propose that we don't take a gun. We will need a knife, but I propose that we take only a butcher knife" (he did not believe in concealed weapons). I told him I would agree to that. Then I said: "I, too, have a proposition. I understand driving a team, and I propose to drive the team and hitch and unhitch, because you do not understand that; and as you are better acquainted with camp life, you must make the camp fire, cook, and sometimes make our beds. You have nothing but dry buffalo meat, and I have provision enough for both. You take charge of it, and we will fare the same. You make the bed, and we will sleep under the same blanket and drink from the same cup." He agreed. We crossed one hundred and sixty miles of country without seeing anyone else on the trip. When we got to Fort Eliot I showed him how to deliver the mail, how to get it, etc.; and while I was doing it a number of Texas men in the store looked on, and one of them came to me and said, "You have got a redskin with you." "I have Little Robe with me," I replied. "I suppose he is up here to steal horses, aint he?" "No, sir; he isn't here to steal horses. I have a contract to carry the mail, and he is going to work for me." "Work for you? See here, stranger, an Indian won't work." "Won't work," I said. "I have paid them for cutting one thousand one hundred cords of wood and for cutting four hundred tons of hay." "Well," said he, "I have been on the frontier all my

life. I have fought Indians ever since I was grown up, and I *know* they won't work." He thought the Indian was just like a fan.

I could tell you a great many instances like that relating to the past of the Indian, but what interests us more here is what the Indians are to-day and what they are going to be in the future. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes are allotted. They have white people around them. When they were allotted I wanted to have a white man on each side of the Indian, for I knew that part of the country would be settled largely by whites with families, who would make an honest living, and that they would be good instructors for these Indians; and I have found it so. The greatest difficulty with the Indians is the bad conditions they are placed under by the kindness of the Government. They drew rations up to January last. As the Government had inaugurated this system, the Indians did not think it was their place to propose to discontinue rations. But since I have been with them I have adopted the plan of saying to them, "Come, let us reason together," and we would talk over any matter that pertained to their welfare. When the stopping of the rations came up, the Indians would talk to me about it, and would say: "Look here, don't you think it is pretty hard for the Government to expect us who have never been used to farming to support ourselves in this way? Why, I have known people who lived on nothing but bread and molasses, and lived in a dug-out, and every member of the family worked. Is that what you expect of *us*?" Then I would say, "How long ago was it that that family lived in a dug-out?" "About seven years." "How is that family living to-day?" The Indians would begin to suspect what I was driving at. "Oh, they have garden and wagons and fowls, and plenty to eat now, and a big house, and they have it painted white, and they have nice things all right, and they ride in a carriage." "Now," said I, "the difference between the Indian and the white family is, that the white family would rather eat bread and molasses and live in a dug-out for awhile, so that by and by they could live in a big house and ride in a carriage, and the Indian would not." The question dropped right there. We had reasoned together.

The question that has disturbed us more than anything else is the revival of the old Indian sun dance. For fifteen years the Indians had laid aside that particular exercise, but a year ago our agent thought it would be a nice thing to make him popular among the Indians if he would let them have an old-fashioned sun dance, and he gave permission, which they accepted very reluctantly. For eight or nine years the Indians have every year cut a hundred cords of wood and brought it to the school. I had them do the freighting, and for two years had given them the freighting of the coal. But this season the dancing was started, and they said they would have to go and see what it was like. They would see their old friends and have a good time; and they went, and I had to get white men to haul the coal and cut the wood. The Indians were gone about a month. When they came back their horses were all worn out, and not able to do anything the rest of the winter. They themselves were demoralized and in a bad condition, and it was very hard to

get their minds on work or anything else. Our agent, in his last report, said that the Indian should be allowed to have the sun dance for the next ten years. Why should they not be allowed ten more after that, if it should be allowed at all? This summer we have had two sun dances, and it has been very demoralizing. We could not get the Indians to do anything during that time. Yet it is impossible to have a real sun dance. They have lost the old men who used to organize them. When they were being organized this summer, I took a trip to where the Indians were cultivating corn, and they brought up the question whether it was strictly necessary for them to go to the sun dance. The wet weather had put them back, and they had lost a good many ponies by not having corn, and they wished to raise a crop, and if they went to the dance the weeds would take the corn, and they were working from daylight to dark to get rid of the weeds. They said they would prefer to come to my school the Fourth of July and have a good celebration, and then come back to their corn; but they said the Indian office wanted to continue the sun dance for ten years, and was anxious to have them come back. They had tried to be loyal to the Government, and tried to do what the Indian office wanted, and so they supposed they would *have* to go to the dance. It is a fact that circulars were sent to the outside Indians telling them that the Indian Commissioner wanted them to come in and have a sun dance, and that he would probably be there and have a council, and they should have several government beeves. That brought them. There is a lady here who knows how reluctant those Indians were to go. About that time Big Smoke came to my house, and I asked if he were going. "No, sir," said he; "I am not going. I have just buried my father. And before my father died he called me to his bedside, and said: 'My son, I do not want you to go to the sun dance. There is nothing in it for you. Those things are all behind us. You want to look ahead. What you have to do is to support your family. Take the white man's way and go to work. This is my last word to you. After I am dead I want you to go down and see Johnny Smoker, and tell him what I have told you, and ask what you should do to make a living.' Now I have come to deliver that message. Tell me what to do." His father was a typical Indian, imbued with respect for all the tribal customs and manners, and he valued them as much as any Indian could. I said: "Big Smoke, there is work all over the country. You passed the steam threshers. You can have work at any of those machines; or you can have work hauling wood." He said, "Write a letter and tell them I want work." So I did. Ten days later I met him on the road. He was going to the station with his wife and daughter, who had the bead work that they had been doing for the Mohonk Lodge. They were all smiling. He reined up his team and looked around, saying, "Do we look hungry?" I said, "No." "Don't my family look pretty fat?" I told him they did. "We have plenty to eat," said he. "I have been hauling wood for white man, and sometimes I make two dollars and a half a trip. My women at home are doing bead work, and now we have got fifteen

dollars for it at Mohonk Lodge, and we are going to the stores and buy such things as we need before we go home to make the hay."

That is about what the best Indians think of the sun dance. They think it is something behind them. Some of them asked me if I was not going to the sun dance. I told them they could not have a genuine one nowadays; that if they could have one like what they had thirty years ago I did not know but I would go; but I did not think there were any Indians now who would like to take a knife and put it through their breasts, and swing from a thong through it. The torture used to be the important thing. "Oh," said he, "I don't think the Government would allow that." Several Indians were standing around as we were talking about the Government not allowing the torturing part, and one of them spoke up and said, "If the Government knew some things they do at the sun dance, they would say it is a great deal worse than torture." I said, "Yes; I know that."

The Indians learned something at that sun dance. The agent suggested that they should put a line around the place where they had it, and charge fifty cents for white men to come in. It was advertised all through the papers, telling what a horrible thing this sun dance was, with naked savages, with torture, etc., and it drew a great crowd. And they had money to throw to the birds, and it taught them that if they would go to the towns and put up a ring and make themselves hideous, they could make money by it. The more hideous they looked, the more money they could get. They went to three or four towns, and the papers got hold of it, and one paper said, "We have heard of the noble savage, and have studied him as he danced, almost naked and painted hideously, and we have decided that he is more like a brute than a man." I have said that the Indian is a man, and this makes me feel sad; but it is about the condition things are in. But we have got to stop this sun dance, and then and only then will they go to work.

Mrs. Page, sister of Mrs. Roe, of Mohonk Lodge, was invited to speak.

Mrs. PAGE.—I was with Mr. Seger during a long trip in the summer, and I was privileged to see many of the things he has recounted, and it revolutionized my ideas in many ways.

The Mohonk Lodge, which was built to afford shelter to the Indians, and to give them a place where they could meet and carry on social life in ways that will not be harmful to them, was also intended as a place for their native industries. It is situated midway between our church and parsonage, and faces the Cheyenne camp. Imagine one of the terrible storms that come up there so frequently, and their camp flooded. They gather together the articles scattered by the winds, and with their little ones hurry to the lodge, where dear Mrs. Jackson welcomes them and gives them warm comforts, and soon, like the children of nature that they are, they are laughing and making fun of their own predicament.

Then remember there are always those who are sick or dying—and the Mohonk Lodge is never without its dying occupant—cared for or sustained as they pass in peace the last hours of their life.

Think of the women coming there with their little ones. Think of them as they come with flour given them at the issuing station, that they may be taught how to make the most of the simple rations that are furnished by the Government. The children gather there and play with games and dolls. This is what that lodge means to them. They are all free to come. The doors are never locked night or day, and it is doing valuable work along the social line.

In an industrial way it is accomplishing much, for in addition to shelter and opportunity they have materials furnished to them. It was often very difficult for the Indians to do work that they knew how to do well, because they never had the money to supply themselves with materials. They select their own designs, and carry them to their distant camps, and bring back the finished article. It has been charged that the Mohonk Lodge asks too much for the work which we are sending out. Everyone acknowledges that it is high-grade Indian work, but they say they cannot always market it because we will not sell at starvation prices. Mr. Roe offered a price for the best square inch of bead work, and another for one done in the least time, and upon the length of time for doing the best work we gauged the price. It is slow work at best. It forms an industry for all from young to old. The old cannot, however, work rapidly, but at the same time they are able to earn something for themselves. I think last year the women earned about fifteen hundred dollars.

The CHAIR.—These experiences from the field are deeply pathetic. It seems to me that Mr. Seger ought to belong, not only to this Conference, but to the arbitration conference, because he evidently preceded the Emperor of Russia in disarmament.

Rev. Dr. Twombly was then introduced.

THE SITUATION IN HAWAII.

BY REV. ALEXANDER S. TWOMBLY, D.D., NEWTON, MASS.

It was a wise policy on the part of President Roosevelt to summon Governor Dole to Washington in April of this year. The object was not so much to consider the charges preferred by malcontents against the governor's administration as to discuss the Hawaiian situation in all its political and economic features.

The governor was accompanied by a delegation of some of the leaders of the Republican party in Honolulu, and the visit resulted in Mr. Dole's confirmation as governor for his unexpired term of

two years, and in the presentation to the President of a complete statement of affairs in the islands. Attorney-General Knox and other high officials also received the delegation.

The President is now aware, as never before, that the transformation of Hawaii on correct principles is a serious problem of the United States Government in connection with legislation for all our other outlying dependencies.

Under early American influences Hawaii had a natural, self-centered, and slow growth. Its new epoch, at the beginning of the twentieth century, is artificial, forced upon it almost wholly by external conditions. Formerly, the group drifted; now it feels the stress of modern requirements and steers for a conventional harbor.

Romance died with the extinction of the old chiefs. Modern civilization has suddenly grafted the sprouts of the temperate zone on a semi-tropical stock, which needs special nurture to bear good fruit in this time of its unwonted quickening. Add to these grafts of the better sort the pest of imported human parasites, and the result awakens grave apprehension.

The United States Government, at this juncture, is called upon to work out in Hawaii some of the most vital questions in statecraft. The islands offer a virgin soil for the solution of these new problems. The task is a complicated and difficult one.

The ethnic problem comes first. The handful of men and women of real American blood and education, many of them born on the islands, numbers a few thousands. These, with a limited muster roll of other white nationalities, are the nucleus of brains and integrity in the midst of a heterogeneous collection of other varieties of mankind.

A majority of the present one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants are Asiatics, ninety thousand or more. They are alien to our institutions, and, as a whole, are incapable of American citizenship in its true sense.

The Japanese, about sixty thousand, can come and go freely.

The desire for cheap labor makes them important. Their number will probably not increase. They cannot be imported as coolies under our federal laws, but many arrive, and about as many return annually. While the higher ranks, merchants and educated persons, are progressive, the laborers are slow in the line of advance. Few if any Japanese will desire naturalization, but they are very tenacious of their rights as residents.

The Portuguese, several thousands, are aggressive, thrifty and superstitious. They have political clubs, and nominate candidates of their own. They are not considered a dangerous element, either socially or politically, although petty misdemeanors are common among them.

The thirty thousand of pure natives offer only a temporary problem to the statesmen of America. In a few generations they will become extinct. The death rate among them rapidly increases, and few children are born to Hawaiian fathers and mothers. Just now,

because they form a majority of legal voters, they are prominently in the field as political opponents of the best white element. They sent the Home Rule leader, Wilcox, to Congress, and control the elections by virtue of superior numbers. Their low average in intelligence is as bad in legislation as a low *morale*. Whether the *kanakas* can resist bribes and lobbyists remains to be tested.

Of the part-white Hawaiians much more is expected as citizens, socially and politically, but the life of the pure native, as such, will soon have no place in Hawaii. It lingers in the interior of the islands, with much of its old ignorance and prejudice. It is becoming a hybrid, especially in Honolulu, the only large city of the group. It is picturesque, like the scenery and the foliage, but has no inherent persistency in any direction, and acts spasmodically as the politician tickles its sluggish nerve-centers with promises which never can be fulfilled.

There is in it no basis for radical changes, social or political, but the memory of many droll performances in the last session of the legislature is having its effect even on the *kanakas*.

The test for the franchise is now on such a low plane that ignorance and inability seem to set the standard of citizenship.

Some one has said that "slavery pickled Southern life and left it just where it found it." So the false theories of education in the Hawaii of the early century not only pickled but bottled up the Hawaiian-speaking natives. They will not advance, although their limited number of children are now taught English in the schools. A considerable number of the members of the last legislation were not familiar with the English language. This made the work of that body abortive, and almost wrecked the Home Rulers as a deliberative assembly.

The worst element in Hawaii to-day is the low-down American, adventurer or politician. If he has brains, this late comer is the carpet-bagger of the transitionary period, the demagogue in politics, and the disgraceful, dissipated scamp. He has crept even into the judiciary and other offices. One has just been detected in large peculations. If such men are federal appointees, it is difficult to dislodge them.

As for the ordinary scalawags, deserters from ships, drinking loafers found in all large cities, professional criminals, men out of work because of shiftlessness or hard times, and the thousand and one "ne'er do weels" of reckless habits, many come to Hawaii from the States and are American citizens with votes.

Now, will American farmers, colonists, artisans, respectable new settlers, offset these bad accessions to the electors of the islands?

It is said that white labor can hardly be introduced into the sugar plantations, even on the co-operative plan. Some such experiments have been tried and have failed.

On the other hand, a colony from California has completed its second year on a tract of 1,200 acres, and has started peach, orange, and lime orchards. A pineapple company has been re-

cently incorporated. Land considered worthless has been made productive. Almost everything will grow in Hawaii. But some think the possibilities of the small farmer are limited. Land in small parcels has become increasingly inaccessible. Capital is needed, which few immigrants can command. The soil of the islands lacks phosphates, which are needed for animals.

The white farmer has also hard work to compete with the Chinaman. Therefore Americans of good repute are not expected in large numbers, while the army of American scalawags increases. Honolulu is a sort of eddy for the drift of the Pacific, and the scum accumulates. These irregulars affiliate with the Home Rule party because they have access to the natives, as the higher classes do not. They gain influence over the Hawaiian lower classes by associating freely with them. Their presence, therefore, is demoralizing and a menace to a better social and political situation.

Such, then, being the ethnic and political status of to-day, Hawaii as a territory of the United States is in a peculiar situation, in many respects unlike its condition before annexation. It has come to the parting of the ways. In one direction lies disaster; in the other, if guided aright, it will find prosperity and safety. Let us consider, first, the possibility of disaster.

Even the appearance of Honolulu is much changed, not wholly for the improvement of its outward aspect or the spectacle of its inhabitants in its streets and on its wharves. Its palm trees wave their graceful fronds and its foliage is resplendent, but it lacks many a charm which the character of its people supplied.

Annexation was alluring, because it offered a stable government and protection from foreign invasion and interference. It promised permanence to the commercial interests which the reciprocity treaty fostered. But the territorial idea has some drawbacks already apparent. To the federal government it presents unusual phases in Hawaii, never before met in our country's history. Congress has here a "white man's burden," different from that presented by the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba, or new territories on our main land.

To straighten out the just qualifications of citizenship among the mixed inhabitants of Hawaii and the children born to them on the islands will tax not only the honesty but the ingenuity of our statesmen. It is a critical time, but it is also a splendid opportunity. Its proper acceptance involves all our outlying territorial possessions. What is done in the near future in Hawaii must surely affect our policy throughout the Pacific Isles.

The evolution of Hawaii, with ultimate statehood in the perspective, will be a basis for the solution of problems now unforeseen but inevitable.

If false sentiment concerning the decadent native race, or commercial greed, or the allowance of undesirable immigration, or, above all, if neglectful indifference destroys the opportunity, then farewell to the hope of a beneficent future.

Hawaii has not of late been accorded its rightful share of attention, either at Washington or throughout our land. It is almost a back number. Some thoughtless congressmen are reported as saying: "Hawaiians wanted annexation. Now let them work out their own destiny. Experience will teach them useful lessons."

The Spanish War, to which annexation owes its quicker success, thrust little Hawaii into sudden obscurity. The rapid march of events in the Philippines and China developed what seemed to be far more important issues than the fate of a few fly-specks on the map of the Pacific. Even the trust problem, in its present crucial stage owing to the coal strike, may crowd interest in Hawaii still farther into the background.

The future condition of this Lilliputian territory, so dependent on present careful treatment, is therefore in imminent peril. Hawaii may be sacrificed in its profoundest interests at any critical moment to save some real or fancied necessity of our nation as a whole. Who can tell what may happen in our Oriental policy to make our legislators careless of what happens to these islands?

By and by the small comparative productiveness of its soil will count as little when our Southern fields augment their semi-tropical crops, and the West Indies yield tenfold more than now under American ownership. Hawaii may be easily undervalued as an industrial factor when our Western deserts are reclaimed by irrigation.

How readily might it come into the hands of great industrial or commercial promoters! Independent holdings, small ownerships, giving place to large plantations, may be combined in one great trust, and the worst American practices go on unchecked.

Besides, Hawaii will sometime reach the limit of its possible population. It can have but two leading cities, Honolulu and Hilo, and these cannot be very large. The immense commerce of America with the Orient will make these cities valuable to the United States, mainly as fitting and coaling stations. With cable communication, these islands will be treated as points of call and departure, and the welfare of their inhabitants will be of secondary consideration.

The legislation at Washington, in the hands of some future government, may correspond; and the fortified harbor, as a place to defend in time of war, will be paramount in the councils of the nation. (I am speaking now only of *possible* contingencies of which we ought to take notice.) In a few generations is it certain that our Republic will care first for the interests of a million or more of the resident population of Hawaii,—a mixed mass descended from aliens, with a small proportion of genuine American ancestry?

Hawaii is not like our own frontier territorial domain. It is not integral but external. When it reaches its limit in population and production, and is arrested in its political representation and importance, its internal affairs and domestic legislation will be

subordinated to considerations which may make it the cesspool instead of the paradise of the Pacific.

This is a pessimistic view, I know, but I speak only of possibilities, which in the lapse of time may become realities, unless Hawaii, now in its incipient stage of transformation, receives the benefit of wise and special and speedy legislation for its future welfare. We cannot shut our eyes, at least to the obvious conditions which darken the prospect of the islands at the present time. Take, for example, the fact that the Americans in Hawaii can hardly hope ever to return to the simple, happy social joys and amenities of the past. A society called "The Cousins" made the little colony of Americans a brotherhood of affiliated interests. It is beginning already to lose its inclusiveness and charm. No longer can doors and windows remain unlocked or open through the sweet, tropical, moonlight night. The sneak thief and the burglar are abroad in the land.

Since annexation the liquor traffic has increased in portentous proportions. The pastor of a Portuguese missionary church in Honolulu reports that ninety-five per cent of the Portuguese, children and adults, are addicted to the drink habit. The Hawaiian native is fond of stimulants, and regardless of consequences. The Chinaman is an opium smoker, but all other nationalities patronize the saloons, which extend over the whole group.

The Home Rule government is responsible, for there is revenue in the business. Annexation placed it under the laws of the territorial legislature. The present policy increases the sale of intoxicants. Licenses are freely issued.

Moreover, the increase of drunkenness and crime follows the obstructions to justice in the courts. Says a leading newspaper: "The administration of justice in the First Circuit Court of Honolulu has been of late a byword and a farce. Every possible technicality is construed in favor of the criminal. One judge dismissed forty-one and another sixty-nine cases on technical grounds alone."

A part of this increase of crime arises from the fact that judges who are appointees of the Government at Washington cannot easily be removed. There is no separate municipal authority. The social evil in Honolulu became so scandalous in an attempt to keep it off the streets that Governor Dole and the high sheriff of the United States Court were obliged to interfere.

The President's decision to appoint Mr. De Bolt to the first judgeship of the First Circuit Court marks a new departure at Washington in the matter of judicial nominations. Hereafter some care will be taken with them. Mr. De Bolt has fine qualifications for judge, and, with his colleague, Judge Robinson, may be trusted to redeem the local bench from the disgrace brought upon it by other incumbents.

As to the financial condition of the group, we may quote a leading Republican journal as authority for the statement that "before the Home Rule legislature met the times were good. Home Rule

legislation, however, destroyed confidence; outside capital, an indispensable requisite, was refused. Holding up appropriations to carry on public administration and the attempt to multiply offices threatened the sugar industry. Business was paralyzed. The territory cannot stand another session like the last." That session left a deficit in the treasury very embarrassing to the administration.

Another recent report declares that "the cutting off of dividends and the shrinkage of values have given Hawaiian securities a black eye in San Francisco." The reason given is that in this transition period "labor is unsettled. Hawaii has lost its contract system. The new laborers are not as efficient. Prices of everything are higher. Equipment is more expensive, and many have lost heavily by the fall in sugar values."

The political situation has also much to do with this unfortunate condition of affairs. The test for the present franchise in the territory of Hawaii is now on so low a plane that ignorance and inability are the standard.

But let us turn now to the hopeful side of the situation. A majority of the best people in Hawaii will not hear of any other. Governor Dole is perhaps among them, having returned from his visit to the States much more sanguine of results. He believes there will be another alignment of parties when the next election comes along. The lack in fulfillment of their promises by the leaders of the opposition last year has cost them their prestige, especially in the outlying districts.

There are three political parties in Hawaii. The Home Rule polls the largest vote, as the old Royalists and nearly every native vote that ticket. Delegate Wilcox is the leader of that party, but the ex-queen has repudiated him, and he has made himself unpopular with the natives by a bill in Congress to make the leper settlement on the island of Molokai a lazar home for all lepers in the United States. Yet he still has a fair hold on the natives.

Then there are the Democrats and the Republicans. There are some good and honest members of the Democratic party, but they have not achieved much thus far. Some have lately gone over to the Home Rule party.

Prince Kuhio is the candidate of the Republican party as delegate to Congress, as opposed to Wilcox. He is the ex-queen's favorite nephew, and is taken by the Republicans to conciliate the natives.

But whatever the result of the coming election, the best Hawaiians rely the most for a turn in their affairs upon the retirement of unworthy judges by the Federal Government and a reform in the judiciary. The authorities at Washington are gradually finding out the character of some of their officials in Hawaii. The commission appointed by Congress and recently sitting in Hawaii, Senators Burton of Kansas, Foster of Washington and Mitchell of Oregon, ought to be able to enlighten our legislators as to the true situation in the islands.

After all, the main hope of Hawaii lies in that fraction of its population which is composed of able, vigorous and sincere men and women who are ready to sacrifice themselves for the salvation of their native or adopted land.

All the resources of these tried and true patriots are at the command of the Federal Government, if only they can be upheld by intelligent and honest legislation at Washington.

What may be achieved by a little leaven of upright and alert men was proved during the existence of the Hawaiian Republic, from the year 1894 to 1898. In its brief life it was one of the very best of the independent states on earth. There were absolutely no speculations; no oppression of the natives; there was a gradual suppression of crime; the judiciary was above suspicion; foreign diplomacy was straightforward and dignified.

One of the firm Royalists of Oahu, the father of the Princess Kai-u-la-ni, declared to the writer that the men at the head of affairs were of the highest order of integrity and ability.

In this class of citizens are to-day merchants and planters whose credit abroad is equal to that of any commercial and industrial magnates in America.

This better element is also reinforced by the best of the educated natives and a large number of the part whites.

If I may add religious purpose to the characteristics above cited without prejudice to the name "missionary" given as a term of reproach, I need only point to the practical philanthropy of Protestant and Catholic men and women, and to their active Christian work in behalf of their fellow-men.

The native ministers and a goodly following of their flocks are loyal to good government. The Catholic priests, who seldom meddle with politics, do what is possible for the order and morality of their adherents.

There is a Protestant Board of Missions, unassisted by any aid outside the islands, which has disbursed nearly a million of dollars since 1863; one third of this large sum has been spent on the islands of the Southern Seas, and two thirds in work among the nationalities represented in Hawaii.

A much larger sum has been contributed for the maintenance of churches, native and white, throughout the group.

There is also a new generation of young Hawaiians, American by birth, now receiving their education in our American schools and colleges, who return to their native isles full of ambition and hope. Foster their patriotic zeal for the extension in Hawaii of the highest American ideals, and the places now worthily held by their fathers will be equally well filled by their descendants.

Among other promising resources of Hawaii are the college and the school. The equipment for teaching all the children in the group is complete; the instruction is in English, and the teachers, many from New England, are capable and zealous. No nation-

ality is exempt from compulsory attendance. The system embraces even the children of the lepers on Molokai.

One thing cheers beyond measure all friends everywhere of true progress in Hawaii. It is President Roosevelt's interest in the islands. The friends of good government and righteous law know that he is a man of loyal nature, whose convictions never allow his acts to lag behind them.

From him, Hawaii, in this trying transitional period, expects co-operation in its strenuous efforts to bring the territory, in due time, into the front rank of the republic's most progressive states.

If Hawaii shall obtain legislation that will start her great sugar industry upon a career of renewed prosperity; if she shall obtain legislation that will enable her to retain for local improvement the customs revenues whose export drain her life blood; if she shall secure payment of the indebtedness incurred by her in using the torch to save her people and the people of the mainland from pestilence,—if she shall obtain any or all of these things she must obtain them from the Republican party, for it is in power in Congress and it is there to stay. It is with the voters of Hawaii now to determine with which party they will identify themselves. Will they march forward with the swelling Republican legions? or will they drag backward with the dwindling and retreating forces of Democracy? The choice is with them, and as they choose wisely or unwisely will the destinies of these beautiful islands be affected.

Considering, then, the changes thus far for better or worse, in that land of sunny skies and surpassing beauty,—and, notwithstanding our regret that never will the old days of restful simplicity in living return to that fair heritage of ours beyond the sea,—may we not indulge the hope that all true Americans will unite with those who are striving, as their fathers strove in the past, to make Hawaii a Christian state?

There are noble hearts in that “gem of the Pacific” beating high with confidence in their share of America's bright destiny, and who, in spite of present adversity, wait for the time when all men will acknowledge that

“He alone is great who, by a life heroic, conquers fate.”

Dr. Birnie followed.

Rev. DOUGLAS PUTNAM BIRNIE.—I count it high honor to speak to you to-day; it is a privilege to strive to make the lovers of the Indian friends of the Hawaiian. For the third time, in obedience to the commands of your committee, I am here to speak for the Island Territory, but if word of mine may win your interest in Hawaii, I am content. . . .

You have listened to the delightful paper of Dr. Twombly, which presents a careful survey of the condition of affairs. In the few minutes which are allotted to me I shall touch briefly upon the

political, commercial, and ethical status of the islands, and suggest possible methods of betterment. From the figures which have been given to you this morning you perceive that although the people of Hawaiian blood number only about one fourth of the population, nevertheless, owing to the restriction of the ballot, the political control rests in their hands. The Japanese and Chinese immigrants are not permitted to vote, and the citizens of the white race form a very small portion of the population. The Hawaiian has little capacity for self-government, and Congress has placed the political control in the hands of an ignorant minority.

It is as though the political control of New York state had been placed in the hands of the Indians, and they had elected a legislative assembly, many members of which could not understand the English language. This is the condition in the territory of Hawaii. No wonder blunders were made. It is the only portion of the United States where men can legally vote who do not understand the English language.

This makes it possible for a demagogue to say to them, as some have said, "If you will only vote for me I will see that the Queen is restored to her old place with power," and they believe it. The result has been political unrest. It is the old story of the South and the North. They never voted under the old chiefs; they were not considered capable of voting; they cannot vote intelligently to-day. There can be no peace under the present condition.

What can be done? I suppose it would be impossible to take the franchise away, though it was unwisely bestowed; but a law might be passed declaring that no man could hold office who could not read and write English, and that after a certain time no new voters should be enrolled who could not speak the language of our country. Something must be done to restrain and limit the power of the ignorant minority in the Island Territory.

Take the condition commercially. Times are hard to-day; there is bitter poverty and distress. Before annexation the custom duties were retained in the islands; now they are sent to Washington. All prices have gone up. Food, clothing, supplies of all sorts must pay the San Francisco price plus the cost of transportation. Our exclusive policy went into effect, and no more Chinese laborers could be imported. The planters sent to Europe and the United States for white labor, but that has failed. They imported Porto Ricans at a high cost, and they have not been a success. They sent for negroes, but they could secure only the poorer quality. The labor market has not been supplied, and grade of morality has been lowered. The Japanese coolies are not desirable. They drink, are restless, discontented, untruthful, and as laborers are inferior to the Chinese. There is a proposition to introduce a limited number of Chinese to work in the cane fields alone. The Hawaiians will not do this work; the white man cannot. The Hawaiians make no objection to such importation. If you admit the Chinese to the cane fields you promote the sugar industry, and

you aid every skilled white laborer who is in the islands. I see no remedy for the present unfortunate commercial distress but the importation of Chinese labor for the plantations. You noticed what Governor Taft said. I have known him since we were in Yale together, and he is a conservative, fair-minded man. He suggested that Congress should leave to the Commission to decide whether a certain number of Chinese laborers should be introduced into the Philippine Islands. I think Chinese labor will elevate the tone of the community. They are industrious, frugal, law-abiding. They are home lovers. They pay their debts. They drink no liquor. In those tropical countries the man who drinks liquor goes to the wall; it is only the man who is temperate that lasts.

The only laborer that can live under the tropical sun and can do the work thoroughly and well is the Chinaman. You need the white man for the higher grades of service and for carrying on the business enterprises of the island, but you must have the Chinese in the cane field.

Take the ethical condition of the island. Crime has increased; vice has-multiplied. The ballot is in the hands of the ignorant native, and the demagogue manipulates it. Recent disclosures show corruption among high officials. The treasurer of the Dole Republic was a leading banker of high character and ability; the treasurer of the Territory under the new régime stole a large sum of money, and made good his escape from the country. The Hawaiians of character and intelligence are discouraged. The native churches are in a deplorable condition. Many pastors have entered politics, and are neglecting their proper work.

For the future, if the present commission will favor the introduction of a limited number of Chinese for labor in the cane field, and Congress enact such laws, prosperity will come again to the Islands of Hawaii. The courts should be purified, and men of high character only be named as judges. Some limitation must be placed upon the franchise. With ignorance in legislature and corruption in officials no people can prosper.

We hear it said, "Hawaii has been annexed; now let her work out her own salvation." But Congress has tied the hands of the men of intelligence, culture, and high purpose. They are discouraged. The difficulties are many. It is as though you should, in one of the boats on the lake before you, place half a dozen children and two strong men. Then tie the men hand and foot; now overturn the boat. Stand upon the wharf, dry and comfortable yourself, and with cheerful voice send the message across the water, "Save yourselves and the children committed to your care."

A report from Dr. C. J. Ryder on Porto Rico was read by Mr. James.

PORTO RICO.

BY REV. C. J. RYDER, D.D.

I have been requested to present a report of my recent visit to Porto Rico at the Mohonk Conference. I regret exceedingly that engagements at the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the American Missionary Association, where I have personal responsibility, prevent my being present at Mohonk this year. In response to an urgent request I submit in a very brief form some of the results of my visit.

First, the island of Porto Rico.

No language of mine can overstate its beauty. It is about two thirds the size of the State of Connecticut, and presents every condition of seashore and mountain. It is full of surprises, and seems a miniature cosmos. I never saw water so blue as that off the coast of this island. As the tide rolls in, breaking in white foam over the coral reefs, it seems almost a vision.

In the blue, blue sky the most brilliant stars sparkle and splash and gleam, making night glorious and luminous. The green hills, fertile to their very summit, stretch back from the water's edge.

In productiveness the island is also a marvel as well as in natural beauties. I know I speak only truisms to those who are familiar with the facts, and yet the impression of a somewhat extended visit through the island makes much more real its wonderful productiveness.

The abundant productiveness and the fact that one season is about the same as another contribute to shiftless agriculture. And this naturally leads to a word about,

Secondly, the people of Porto Rico.

The total population is 960,000. I took great pains to discover the divisions into which the inhabitants of Porto Rico were grouped. I have never seen any reliable statistics along this line, and yet it is of very great importance. By considerable investigation I determined that the following would be a fair presentation of the facts:—

Spanish by birth or immediate descent	. . . . .	100,000
Negroes, ex-slaves and mixed with other races	. . . . .	400,000
Porto Ricans proper	. . . . .	600,000

Americans are so few in number that they can scarcely be reckoned as numerically an important part of the population. The Spanish will, many of them, drift back to Spain as time passes, provided the United States holds the island. Their social and educational as well as political conceptions are utterly different from ours. They find it hard to adjust themselves to the new conditions as is naturally true for a Latin race where Anglo-Saxon ideals are dominant.

The negroes are ignorant, destitute. They own scarcely any property, and are painfully illiterate. They do not present anything like the strong, vigorous race represented by the negroes in our own Southern states.

The Porto Ricans proper are the offspring of the Carib Indians and Spaniards. The fact that the males of this Indian tribe were largely destroyed by the early Spanish settlers is well known. Their women were taken as wives, and the Porto Rican proper of the island is the descendant of this admixture. Upon these rests the future of the island in my judgment. They are physically vigorous, quick intellectually, self-reliant and manly. They are in the very heart of the island up among the mountains. Few Americans have visited them. I went ponyback over these mountain trails in the heart of this region for days. Captain Wilson, United States Marshal, when I gave him my itinerary told me that not five Americans had been through this region, and they generally were his own detectives. I came down from this mountain region greatly impressed with the possibilities of the Porto Ricans. They naturally incline toward the freedom and vigorous life of the United States. At a coffee plantation when our troops pushed from Ponce to the north of the island they were surprised to see the Stars and Stripes flung out of the planter's residence. I know the history of the flag, having visited the plantation while there. The owner of the plantation was cordially in favor of American occupancy. His wife stitched the flag, hiding it in the bed in her own room that it might not be confiscated by the Spanish government and that they might not be involved in punishment. When the American soldiers marched up this flag was already on the flagstaff thrust out from the window of the house in which it was made and where it had been secreted so long! This is illustrative of the condition of the Porto Ricans proper.

Now a word as to the impression of the work being done there. The negroes and the Porto Ricans both present the condition of great need and yet of hopefulness.

I would speak in strongest appreciation of the work done by the public schools. Having received a cordial letter of introduction from Commissioner Harris of Washington, I had a most pleasant meeting with Dr. Lindsay, Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico. This latter gentleman is especially qualified for his work and is accomplishing a service that cannot be exaggerated. I visited many of the public schools throughout the island and was impressed with the general satisfactory quality of the work. Many of the native teachers are, of course, only imperfectly prepared. They are, however, earnest and, I think, progressive.

We cannot forget, however, that there are about two hundred thousand children of school age and that the public schools provide for only about fifty thousand of them.

I visited the missions of the different denominations very thoroughly, including the Catholics. The work as a whole is being remarkably well done. The schools established through these agencies are greatly needed, and supply a kind of training impossible to get in the public schools. The schools of the American Missionary Association are situated at Santurce, in the northern part of

the island, and at Lares, among the mountains. They reach quite distinct classes, and are both prosperous and, I believe, very useful.

At Santurce a considerable body of land has been purchased, and training in economic and intelligent agriculture will be given in the near future. This is the great need for the people of the island. Slovenly agriculture seems to characterize the work too generally. There is comparatively little need of shop instruction or ordinary lines of industrial training. The opportunities for work in these directions are very limited on account of the conditions of the people. There are no chimneys to build, no glass to set, and carpenters have comparatively little to do. Concrete or stucco is the best building material, and houses are necessarily and properly simple.

The work in this island is especially pressing. I cannot speak too emphatically of it. Take one fact, namely, the density of population, as illustrating the condition. In continental United States there are twenty people to the square mile on an average. In the Philippine Islands there are sixty people to the square mile. In Porto Rico there are two hundred and seventy-three people to the square mile. This density of population, unequaled elsewhere, even in the insular United States, introduces an element in the problem.

A young man from Porto Rico, now attending school at New Paltz, was invited to speak.

PORTO RICO THROUGH A SCHOOLBOY'S EYES.

BY ALEJANDRO GUILLIOD.

I have been requested to say something about my country. It is very difficult to talk in a language which is not mine, and which I learned just a year ago. Twenty-five young Porto Ricans came to this country to study and to get an American education, and one of them is I.

We have three races of people: the white, who are Spanish and French people, the mulattoes, and the black race. Of course the white people hold the property. The mulattoes are descended from the Caribs. The black people are the laborers. The situation is entirely different from what it was during the Spanish government. Porto Ricans were not considered as human beings, but as things. Not a Porto Rican could reach a public office. The Porto Rican did not have means to get an education unless he had money to pay for it in America or Spain. There were some public schools, but very few. In my town of about thirteen thousand inhabitants there were but four schools, and every one of them had about fifty or sixty children. I do not think, under such conditions, the Porto Rico people could have a good education.

The instruction in the schools was only elementary, a little arithmetic, reading, etc. If a man liked to have his children educated he had to send them to the United States.

The black people are not in a very good situation because they never like to go to school. Some people judge the Porto Rican people by the black people, and you see pictures of black people with Panama hat and without coat and without shoes, and they call them Porto Ricans because they are born there; but they are not really Porto Ricans, for Porto Ricans are just like you, with white skin and blue eyes. They work for the prosperity of the island. The blacks only work on the sugar plantation, and I would not like you to judge me by them.

About the productions of the island. The chief productions are tobacco, sugar, and coffee. Coffee used to be the best one, but the cyclone and hurricane on August 8th, some years ago, destroyed the plantations. The best plantations were near my town, and the side of the mountain was peeled off, and all the trees were broken down by the cyclone. You could see the rock; that was all. You could see no ground at all. Another production is tobacco. It is not as good as the Cuban, but it is good. The best production now is the sugar, and great American companies have gone down to work there. These companies work near to my town.

The coffee plant is one of the most delicate there is. They have to raise them under other trees, so that the sun could not destroy them, and also much water will destroy them. The cyclone destroyed all the trees that shaded the coffee trees, so the coffee trees died. Last year we had to import coffee for us.

The great point we have to talk about is the feeling of the Americans for the Porto Rican. It is entirely out of the truth that the Porto Rican does not like the American. We owe our liberty to the Americans. The explosion of the mine in Havana brought with it the liberty of Porto Rico, and the tears that American ladies poured out at the death of their husbands and sons who were killed in that explosion, fell upon the tree of Porto Rican liberty, because at the same time when war was declared was the beginning of the liberty of Porto Rico. As soon as the American went to our country all the faces which during the war were sad on account of the country, were, after two or three months, made sunny, for smiles betrayed the satisfaction of their souls.

We have received many favors from the Americans, and one of them, and I think the principal one, is the education, because the education is the torch that illuminates the world. The Spanish government did not have many schools. Now we have plenty. We have many schoolhouses, and many children receive education in my town, and the same is true in others. We have a normal school, and we did not have any under the Spanish government.

The hopes of the Porto Rican are in the future. They work to become a sort of southland to the United States, and so they will work until the dying. The purpose of sending Porto Ricans, by

the Porto Rican government, to this country is not specially to get education, but to learn how to be American citizens, so that we can go to our country after we get through our studies here and teach our people how to be Americans. I am feeling like an American. Many of the Porto Ricans like to be Americans. They like to come to this country because we don't know anything. We don't know our rights if we don't have education.

I thank you for the opportunity to come here, and I thank the audience for their indulgence, and at the same time I make a present of the sympathy of the Porto Rican people toward the American people, for at this time I represent Porto Rico. (Hearty applause.)

The CHAIR.—This is one of the most eloquent speeches that we have had at this Conference. It is surprising to remember that a year ago this young man knew no English, and yet to-day, without a note, he can speak out of his heart and touch ours.

Mr. SMILEY.—Captain Pratt has forty Porto Ricans with him, and I have invited some of them to come up here next year.

Mr. W. H. Lincoln, chairman of the Board of Commerce of Boston, was introduced.

Mr. W. H. LINCOLN.—To emphasize what the young man has stated I may say that I had the privilege of entertaining last summer, in behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, a delegation of representative Porto Ricans in Boston,—merchants, bankers, and professional men, who came to study our institutions and manufactures and our methods of conducting business. They were very intelligent men, and I was much impressed by their ability and learning. A banquet was given in their honor in Boston, and they were delighted with the attention shown them, and responded, when called upon to speak, in a most interesting and creditable way.

At a reception given them in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, when I addressed them as "Fellow-citizens, entitled to equal privileges and to indulge in the same hopes," they were most enthusiastic, and were so overcome by the thought that a few gave vent to their feelings and embraced me when I had finished. Like all races of Spanish blood they are emotional, and it seemed to be their great aim and purpose to become worthy as American citizens. They seemed to think it was a great privilege and opportunity for them, and they have great faith and confidence in the resources of their island.

The young student has alluded to the coffee plantations. These gentlemen told me they had been destroyed by the hurricane, but that the best coffee in the world was produced in Porto Rico, and there was a great opportunity in the future for raising coffee plants. The island is very productive, and coffee as well as sugar can be

successfully raised. They feel that there is a great future for the island, with the opportunity of having free trade with seventy millions of people.

In regard to education, they placed great emphasis upon its value and importance. They said they wanted a better system of education and the free public school for children. At present, educational opportunities are entirely inadequate for their needs. Only a small number of the children, comparatively, are provided with educational facilities. I was glad to hear what this young man said. It corroborated the statements made by these other representatives of Porto Rico.

Rev. C. W. Briggs, a missionary from the Philippines, was introduced.

WORK AMONG THE FILIPINOS.

BY REV. C. W. BRIGGS.

The Filipinos are a people who come under the title of this Conference because they were called "Indians" by the same people who named the aborigines Indians. The Spaniards never speak of the Filipinos as anything but Indians even to-day. I am glad to stand before you to speak of that people whom I have come to know and love. We have heard that the Indians have been maligned and misunderstood, and that lies have been told about them. The same is true of the Filipinos, and if it could contribute in a small measure to do away with these misconceptions of what they really are, I should feel that I had done a large service, and one that needs to be done.

When I started for the Philippine Islands many of my friends told me to be careful; that I was going among a treacherous people,—a people capable of taking me by the hand, smiling in my face and thrusting a knife into my back at the same time, and that I must have my eyes open and take great precaution; and I went among them with something of that feeling. When I reached Iloilo, where the fighting was still going on, something like a military order had been issued forbidding Americans going out unless protected by soldiers. That looked rather bad, and I went with more or less fear even in the daytime. After I had been there some time I found they were not people to fear, and my first impressions were radically changed; and I think of them to-day as a kind, lovable, peacefully disposed folk, desirous of good things; that each desired to be the friend of everybody, and desired in return that everybody should be their friend.

About a year ago, in the course of my missionary work, I made a tour into the interior of the Panay Island with two helpers, and we went to a town among the peasants in the mountains. There

had been no Americans there with two exceptions, a teacher and the American Army, which had been there a few months before. This place had been marked out as the hotbed of an insurrection, and had been badly used. The greater part of the buildings had been razed and the stores destroyed, and the people had been used badly in many ways, because war is a terrible art; and though the commanding general prosecuted the fighting in Panay with all the humanity of which it was capable, yet all war and fighting were terrible. These natives among whom I went had been badly used by Americans, and I had no reason to look for anything but hatred in return. We stayed in that town three or four days, preaching the gospel of Christ to the peasant people. At the end of that time we were to return to the coast, but I came down with an attack of tonsillitis and fever. The days were very hot, and my strength left me, so that I was unable to return with the others, but was left alone with these people, who took care of me three or four days. They ministered to me with a kindness and love that my own parents would have shown me. Everything they could do was done. I had gone there on my bicycle. The time came for me to return, and at four o'clock in the morning I came down from the upper part of the house to where I had been staying to start on my twenty-five miles' journey. As I came down from the little shack there were twenty-five workmen standing there whom I had never seen before, with one or two exceptions. One took my wheel and started down the hill with it, while around the corner came four men bearing a bamboo litter, with rods holding a lattice-work over it, and a hammock hung below. I was put into the hammock, and the four men started down, and twenty others followed, who alternated with these; and between four o'clock in the morning and one they had carried me the entire distance to my headquarters. They would take not a cent of payment for this, and as I saw them trudging under the burning sun, the perspiration streaming from them, and heard their labored breathing,—for they would not permit me to walk a step,—I felt as though they had thrust a knife into my heart, and a knife that hurt. I learned then what it means to heap coals of fire on a person's head. They were doing all this to an American, and all that they knew of Americans so far was that they were people who came to burn their houses and destroy all that they had raised. That is the only kind of treachery I had practiced on me. They are a kind people.

They are capable people, too. They are a people easily molded. When I first went to my work I made the acquaintance of a Spaniard who told me the people were like sheep, that you could easily lead them in any direction, and he told the truth. We can make something of those people if we like. We can build them up and make strong characters of them. They have a large measure of capacity. Governor Taft paid them a high tribute in that respect when he told of the great number of able lawyers he found—and he is able to judge whether a man is a good lawyer or not—and

he said that he had not seen better lawyers in the world than he found there; and as he has organized the islands in the various provinces and given them something of a republican form of government of their own, many of the governors have been Filipinos. That speaks well for their capacities. They also make good preachers and good school teachers, and they are capable of anything we have a right to expect of them.

To be honest we should not withhold some other phases of their character, which we must understand if we are to help them in the best way. There are limits to their capacity. Their capability is not our capability. Their ways of study are different from our ways. When we began our work on the Negros Island, one of the most advanced men who came to stand on our side was a wealthy upper-class native; and he was very enthusiastic on the reception of the message we had taken to him, and he wanted to be a preacher and worker with us. For a month or two I was alone with our work, and I could not give him much attention, although he did work at the Bible and got some church history, and so got some preparation. Then came two new recruits,—men fresh from the theological seminary,—and they began studying Spanish, and I turned this young preacher over to their hands, and suggested that they give him a course in theology; and they arranged a little curriculum, and when he heard of the homiletics and hermeneutics his enthusiasm knew no bounds. For three or four days he was there early and stayed till dark, would listen to their lectures, and take their suggestions and prepare outlines of sermons to be criticised. Then several days passed and he did not come, and they thought he must be sick, and one of them went to see him, and he found him at home in front of his house tugging at a kite string. He had spent an entire day in making the kite, and was now flying it for pleasure. That illustrates one side of the Filipino. He is a child, interested in childish things. But if we deal with him, bearing these things in mind, we shall find the Filipinos capable of becoming a great and useful people.

To say a word of the needs of these Indians of the Philippines. I believe that the first need they have—and I would say it as a Christian missionary—is the knowledge of God. One of the first men I became acquainted with there was an upper-class native, who had been the governor of one of the islands in 1896, and he knew the people of the island well. He is a Catholic and a good Christian man. And he said to me: “You have a great work to do to teach this people the knowledge of God. Four out of every five believe that the world was made by the patron saint of their particular town.” Those were the words of a Filipino.

They need in the second place ethical enlightenment. That will come with the knowledge of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ and in the Christian Scriptures. They need thorough reconstruction and reorganization in accordance with the principles that we get from our God on high. I am not one of those critics who believe

that the Filipinos are entirely bad. I have seen immorality and intemperance in their lives and a great deal of sin and vice, but as I compare them with the other Oriental peoples I believe they are on a higher level than any in the East to-day,—India, China or Japan. They need social reorganization in accordance with Christian ethics. The marriage relation, how loose it is! A Methodist missionary told me that he married eighteen couples in one day, and I myself married twenty-five in one day. They came for miles to be married. Sometimes I have married couples who have lived together for years in relations of faithfulness to each other, who brought their grandchildren as witnesses to the marriage ceremony.

The prospects? I think their prospects are bright. It is not my purpose to criticise the church that has been dominant there for three hundred and sixty years. To show what my attitude has been it is no more than fair for me to say that when I went there an older man who had been there six months,—a man for whom I have the greatest respect,—I felt obliged to differ from because he was criticising the Roman Catholic Church and holding it up to ridicule. I did not go to the Philippines to fight the Roman Catholic Church in any way. I believe the result of the transitions there will be to purify the Catholic Church and make it more worthy of the name, and that it will do far greater service for the Filipinos than it has ever done before. But there are a great many whose turn of mind and training lead them to a different way of looking at things, and they cannot be at peace in the Catholic Church. In the Protestant form of religion they will find a form that is palatable to them, so I think the evangelical outlook is bright. Each mission has its own field of work, and we pledge ourselves not only to co-operate with each other, but so far as possible with the other Christian church on the islands; and that, so far as I know it, is the attitude of the Christian workers there.

I think the prospect is now bright because they are going to have the Word of God. The New Testament has been translated into various dialects, and thousands of portions of the New Testament have gone out among these people, and that is the corner stone of missionary effort. Therefore our prospects are bright.

The same is true educationally. We have twelve hundred American teachers in the Philippines who are teaching the children, and who are conducting normal schools for training native teachers, and the people are to have the educational privileges they have so many years demanded and for which so many have had to lay down their lives.

Mr. GILBERT.—Can the New Testament be used in the public schools of the islands?

Mr. BRIGGS.—I do not think it should be used in the public schools. I think that the fundamental principle of the Constitution should apply there as well as here. I think the state and the church should be kept separate so far as vital organic relation is concerned.

Mr. GILBERT.—Of course the Bible, and the New Testament especially, is the common book of Christendom. It is the basic book of our civilization.

Mr. BRIGGS.—I think that it should be left out of the public schools.

Rev. S. R. Spriggs, of Point Barrow, Alaska, was introduced.

OUR LIFE AT POINT BARROW.

BY REV. S. R. SPRIGGS.

I am asked to speak for a few minutes of our life at Point Barrow at the dome of the continent. I hope if any of you desire to go there as a matter of pleasure that you may not be so hampered in the journey to that out-of-the-way place as we were. In order to get there we were obliged to take passage on the one-hundred-and-fifty-ton freighting schooner, and take twelve long weeks from the time we left San Francisco till we reached the Aleutian Islands, four more to Bering Strait, and four from Bering Strait before we finally landed at Point Barrow. This long journey brought us to a climate far different from this. Perhaps the most disagreeable time is when the winter has begun to settle down, when fogs abound and clouds overcast the sky. The Point Barrow day lasts eighty-five days and the night sixty-nine days. That is the extreme which we have. We have no twenty-four-hour day or night. People continually ask if our days are not six months long, but I answer that if we were at the pole such would be the case, but midway there is a difference. People also ask how we stand the cold. It is not so cold as you would think. My wife made the startling remark the other day that she suffered more from cold coming up from New Paltz than in her three years in Alaska, and that means a great deal, because we have from sixty to seventy degrees below zero there. But the cold is dry, and it does not affect us so much in the winter months. In the summer there is a great deal of dampness as the ice passes by, and there is a great deal of fog from the Japanese current. The ships come at that time, and ships, fog, and dampness come together. The summer is the unhealthy time, but it is not long, only from the middle of June to September; the rest is all winter.

We found there a bleak, desolate looking country. The low shore line hardly told us where there was land, and the little native huts seemed no larger than ant hills from the ship, and indeed, in comparison with the buildings of this country, they are hardly larger. They consist usually of one room, twelve feet square, six feet high, half covered with earth in the summer and snow in the winter. But in these homes there is a great deal of happiness. In that cold climate the difficulty of heating the rooms is so great that they are forced to occupy small buildings.

One of the main difficulties we have to contend with is isolation. We have our mail once a year. From September, after the season closes, we look forward to that as the thing of greatest interest; but a year must slowly swing around before the ships can reach us. When it comes it is a day of great rejoicing. Our room is emptied and the mail sacks are brought in, and we have a general feast.

The people are Eskimo. They should not be classed as true Indian, but they come under your sympathy as well as the true Indian would. He is above the average in height, and I have seen them over six feet high. I have in mind a woman, a perfect Amazon; but some are so small that when full grown one might ask of them as one of the missionary's little children asked of a man, "Who does he belong to?" They are by nature peaceful, quiet, hospitable, given to jollity and entertaining very little serious thought; indeed, their word for having to think means "to be sad." The government among the natives is a sort of government by common consent. People do that which seemeth to each man good, and if it is not good for the majority they probably will not do it. They have few crimes. They have sometimes executed murderers, but it is very rare; I have known but two instances. There is no marriage ceremony, but a single wife is the rule. I know but of two exceptions; and in one case the wife has died, and in the other the extra wife was inflicted on the man as a superstitious practice by a "devil doctor." The relation is perhaps all that we could ask between husband and wife in many ways. As regards suffrage, I am quite sure they would all vote that the women should have the ballot as well as the men. The woman is busy if she does her full duty, for she has to be mistress of the house, the housekeeper, the mother, the wife. It is the part of the man to go on the hunt. The food of the natives is largely fish; but since they have been brought into relation with the white man they use also the white man's food,—flour, rice, beans, pork, molasses, sugar, etc. These common necessities are brought by ships, and traded for whalebone, skins, ivory,—the natural products of the country. But they never have a larger supply than the immediate necessity calls for. They are very improvident. The ground is frozen through the year, and thus furnishes a permanent storehouse, but few take advantage of this. Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof with them.

Physically the people are healthy, barring some exceptions, more healthy in winter than in summer. They pay no more attention to caring for their health than a child. I do not think there is a native at Point Barrow who is free from distressing colds, and many pass from these into bronchitis, pneumonia and consumption, due largely to lack of care.

They are enduring, and can travel long distances. They have no difficulty in taking long day's trips, running in front of their dogs, as they do in traveling. People have a false idea about Eskimo life. They picture a man sitting in a sledge with reins in his hands, yelling at his dogs. The man really runs in front of his dogs.

We look on the Eskimo as a dirty individual, and we are right; but let us take into consideration the circumstances in which he lives,—in one room, in a latitude anywhere from thirty to sixty-five degrees below zero. The entire family is in one room, and there are no conveniences for heating water. They are children of the hunt,—the walrus and the seal, all yielding fatty substances. But dirt is not to their liking. They would like to keep clean, and they have many expedients to eradicate dirt. We furnish all the soap we can, combs, brushes, etc., and the Eskimo family appreciate them. As I came down in the Bear, the officers told me that the natives of Point Barrow are the cleanest that they meet in Siberia or Alaska.

The mental characteristics are variable. Colonel Pratt holds that they are intelligent, and I heartily agree with him. They are bright, have good memories, and easily learn. They will learn long lists of words and sentences, but when it comes to applying their reason they are not always able to grapple with the situation. As a rule they are adaptable to the conditions imposed on them by the white man. They would readily obey the short-hair order, only in winter the climate demands that the hair shall be long.

My work is in connection with the school, and we are under government. We have a very good attendance. We had a hundred enrolled and an average attendance of forty and over for nine months of the year. They come from very long distances inland, and are earnest in their desire to attend school in the igloo. The parents are equally earnest to have them come. They tell us to whip the children if they do not do right, but we never use corporal punishment there. I doubt if the moral effect would be beneficial. Words are far better than force. The studies are elementary,—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and hygiene. To what end, you may ask, is this necessary? It is to this end, that this people may be freed from their superstitions. Superstitions are connected with all their actions. It is only as we can lift them intellectually that they will see the right way of life. People here are superstitious. I know many who dislike to sit thirteen at table, to see the moon across the left shoulder, or to cross a funeral train; but these superstitions are not connected with everyday life as those of the Eskimo are. They will keep the Eskimo from attending service or from going to school; but some are rising above these and above the power of the devil doctors. It is only as we can give them education and morality, religion and knowledge together, that we can hope to permanently raise this people to a degree of civilization.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Night, October 24, 1902.

The last session was called to order by the President at 8 P. M., who introduced Mr. John A. Hobson, of England, as the first speaker.

Mr. JOHN A. HOBSON.—It was in full accord with the benevolence of Mr. Smiley that, on hearing from a common friend that two aliens, two strangers, were in America seeking to find out for themselves what strangers might hope to know, he invited Mr. Perris and myself to take part in this feast of nature and flow of soul. It has been a unique experience to me, as indeed I understand it is to most Americans, to be present at a Conference at Mohonk. I shall not forget this experience or the truths which I have learned about America and about questions which have been so ably discussed at your Conference.

Now I have felt some difficulty in accepting the invitation to address you. When I told friends who had visited in this country that I was proposing to come to America, and might be asked to speak, one of them said to me, "Let me give you a piece of advice: don't you say anything at all in criticism of the institutions or life of America —"

Mr. SMILEY (interrupting).—Poor advice!

Mr. HOBSON.—"Because, though they are so courteous as to be willing to hear it, they are so sensitive as to dislike it." The other friend said, "Above all do not run down any of the institutions of your own country, because Americans are very patriotic, and if you do so you will get yourself disliked." If I were to accept that advice it would certainly cut off a large portion of discussion.

We were told this morning by one of the speakers that this meeting is not political; that we are not concerned with politics. Of course we know what the gentleman meant, and I intend to adhere to it, but from my standpoint the whole of this issue is definitely political. Such issues belong to the study of politics, if I may say so, even to the science of politics (though science is not considered necessary in all quarters), and above all to the art of politics. Perhaps it would be best for me to begin with one or two impressions that I have gathered from this Conference. I want to give myself an opportunity of being corrected in private afterwards.

- I have been extremely interested in two classes of subjects which have been discussed here: one relating to the ability of assimilating a quarter of a million of Indians within the borders of the United States; the other relating to the ability of America to assimilate

to her civilization large bodies of alien people resident outside her boundaries. The first is an issue of which we have no exact analogy in England. We have no large body of aliens far removed in race and character from the main body of the British people, and so I was particularly interested to learn the almost unanimous opinion of those who have given so much thought and feeling to the subject as those who have addressed the Conference. I have found a larger unanimity than I am accustomed to find in discussion of peculiarly debatable issues. It seems to me there is a consensus here to the effect that the Indians—who when white settlements spread were taken from their large territories which they roamed at will and put in preserves which in some cases were not deemed sufficient to keep them in their way of getting a livelihood, so that rations were added—should now have those rations withdrawn. That is an obvious gain. I do not think that any line of reasoning could defend the folly and injury done to any people by making them dependent on rations. Of course when I consider this question it seems to me that probably this treatment of the issue of rations might be carried logically farther than it is carried by the Conference. One gentleman who addressed you with great knowledge insisted that property was the bane of the Indian, and that if you could get from him his land,—I did not gather that it was suggested that he should retain that land in severalty,—but if it could be got from his control and the funds as well, and he could be thrown on his own resources and exertions, he would reap the advantage which everyone would reap by earning his bread with the sweat of his brow. I should like to suggest to you to consider how far that excellent argument might be carried beyond the region of the subject we are discussing. But there is a bigger question than the ability of America to assimilate this quarter of a million Indians. I was extremely struck with surprise at the conviction, supported by a powerful body of facts, that this body of Indians, far removed by centuries of alien life from the mass of the American nation, could, in the space of a very short time, by the establishment of individual property and school education, be genuinely assimilated into the mass of the American people.

I know it is not a question of the assimilation of the negro population, but I am invited to believe that this assimilation of a quarter of a million Indians could, by wise measures, be brought about within a few years. I should feel more certain, if I may whisper the remark, if we had had here some of that class of evidence which has been described as scientific. It seems to me, perhaps in my ignorance, that the science of ethnology, with its collection of different kinds of hair, measurement of skulls, and other methods which scientific men use, is not so alien from the practical treatment of these subjects as was suggested by some of your speakers. This scientific endeavor to study laboriously to reconstruct the past is surely essential to an intelligible understanding of the continuity of a race and what can be done with it in the

way of practical civilization. That is the one point which I think has occurred to me to make in relation to this issue.

There is, of course, a far more difficult issue, which was briefly treated in the speeches made this morning, and upon that point, if I may say so, I speak as an aged veteran, representing a people who have had for centuries these difficulties thrust upon their notice, or who have themselves helped to force them upon their notice in many different parts of the world. We have, of course, within recent years so vastly increased our responsibility to the lower races as to make it extremely difficult to find out what practical methods we can adopt for bringing the wholesome influences of the Anglo-Saxon upon them. Great Britain, since 1870, has increased her area by four and a half million square miles and added ninety million fresh population. That will give you some idea of the size and complexity of the subject. But your chairman alluded especially to that part of our empire which competes with this question before you by claiming the term Indian. We have had this Indian question and the problem of attempting to keep order and secure progress for a great Indian population of nearly four hundred million. We have it at the present time and we have had it for upwards of a century, and England has grappled with that problem with greater ability and more integrity than with any other portion of her imperial problem. We have sent out to India, generation after generation, many of the ablest and most honorable of our young men, and no politics has entered into the selection of those officials. We have sent out men educated by the best methods and possessed of such capacity as can be tested by the most rigid methods of examination. We have attempted to put British civilization upon India. And I am bound to say that if you will take the trouble to read those books which describe the present condition of the India population you will find that in spite of our efforts, in spite of the heroic self-sacrifice of generations of missionaries and officials, we have not succeeded in that task to any considerable extent whatever. We have secured certain elements of external order—I should almost say of mechanical order. We have stifled the springs of progress in the national life. It has been almost necessary that this should happen. Our methods of industry have destroyed the fine native handicrafts in most of the villages. Our methods of representative government have destroyed the forms of communal government which have gone back for countless centuries and which formed the political and social strength of the Indian people. Our missionaries, in spite of their noble work, have not succeeded in touching more than a small proportion of the lowest of the grades of the population. The higher castes and educated natives are almost to a man Mussulmans or Hindus at the present time. Our missionaries are making converts in large numbers, but we are engaged with a population growing far faster than our missionaries secure in converts. That cannot be disputed by those who face the facts of our India empire.

Why have we failed to the extent we have? Because, I think, we have attempted an impossible task. If any of you feel disposed to consider this subject further, read that fascinating book written by a man who spent a great deal of his time in India, who is a Conservative, a supporter of the British imperial power, *Europe and Asia*, by Meredith Townsend. After weighing all the evidence, he concludes that no real progress in this direction is possible, that we are not implanting British civilization upon the real soil of the national life, but that we have imposed it from above as a mechanical order and are keeping it there by force.

In India we have pursued some of the methods which naturally appeal to us as belonging to our conception of civilization; and we supposed that our conception of civilization, and our path of civilization, was the only path, ignoring the centuries of ancient civilization which constituted the people of India and the very slow way in which the soul of a people can be made to change itself, neglecting the tolerably patent view that you can no more impose social, political, or even religious institutions upon an alien people than you can take the flora and fauna of a tropical country and put them down in the frigid zone. Something can be done. Within a certain limit you can graft old institutions so that they will live and thrive; but there are limits, and it is the ascertainment of those limits that constitutes the gravest problem in India. It is so grave that many of our liberal statesmen and officials, who thirty years ago favored the bestowal of representative institutions and were in favor of building up the whole of the institutions of India on the basis of Great Britain, have abandoned it. They have said, We cannot make those institutions work on that soil. They have been attempting it through the nineteenth century and have not succeeded. We still hold India by the sword, and the India population is one of the poorest and most miserable in the world.

Nearer to the questions which beset America is the question of South Africa. I had there three years ago some opportunity of questioning men on the subject who were friends of the Kaffirs, the main body of the people of South Africa, and who have a title to the land, if anyone has. In Africa there are two ways, two divergent paths, which suggest themselves. One is to break up the Kaffir tribal system and give them the franchise and bring them into the white civilization as it is understood. The other takes a different standpoint, and prefers to mark off this portion of the country as preserves, to give sufficient good land for the Kaffir tribes to live in the way they have been accustomed to, under the general supervision of a British official, who shall allow to operate on these people the educative influences of our civilization, and who shall keep out of those preserves traders who seek to carry liquor or guns into that territory, miners, prospectors, who if they were admitted would work against the stability of those tribes and bring them to confusion. You have those two varieties, each seeking to benefit the Kaffir. The second plan is approved by some of the

wisest and ablest of our administrators in South Africa. In a great region of Bechuana-land it seems to have proved a remarkable success. They have been under general British protectorate, but they have maintained the tribal system. They have not had their practices put down by force; but it has been sought to win them by slow degrees from the worst aspects of their inherited life and to bring them gradually up by their natural economic needs to an understanding of white civilization and a growing willingness to participate in it. We have now abandoned the earlier plausible notion that we could in a few years, or even in a single generation, put our British institutions—political, social, or religious—with any success upon those people. You can take a people and say you are introducing representative government. You can say you are introducing the Christian religion; but it is no more real representative government than the Christianity is the Christianity of Jesus of Nazareth or even of the Christian churches.

I have given you in a word our experience gathered from our long British experience. That it is on all fours with your experience it would be absurd to suggest. We must, however, understand the ethnic conditions that have prevailed in any country if we want to introduce the type of Anglo-Saxon civilization. When we want to influence those people we must understand the past of their own institutions and how they have grown up, if we would be able to apply methods which alone can insure progress in dealing with peoples,—the cumulative methods of education and not the methods of catastrophic change.

Mr. G. H. Perris of England, the editor of *Concord*, was introduced.

MR. G. H. PERRIS.—I have to express thankfulness for the opportunity of being here. I wish to express my appreciation of the great privilege to a stranger especially, to be able to find in so concentrated a form so many of the things which he is most interested in, represented in so many personalities. Mr. Smiley's estate is beyond appreciation. It is said that all roads lead to Rome, but all these roads lead to Mohonk, and it would seem that all the railroads of the United States lead there, and even we little items of the Old World have been grasped by a sort of spiritual hand stretched across the Atlantic, which brings us up here to yield our little testimony.

I have made large sheaves of notes of the impressions I have received here during these three days for distant hearers and readers. I do not know how Mr. Hobson's impressions will appear to you, but if my own confirmation be worth anything, I hope that it will have the effect of showing you that in the mind of a second Englishman practically the same impression has been born. Of course we recognize the great differences between the native races problems as they appear to you and the native races

problems as they appear to us. Our native races problems are far removed from our own shores, and in the main, as Kipling says :—

“ East of Suez where the best is like the worst,
And there aren't no ten commandments,
An' a man may raise a thirst.”

You have not the historical discouragement which must weigh on the mind and conscience of every sensitive Englishman. You do not see behind you—though you have things to remember in the history of the North American Indian—the long trails of human blood that mark the history of England. Mr. Hobson has mentioned the dimensions of the problem. The little islands which are the cradle of your race are one tenth of the population of the British Empire, whereas the whole of your colonial population do not compose more than one tenth, or thereabout, of your white population, so that the dimensions are exactly reversed. We are one against ten; you are ten against one. I do not wish to state this as a mathematical basis of comparison. I do not wish to suggest that it is satisfactory that, mathematically speaking, our problem is one hundred times as bad as yours, though there is something even in that. Even in backward England, educationally speaking, we are finding that a teacher can only interest a certain number of youngsters, and that if you increase that number the virtue of the education is diluted correspondingly. Accepting this standard of education, and applying it to children of larger growth, it must be admitted that the more dependent and numerous the race we take, the less effective can be the influence for good which we apply to those populations. I mention this point again because I should like to be sure that you realize the dangers of the constant accretion of those races. You know, of course, it is the boast of our poets—or those considered to be our poets—that our empire came to be so by accident; that we blundered into it. Personally I would like to suggest that no schoolmaster ought to blunder into any task of education.

If we have not become discouraged by the enormity of our task, we have become more impatient under arrests of that work. Intelligent Englishmen would say that the lesson of Indian imperial history has been to go slow. I would not like to suggest that you are going too fast, that you are feeling too confident about your capacities, any more than I would like to suggest that we are going too slow. I leave it to you to determine on which side of the balance the error lies, but there is a great possibility of error on either side. Of course the difference in geography is a very great one, and I suppose it would have been sufficient to point to that difference once, but now that you have taken in hand an almost unknown Asiatic-Pacific people we may perhaps expect to find that more attention will be given by educated Americans to the analogies of historical cases in the Asiatic peoples who have been taken in hand.

I should not like to take any speaker too literally or seriously. I recognize the undercurrent of wit that supports every American speech, but at any rate I must say that in England, so far as I know, our ethnologists and philanthropists and administrators do not, even in joke, berate each other. I only mention that because I should like myself to bear humble testimony to an American institution. I do not know whether that was the institution referred to at all, but you have a Smithsonian Institute which puts forth rather large and weighty and expensive volumes on ethnology, and I should like to give my testimony that they have not been wasted, though we have had to pay Atlantic postage. They have found a welcome on one small spot of British soil at least. This is essentially an ethnological problem. The temper of mind in which we face facts is important. It has been a lesson of bitter experience that race is a fact which you ignore or minimize at your peril, for race is always an obstinate fact. It is obstinate in the highest types, such as the Boers, the British and the American, but it is a still more obstinate fact in the lower races. I do not really understand quite all the propositions that have been made, but I shall hope for private illumination on them. I do not fully understand whether you really expect to convert what one speaker called "festering cankers" into good Anglo-Saxons and Republicans in twenty-five years after converting tribal property into individual property. I only know that you are to compel them to live like white men.

I have come here to learn, and I shall carry these facts back with me, and shall be able to modify some of the judgments concluded from our own facts. I confess that I should have liked to have testimony not exclusively of white men themselves, because we Englishmen have so much erred in this matter. There is not perhaps any bait to national egotism which we English have not embraced, and after some centuries of this sort of thing we are getting, even the youngsters, to be a little skeptical.

I heard a gentleman speak here who seemed to miss the point of a Scriptural phrase. I confess that I never could pass an examination in Scripture myself, although a parson's son—owing to that fact perhaps! The Scripture authority I believe to be absolutely valid, that all nations are of one blood; but the respected and able speaker went on to say, "Let us enact it." I think the Biblical speaker had no comprehension of acts of Parliament. I think the derivation was a different one. The spirit of the New Testament was not of enactment, but of a purely moral kind. I think it related to what you call conversion, which is not to be forced or hurried.

I was very much impressed by a saying of Commissioner Jones,—a very emphatic statement,—that these people to whom you want to give citizenship in twenty-five years want heathenism; that they do not want citizenship. I do not want to lay stress upon the fact that that is not according to the Declaration of Independence. According to the conviction of all good political economists, the consent of the governed is a very essential element of social progress, and it does not do to ignore the question whether they consent or not. I

should like to know what is to become of these Indians when they are cast into the maelstrom of American life. I should like some one to tell whether it is proposed to guarantee them work, which seems to me the most splendid element of the reforms you have carried out. We have not to any great extent guaranteed our native races any work, except under famine regulations in India. That is the point of the most promise, but I do not know whether it is contemplated to continue it after the period when they shall hold individual property. Professor Giddings has used an excellent phrase as to the only true lines of advance in the treatment of alien races. He has said that the one true social bond was that of like-mindedness, but if we do not measure literally up to that—I presume we must bear it in mind as ideal—it is obvious that legislative enactment and the hasty forcible application of national laws do not necessarily carry with them a conversion to likemindedness. In the British Empire we do not try—we have practically never tried, or, so far as we have, we have given it up—to assimilate our native races. In no point is there any attempt to assimilate them. It has been concluded by men of every school to be a waste. It has therefore been a question to discover what is the right line of advance that men of every school, with scientific training and temper, would all agree; that native organizations, and especially their economic activities, should be, so far as possible, preserved; that gradually there should be an infiltration of our own ideas and thought and principles; and that, still more, aggressive incursion, like that of miners, speculators, and land-grabbers, should be shut out. That has been carried out with success in a few small territories of South Africa. The results of the opposite policy—plastering the tomb of the savage with untempered mortar—may be seen in Kimberley or Johannesburg. This is the conclusion not of a few heretical students, but of the most substantial men.

In Egypt we have not carried the native forward except in a mechanical fashion. We are providing them with a dam across the Nile. There are many ways in which a superior race—"superior race" in quotation marks—can help an inferior race mechanically, supposing the cost be not too much. The cost of our bringing civilization is too heavy in India. In Egypt the main question is with reference to these great works upon the Nile, but the expenses of militarism are serious elements. I should hope that that one item would be completely excluded from the American problem. In every part of the British Empire in which we come into contact with natives, we enroll native soldiers in the army. I should hope the American example, even in the Philippines, would be an example of peace and moral processes, those influences which in the long run have a really vital effect upon the lowest peoples. It is not that we have not good will to our native races. We have nothing quite corresponding to the Mohonk Conference, but we have bodies in England, such as the Aborigines Protection Society, and others, whose sole concern is to watch that no active cruelty be done to them. We have plenty of good will. I think the English no more wish to do an act of cruelty than the Americans do. The

ignorance of most English people is the first obstacle. They are not to be called fellow-citizens, but fellow-subjects.

There is a second obstacle in the feeling that you cannot do good by act of Parliament, and that any change of the land status is one of those irrecoverable steps which should be taken only after the greatest deliberation.

The store of information which has been given by the women who have been speakers here struck me as being worth more than many of those distinguished masculine arguments which I have listened to. I have been immensely touched by the way the women workers among the Indians reported upon their work. I wish that our politicians in both hemispheres could see that women are constructing while men are criticising and destroying.

I do not know whether it is a wild suggestion to make or not, but I feel so much the lack of clear, close, scientific information as to the lines which you have found profitable in dealing with native races with diverse conditions, that I would like to throw out this suggestion. In a certain elementary degree European countries which have colonized have united together to stop certain great evils, such as the drink traffic and slavery. Those things were represented at the Brussels Conference, and steps were taken to carry them out by certain steps. They should be carried much further. Nothing is so much wanted as an international conference on the same lines as to the common steps of different countries in the treatment of their dependent, native races, and I should like to see the United States, which was anticipated by the Czar of Russia in arbitration, take the initiative in calling such a conference.

I should like to be able to attend an unlimited series of Mohonk Conferences, not only to enjoy the splendid hospitality, the walks, the scenery, the discussion of men and women aiming at the same thing in spite of all differences, but to enjoy the feeling for three days that we are really advancing good ideas which are common to all of us.

Miss ANNA L. DAWES.—Dr. Frissell said last night that he wished there might some arrangement be made by which the general public could get more information about Indian affairs. I think we are all constantly in receipt of letters asking for facts for college students, for women who are to write papers for clubs, for missionary societies, and for many other occasions of greater or less importance. They all want to know "what is being done for the Indian." It has been difficult to tell them just what they want to know, the material is so scattered. If there could be a sort of clearing house for such literature, and some one whose business it should be to send the proper literature to each, it would be a good thing. It is a fine thing that these young people should want to know about the Indians, and a very valuable one, and it is important that they should have just the literature they want. The college student may not want the report of the missionary society, but he should be put in the way of getting what he does need.

The most competent person to take up this burden is Dr. Gates, and he has generously consented to do so. If anyone will apply to Dr. M. E. Gates, 1427 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C., for information on Indian affairs, he will furnish it. He hopes that all the societies represented here will send their literature in bulk to him, that he may send it out to people who need it. The great difficulty is the want of money for postage; therefore, if you will request those asking for literature to pay their postage, we can at least try to give the information desired.

Dr. Addison P. Foster, chairman of the Business Committee, then read the Platform, moving its adoption in the following address:—

Dr. FOSTER.—It may be well for us to turn our attention for a few moments to some of the underlying principles and methods which pertain to our work.

One of the things that has always made this Conference so extremely interesting, is, that we are united in the same philanthropic endeavor of trying to lift up other races, to do something for the elevation of humanity at large. There could be no problem more fascinating; there could be nothing more attractive or better calculated to draw upon our resources of sympathy and thought. This is the problem to which we are giving attention in our own homes. If any of us have welcomed babes into our homes and watched them develop year by year until they step forth into beautiful manhood or womanhood, we have felt what is the burden of building up character and elevating humanity. We have given of ourselves in doing this work. This is the problem given us to do in this Conference. What greater problem is there than to reach out for the good of the race, to do what we can for the elevation of mankind as a whole?

I hesitate a little at saying what I have in mind, lest I be accused by our English cousins with us of letting the eagle soar; but it must be acknowledged that our country has had remarkable power in wielding peoples of all conditions, uniting them into one great family, laboring for one common aim. It may be helpful to ask what influences are at work in our country for fusing all these unlike elements.

First, we all stand on a common level before the law; we have no hereditary distinctions; we cannot conceal the fact of differences; we cannot so arrange that we shall all have the same amount of money, of brains, or social influence, but it is certainly true that we have an equal freedom before the law. Every one has a vote,—that is, every man of us,—and happily the man and the woman are one before the law, so it is much the same.

Again, the same thing is true as to holding office. There is not a boy in the land who does not see the possibility that he may reach the Presidential chair, and that has an influence on his mind and his future life.

There are other things in our country that tend to the upbuilding

of manhood,—for example, freedom in the matter of business. Man is absolutely free to work, and that is a priceless privilege. Then there is freedom in religion. There is no connection between church and state, but every man is free to worship God and to hold any views he pleases, and no man may interfere with him under any circumstances. All these things are working together to mold the humanity seething in this great land, and made up of immensely diverse elements, into a people that is surprisingly homogeneous.

Those principles we must seize and use in our influence with the Indian and all these outlying races. There are four instrumentalities which God has graciously put into our hands with which to mold these peoples. One of these instrumentalities is law; another is custom or example, for when we are brought into relations with a multitude of people we unconsciously imitate them; another instrumentality is education,—the training of the mind; and the fourth is religion. See how these have been used in our past history; how we have brought law into play, have tried to bring the best customs into use, have employed education to bear upon youth, and how we are now striving to inculcate religion. There are two relationships to be considered and set right,—heredity and environment. How shall we change the heredity of the unfortunate? It can be done only in course of time. We do not expect to do it in one generation or two, but we can do it in the third. When I was on one of the reservations, visiting Indian schools, I was asked to go into a cottage with one of the teachers. There sat three women side by side,—three generations,—the aged grandmother, with her hair down her back, squatted on the floor; by her side her daughter, and she the mother of a young woman near her who was a teacher. The grandmother was a pagan; the mother had become a Christian in her youth, but now in her matronly age she was shy and awkward, but still a Christian lady. And there was the third generation, the daughter, a graduate of Beloit College, a young lady of perfect charm and culture, as attractive I might say as any of the young ladies here,—and that is saying a great deal. I could see as never before the wonderful influence and power that comes by a steady push on the line of heredity. The first generation was hopeless; the second was lifted up; and the third was well nigh perfected. Here is our hope in regard to all of these people, but time is required in the process.

As to environment, our great work as a conference has been along that line. We have been trying to shape the environment of these people, and to get them away from the old conditions and bring them into new relationships, where they shall be under influences which will give them a chance.

In seeking a right environment we have aimed at three things,—at opportunity, at facility, and at stimulus. It is not enough for a person to have an opportunity, to work or to learn, or to enjoy; he must also have the ability to work, learn, and enjoy. He must have the facility to put himself into the right place and do the things there, and he must have a stimulus to do it. These three things must be borne in mind,—opportunity, facility, and stimulus. We

have been aiming to get opportunity for the Indians; we have sought to give them facility; but the great thing after all is to give them stimulus.

In elevating mankind it is important to secure them property, a home, social privileges, and character. The first three of these are mainly obtained through law, and to some extent through example and education; but character, after all, is the main thing to be gained in the elevation of man, and this cannot be secured by law, and only partially by example and education. All that we secure through law is secondary; all that is not based on character is secondary. We must, then, aim to secure a stimulus in the soul itself which shall develop character. That stimulus is to be had through two influences,—through education and through religion. We have been working on the line of education with great energy and persistency, and schools have been established throughout the land that are very effective. The conclusion of the whole matter, then, is this: that in our philanthropic endeavors for the Indians we have reached the place where we must emphasize the missionary side of the work. What can this Conference do in this direction? I can understand why there has not been more emphasis laid here on missionary activity. It is because our work as a conference has been to utilize the great reformatory instrumentalities of law, custom, and education. The fourth and greatest instrumentality, namely, that of religion, is largely in the hands of the churches. It is beyond the reach of the Government, and lies somewhat outside of our reach as a deliberative body. But is there not something that even our Conference can do toward using the instrumentality of religion? Certainly! We can emphasize the importance of missionary work in at least three ways: by declaring our convictions in this direction both here and privately as we have opportunity; by showing, through the sweet and loving relation which we bear one another in this Conference as Christian people of all names; the possibility and power of Christian union in promoting philanthropic endeavor; and, I may say, above all, by seeing to it that we set an example to the needy races and peoples around us of pure and self-denying, Christlike lives. This, after all, is of the first importance if we would influence those whose lives have not been as fortunate as ours.

Dr. L. C. WARNER.—I have been asked by the Business Committee to make a few remarks about the New York Indians. The tribal relations of the Indians in this State are an anomaly in our civilization, and must be broken up. Paternalism is no more beneficial to the Indian than to the white race. Character and ability to become good citizens must come from the individual being left at liberty to earn his own living and manage his own affairs. In accordance with these principles the Dawes Severalty Bill was passed fifteen years ago, and seventy thousand Indians have been made citizens in this country, who now enjoy the privileges and rights of the white American citizen. In the passage of

the Dawes Bill the tribe of the Seneca Indians was omitted; not because they were in less need of having their land in severalty, but because of certain complications of the title to their land which made it impossible for the same law to apply to them as to the other Indians. It is to remedy this flaw in the title and to supplement the Dawes legislation that the Vreeland Bill has been introduced. I take it that we are united in the desirability of the Indians having their land in severalty, and that if we have any differences it is in regard to the method by which it is to be accomplished. Those who have listened to the discussions of this Conference must find it clear that this land of the Senecas cannot be divided in severalty, and that the Indian cannot have a title which he can sell to another individual, unless this cloud upon the title is removed by the purchase of the Ogden claim. That is the object of this bill. We do not need to discuss the justice of the Ogden claim, but it rests as a cloud upon the title. If as business men we owned this land, our first interest and purpose would be to remove this cloud. It is said that the Government ought to appropriate the money for it. Why should the Government make this appropriation? Bear in mind, it is through no fault of the Government that this cloud rests upon the land. The claim antedates the formation of the American Government. It is the title of the State of Massachusetts which existed before the Constitution was adopted, before the union of the States; and the United States is under no moral or legal obligation to remove it. When you bear that in mind, you see at once the cloud on the land should be removed by the Indians themselves from their own funds.

The only question then remaining is, Is the offer a reasonable one? It amounts to a little less than four dollars an acre, and that would seem to be a reasonable amount for any person to pay to establish a title to valuable land of this character.

A second object to be accomplished by this bill is to clear up the matter of leases. When the railroads went through this section they made a railroad junction on this reservation, and there is a large village—Salamanca—of five thousand white people whose only title to the land is a lease for ninety-nine years. In the settlement of this question, it is desirable that the title to these lands shall be changed into a fee simple. This is to be done by paying to the Indians an amount that at four and one-half per cent will equal the rental they now pay. It seems to be a just and fair proposition.

There is one amendment proposed to this bill, to the effect that it should not require the consent of the Indians. It is to be borne in mind that the Indians are the wards of the United States. What is the position of the ward? A guardian who has the care of a ward does not ask the consent of the ward when he wishes to change an investment. He is held morally and legally responsible for the legality of his acts, but he does not ask the consent of the ward. In the same way the United States Government is morally

responsible for taking right action as to the property of these Indians, but it is not under obligation to ask their consent. We must bear in mind that the whole nation is interested in this problem. Here is a body of people not amenable to the laws of the State. It has well been called a cancer. It is of the utmost importance to the whole community that this cancer should be removed,—that these tribal relations should be broken up; and the bill seems a reasonable one to accomplish this purpose.

Dr. HUBBELL.—When we are adopting resolutions with regard to “the Indians of New York,” we must remember that the Onondaga Reservation, whose condition Bishop Huntington has deplored, is not touched by the Vreeland Bill. It does not touch the Tuscaroras. It has no reference to the Tonawandas, nor to the Mohawks or St. Regis Indians. In the State of New York there are nearly two thousand five hundred Indians not affected in the slightest by the Vreeland Bill because they are not Senecas, and there are twenty-three thousand acres of reservations not touched by this bill. I therefore suggest that in a resolution of this sort,—with which I am heartily in sympathy,—we should assert that we desire the principles of the Vreeland Bill to apply to these other Indians.

Mr. Charles T. Andrews said that he had just received a letter from a teacher, saying that she hoped the Vreeland Bill would be defeated. Mr. Philip C. Garrett moved the adoption of the platform; Mr. Smiley seconded the motion, and the platform was unanimously adopted.

(The platform will be found at the opening of this volume.)

A resolution of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley was read by Mr. Chas. F. Meserve.

Rev. George L. Spinning of South Orange, N. J., and Mr. William H. McElroy of New York City, followed with brief addresses in seconding the vote of thanks, which was then unanimously adopted with great applause.

Mr. A. K. Smiley spoke briefly, in response, as follows:—

Mr. SMILEY.—I wish to thank you all, and especially the last speakers, for their wise and witty words,—witty beyond expression. I think they exaggerate, but the kindness of heart I appreciate. I want to say what a pleasure it is to me to have such a Conference. It is twenty years since I first called it together for the purpose of bringing different organizations and individuals working for the Indian to agree on a common platform. I try to bring together here men of all classes and all denominations. It has been a source of extreme satisfaction this year that we have had a strong delegation from the Roman Catholic Church. We are indebted to the wisdom of President Roosevelt for having put on the Board of Indian Commissioners two prominent members of that church, Archbishop Ryan and Charles J. Bonaparte.

I always think the last Conference the best, and I am sure of it this time. We have never had discussion on a higher plane, or from men more competent to conduct discussions. The fine reports from the field always interest me, also.

I thought two years ago that we had threshed the Indian question so long that something else should engage our attention, but there is always something new coming up, like the Vreeland Bill of this year. It will continue to be so for a long time. Twenty years ago I thought the Indian question would be settled in ten or fifteen years, but it is long yet before it will be settled.

I was especially glad to hear our English cousins. They are our closest friends, and one of these gentlemen who has spoken to us is deeply interested in another cause which lies close to my heart—peace and arbitration.

Some of you have come from a long distance. I appreciate it, and I thank you. I welcome you all. We have had a good Conference, and I wish you a pleasant journey home.

This Conference has also been officered in a fine way, and we have had a rare president; but if it hurts them as it does me to have soft things said in their presence, I am not going to say a word about them, but you can take my word for it that they were good officers.

President BARROWS.—We return our thanks for the confidence reposed in the officers, and are thankful that our task has been so light. We could have no better satisfaction than the feeling that in treating the tasks set before us we have given satisfaction to Mr. Smiley in the work of the Conference. He has told us that the Indian question can be settled only by the education of the Indian, but all the time he has been educating the white man by these conferences. None of these great race questions, whether of the negro, the Indian, or any other race, can be settled without the education of the white man.

This has been a delightful Conference. It is a joy to see the old faces, to think of those who have been with us in the past, and who have inspired us by their presence. It is delightful to come together from time to time in our pilgrimage to this holy hill. It is delightful, also, to meet the new faces. That is one of the great exhilarations of life, to enrich the circle of old friendships with new friends. I think we all feel here that somehow the bond of our Christian fellowship has been strengthened, that our sympathy has been enlarged, and that our charity for each other and for all the world has been widened. We must thank all those who have contributed to this.

Mr. SMILEY.—During the past year three prominent men connected with this Conference have passed away. I have asked that we should pass no special resolutions concerning them, yet a word of remembrance should be said. First, of Mr. Lyon, so long a faithful officer in the Board of Indian Commissioners, seeing that the work was done honestly and to the advantage of the Government in providing the Indian with his supplies; a most faithful man, of great

integrity and ability, and of vast service to the Indian. Another friend who has passed away is Dr. Beardshear, President of the Agricultural College of Iowa, also a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners,—a very delightful man. Then there was General Morgan, one of the best commissioners, whose death is a great loss to us. These three, out of many, I feel that we must mention.

Mr. BARROWS.—Another one who has gone from us is Mr. S. A. Galpin, whom I had known for thirty years, who had long been interested in Indian affairs. As I look back over the eighteen years since first I came here, how many faces I miss,—General Fisk, Mr. Houghton, Mrs. Bullard, General Marshall, President Hayes, General Armstrong, Mrs. Dawes and many others. We owe a debt of gratitude to them all. We have had a good deal of catholicity in this meeting. I came into the room the other night and heard some one playing on the piano, and then was surprised and delighted to find our good friend Dr. Ganss playing a selection from Meyerbeer's "Huguenots." It struck me as interesting that Luther's hymn was being played by a Catholic priest, and that a Jew had written the music! That is another evidence of our catholicity, though I confess that the tune probably came from some old Catholic source. And so now I think we cannot close our meeting better than by using as a benediction the closing words of the address made to us the other morning by the good Archbishop: "Friends of the Indian, we believe in the same Lord and in the same God. Let us work together. Let us love one another and work for one another; let us work for humanity, and work through the love of the God of humanity."

After singing the hymn, "God be with you till we meet again," the Conference, at 11 P. M., adjourned *sine die*.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ANDERSON, REV. DR. JOSEPH and MRS., Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.
- ANDREWS, HON. CHARLES and MRS., Ex-Chief Justice Court of Appeals, Syracuse, N. Y.
- ANDREWS, MR. CHARLES T. and MRS., State Inspector Indian Schools, Seneca Falls, N. Y.
- ARBUCKLE, MR. JOHN, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- ATTERBURY, REV. DR. W. W., New York City.
- AUSTIN, MRS. L. C., Cleveland, Ohio.
- AVERY, MISS MYRA H., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- BARROWS, REV. DR. S. J. and MRS., 20 Central Ave., Tompkinsville, N. Y.
- BIRNIE, REV. DR. D. P. and MRS., Rye, N. Y. (former resident Honolulu).
- BONAPARTE, HON. CHARLES J., Member Board Indian Commissioners, Baltimore, Md.
- BRIGGS, REV. C. W., Missionary to Philippines, Deposit, N. Y.
- BRIGHT, MAJ. M. H., on editorial staff *Christian Work*, Tarrytown, N. Y.
- BROSIUS, MR. S. M., Washington Agent Indian Rights Association, Washington, D. C.
- BROWN, MR. W. L., Editor Indian Department *Southern Workman*, Hampton, Va.
- BRUCE, REV. JAS. M. and MRS., Yonkers, N. Y., Associate Pastor Memorial Baptist Church, New York City.
- BURGESS, Miss M., Superintendent Publications Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pa.,
- BURTIS, Miss M., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- CLARKSON, MR. BANYER and MRS., New York City.
- COLE, MRS. H. G., formerly Field Matron among Navajos, Williamstown, Mass.
- COOLEY, Miss ROSSA B., Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
- CREEGAN, REV. DR. C. C. and MRS., District Secretary American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, New York City.
- DAVIS, MR. JOSHUA W. and MRS., Vice President Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.,
- DAWES, Miss ANNA L., Pittsfield, Mass.
- DEVINS, REV. DR. J. B. and MRS., Editor *The Observer*, New York City.
- DOUBLEDAY, MR. F. N. and MRS., Publisher, New York City.
- DRURY, REV. DR. JOHN B. and MRS., Editor *Christian Intelligencer*, New York City.
- DUNNING, REV. DR. A. E. and MRS., Editor *The Congregationalist*, Boston, Mass.
- FIELD, MR. FRANKLIN, Troy, N. Y.
- FOSTER, REV. DR. ADDISON P. and MRS., New England Secretary American Sunday-School Union, Boston, Mass.
- FRISSELL, REV. DR. H. B., President Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, Hampton, Va.
- FRYE, MRS. MYRA E., President Maine Indian Association, Portland, Me.
- GANSS, REV. DR. H. G., Secretary Board of Catholic Indian Missions, Philadelphia, Pa.
- GARRETT, HON. PHILIP C. and MRS., Member Board of Indian Commissioners, Philadelphia, Pa.
- GATES, HON. MERRILL E., LL.D., Secretary Board of Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C.

- GILBERT, REV. DR. SIMEON and MRS., Editor *The Times-Herald*, Chicago, Ill.
- HALL, REV. DR. HECTOR and MRS., formerly Pastor Second Presbyterian Church, Troy, N. Y.
- HALLOCK, REV. DR. J. N. and MRS., Editor *The Christian Work*, New York City.
- HANNA, LIEUT. MATTHEW E., U. S. A., former Superintendent Cuban Schools, Havana, Cuba.
- HOBSON, MR. JOHN A. and MRS., Political Economist and Author, London, England.
- HORR, REV. DR. GEO. E. and MRS., Editor *The Watchman*, Boston, Mass.
- HUNTINGTON, MR. DANIEL, New York City.
- HUNTINGTON, RT. REV. F. D. and MRS., Protestant Episcopal Bishop Central New York, Syracuse, N. Y.
- HUBBELL, REV. WILLIAM S., Secretary New York Sabbath Committee, New York City.
- IVES, MISS MARIE E., Editor *Indian's Friend*, New Haven, Conn.
- JACKSON, REV. DR. SHELDON, Agent United States Bureau of Education in Alaska, Washington and Alaska.
- JAMES, HON. DARWIN R., President Board of Indian Commissioners, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- JOHNSTON, MR. CHARLES, Author, Flushing, N. Y.
- JONES, HON. WM. A. and MRS., United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.
- KEELER, MISS LUCY E., Journalist, Fremont, Ohio.
- KELLEY, REV. DR. WM. V. and MRS., Editor *The Methodist Review*, New York City.
- KINNEY, MRS. SARA T., President Connecticut Indian Association, New Haven, Conn.
- LEIPZIGER, DR. HENRY M., Supervisor of Lectures New York State Board of Education, New York City.
- LINCOLN, MR. WM. H. and MRS., President Boston Chamber of Commerce, Boston, Mass.
- LIPPINCOTT, REV. DR. J. A., Philadelphia, Pa.
- MAYNARD, MR. L. A., Manager Maynard's Press Agency, New York City.
- MCELROY, MR. JOHN E. and MRS., Albany, N. Y.
- MCELROY, MR. WM. H. and MRS., Editor *Mail and Express*, New York City.
- MCELVEEN, REV. DR. W. T. and MRS., Pastor Shawmut Church, Boston, Mass.
- MERRILL, REV. F. W., Oneida Mission House, Oneida, Wis.
- MESERVE, DR. CHAS. F. and MRS., President Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.
- MOSS, REV. LEMUEL, President American Baptist Historical Society, New York City.
- NOBLE, MR. HUGH M., Superintendent Grand River Indian School, Fort Yates, N. Dak.
- PAGE, MRS. ALFRED, New York City.
- PARTINGTON, MR. F. E. and MRS., Principal Staten Island Academy, New Brighton, N. Y.
- PECK, MR. CYRUS and MRS., Newark, N. J.
- PERRIS, MR. G. H., Editor *Concord*, London, England.
- PIERSON, MR. D. L. and MRS., Managing Editor *Missionary Review of the World*, New York City.
- POTTER, RT. REV. HENRY C. and MRS., Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York, New York City.
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- REEL, MISS ESTELLE, Superintendent United States Indian Schools, Washington, D. C.
- ROBBINS, MRS. J. H., Corresponding Secretary Massachusetts Indian Association, Cambridge, Mass.

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- SEGER, MR. JOHN H., Superintendent Indian Schools, Colony, Okla.
- SHINN, MR. J. T. and MRS., Philadelphia, Pa.
- SMILEY, MR. ALFRED H., Minnewaska, N. Y.
- SMILEY, MR. and MRS. A. K., Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
- SMILEY, MR. and MRS. DANIEL, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
- SMITH, REV. DR. GEORGE W. and MRS., President Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- SPINING, REV. DR. GEO. L. and MRS., South Orange, N. J.
- SPRIGGS, REV. S. R. and MRS., Missionary, Point Barrow, Alaska.
- SWANEY, MISS ZONA, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
- TALCOTT, MR. JAMES and MRS., New York City.
- TWOMBLY, REV. DR. A. S., Newton, Mass.
- VAN SLYKE, REV. DR. J. G. and MRS., Pastor First Reformed Church, Kingston, N. Y.
- VAN VOORHIS, HON. J. J. and MRS., Ex-Congressman, Rochester, N. Y.
- VREELAND, HON. EDWARD B., Congressman, Salamanca, N. Y.
- WALK, MISS LINA J., Editor Home Department *Christian Work*, New York City.
- WARNER, DR. LUCIEN C. and MRS., Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.
- WHEELER, MRS. CANDACE, New York City.
- WHIPPLE, HON. J. S., Ex-State Senator, Salamanca, N. Y.
- WHITTLESEY, GEN. E. and MRS., Member Board of Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C.
- WILLIAMS, MR. J. J., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- WISTAR, E. M. and MRS., Philadelphia, Pa.
- WISTER, MR. OWEN and MRS., Author, Philadelphia, Pa.
- WOOD, MR. FRANK and MRS., Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, Boston, Mass.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
OF
FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
1903

REPORTED BY WM. J. ROSE

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
1904

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THE LAKE MOHONK INDIAN CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 21, 1903.

The Conference met at a quarter before ten o'clock, and after the usual morning service, at which the Rev. Edward H. Rudd, of Dedham, Mass., offered prayer, Mr. Smiley said:—

The time has now arrived for calling together the Twenty-first Indian Conference. I would like to explain to some who have never been here before our purpose in calling these Conferences.

Twenty-one years ago we had meetings of the Board of Indian Commissioners in Washington, in which the different religious denominations met for one day only and discussed Indian questions. I felt strongly that we needed more time in order to arrive at any proper conclusions, but I could not persuade my fellow members of the Board of Indian Commissioners to think so. I determined that we should meet somewhere, and so I called a meeting here and invited people to come and spend a week. I invited intelligent men and women interested in Indian affairs. We have been in the habit of inviting members of Congress connected with Indian affairs, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, every prominent man in the Indian Bureau, those connected with the Indian schools, members of the Indian Rights Association and the National Women's Indian Association, and prominent clergy and men connected with the press. Our purpose is to bring people here who have different views, and have them speak out honestly their differences. We have in this way been enabled to arrive at correct conclusions, and they have been almost universally accepted. We have had sharp discussions, but we have managed to get an almost unanimous decision on everything we have put forth. The foremost man in this country in Indian affairs, the late Senator Dawes, told me that nearly every act of legislation relating to Indians enacted by Congress was begun in this Conference. So I think we have accomplished something. We have changed the appropriation for Indian education from \$40,000 to \$3,000,000; I don't mean to say that this Conference has done that alone, but we have done a great deal toward it.

I always take the liberty of appointing the presiding officer, and I have selected a man this year who stands among the foremost prominent men in public affairs for intelligence, for personal character, and for wide experience, John D. Long, of Massachusetts. He is prevented from being here this morning, but he will come to-day, so that we will consider him as the presiding officer.

In order to supplement this dilemma it is proposed to have a vice president, and I have selected a man after my own heart, a man who has inherited his love for the Indians from his Quaker ancestry; the foremost member of our Society in America; the head of eight or ten institutions in New York State for uplifting the poor and afflicted, and a man of experience—Mr. James Wood, of Mt. Kisco, N. Y.

Mr. Wood took the chair amid hearty applause and said.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN, MR. JAMES WOOD.

Members of the Conference: Mr. Smiley has told us that the Conference this year has become of age; twenty-one years ago the first Conference was held. There is always great responsibility in becoming of age; more is expected of us than during our minority, and we ourselves should feel the weight of the duties and the importance of the position we have attained. We have passed through the years of development until we have come to the time when we can see what action is necessary to secure the end, the object of all this work.

During these twenty-one years we have been feeling our way, sometimes actually creeping in the dark. Sometimes things have been advocated which experience showed must be abandoned, but in the main we must be gratified with the success which has attended the effort. Very much has been accomplished for the Indian, until to-day we see him advanced to a stage of civilization and education very far from where he was when this work was first undertaken. We find that his rights are better understood and respected than ever before. We find him more secure in his property, although that security is not yet what we desire it should be. So long as human greed and lust for wealth dominate so large a portion of mankind we must often say that "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." But we can rejoice in what has been done. Perhaps when we calmly consider the situations at the different stages of this progress we shall feel that we can congratulate ourselves and our country on what has been done, because the conditions of these situations become entrenched not through the good, but through the bad that is in them. It is almost impossible to break through the cordon that surrounds the situation; men fight for the wrong when the wrong helps them in their greed.

To-day we are face to face with the situation as it now exists, and when we consider what work is before us we see more clearly than we have seen before that there is an end that is attainable which will solve the whole question, not only of the Indian, but also in large measure the question of the dependent races that have come upon our hands.

Very few at the beginning saw that the time would come when the Indian must be absorbed into the population, when he should fully become a citizen and stand before the law and before his fellow men as the equal of his fellow citizens. I cannot say that none saw this long ago, for I see Colonel Pratt in the audience. Now we see that that is the solution. We see, also, that the proper education of the Indian children must be a very important factor in it. We see that wherever there are Indians not otherwise provided for it will become necessary for the National Government itself to establish schools for both white and Indian children. There is something in the education of children together that influences them as nothing else in life does. People come here from all parts of the world with the distinctive characteristics of their native lands, but their children go to our common schools, they mingle with our children, and after the first generation they are Americans. It is the common school of America that puts the stamp of Americanism upon them. It is the most potent influence upon the lives of the children in this country, and it is only when the Indian children and the white children are educated together that they will come up as equals, and become in reality fellow citizens. We need schools where Indian children and white children may be educated together.

Then the Indian's rights will be respected. We may have the Indian brought to a place where, to use the legal phrase, he can sue and be sued, and yet not have him on perfect equality. He must be something more than equal before the courts,—he must be the equal of his fellow citizens in their estimation.

Then we have the Indians in Alaska, and there the problem is different from that here. The decision formally rendered yesterday, and signed in London by the Commissioners of Great Britain and the United States, has decided that all these Indians are in America, that they are not Canadian Indians. It ought to be gratifying to everyone who comes to Mohonk, especially to those who come to the International Arbitration Conference in May, to know that the result of the Joint High Commission that has been sitting in London has been to remove a source of controversy that was fearful in its possibilities for harm. The decision of that court is also gratifying because it demonstrates that the United States was right in her contention, and it is much better to have the award of right than to have the award of territory or money or any other consideration.

Since we came into possession of Hawaii and the Philippines we have been deeply impressed with our responsibility toward those peoples. We have to consider what is the "white man's burden," or rather what is the white man's duty,—what is the duty of our people toward these races. And when we find the duty we must go bravely forward toward its accomplishment.

These are the questions that we are to consider while we are here together, and I trust that we may come to conclusions that will materially advance them.

During the twenty-one years these Conferences have been held they have done something more than help solve the Indian problem. First of all, they have justified themselves in the eyes of the country; they have commanded the respectful consideration of the best people of our land; they have commanded the respectful and thoughtful consideration of the legislative bodies of our country, and Congress has come to listen with very attentive ear to what Mohonk shall say on the questions that come before it.

We are here together to still further advance this position and to secure still further legislation for the accomplishment of the great purpose we have in view.

The Chair announced that the next business in order was the election of officers of the Conference, and called for nominations. On motion duly seconded, the Conference was organized as follows:—

President: Hon. John D. Long, Hingham, Mass.

Vice President: Mr. James Wood, Mt. Kisco, N. Y.

Secretaries: Mr. Joshua W. Davis, Boston, Mass.; Mr. William J. Rose, Boston, Mass.

Treasurer: Mr. Frank Wood, Boston, Mass.

Business Committee: Dr. Lucien C. Warner, Irvington, N. Y., Chairman; Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, New York City; Rev. Dr. S. J. Barrows, New York City; Rev. Dr. Addison P. Foster, Boston, Mass.; Hon. Philip C. Garrett, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. Merrill E. Gates, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Darwin R. James, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mr. L. A. Maynard, New York City; Dr. Charles F. Meserve, Raleigh, N. C.; Mr. Daniel Smiley, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.; Mr. James Wood, Mt. Kisco, N. Y.

Publication Committee: Mr. Frank Wood, Boston, Chairman; Mr. J. W. Davis, Boston; Mrs. I. C. Barrows, New York City.

Committee on Press Report: Mr. L. A. Maynard, New York City, Chairman.

Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., offered the following resolution:—

Pending the investigation already commenced by the Government into charges affecting the conduct of certain officials, it is not expedient for this Conference to make these charges the subject matter of either report or discussion.

Mr. Smiley seconded the motion and said: Some of you may not know that a member of our Board of Indian Commissioners is the man appointed by the President to investigate these charges referred to—Hon. C. J. Bonaparte. He is a man of great ability and utterly fearless. He will sound every weak point and expose every bad transaction without any fear of man, and the President could not have selected a better man to do valuable work. It is for that reason we think it would be improper for us to enter into any discussion of the matter while that investigation is going on.

Mr. Philip C. Garrett also seconded the motion, saying: We are in danger of making some mistake about this, in reference to the fact of there being charges against the Indian Bureau. These charges were none of them made against the Bureau or the Government, but against individuals and against associations formed which seemed to harm the Indian.

The motion was then unanimously adopted.

On motion of Dr. L. C. Warner, it was voted that addresses should be limited to fifteen minutes, and speakers in debate to ten minutes, except that when the Business Committee assigns any definite time to a speaker he shall, of course, have the full time allotted to him.

Dr. Sheldon Jackson, of Alaska, was invited to speak as a worker from the field.

CONDITION OF THE INDIANS IN ALASKA.

BY DR. SHELDON JACKSON.

Mr. President, Friends of the Indian: Alaska has at length come to the front. With Bulgaria and Manchuria she has received the attention of the civilized world during the last weeks in the sessions of the Alaska Boundary Commission in London, and the result has been favorable to the United States.

Not only in the international aspect of the case, but it has come to the front in the political world. In the whole history of Alaska since its transfer to the United States there has never been a summer when so many prominent men have been in Alaska from different portions of the United States, studying the political, economic, and religious aspects of the question. The United States Senate sent this last summer a committee of its most distinguished members to Alaska for the special purpose of considering its condition and its needs. In addition to the official representation of Congress we had a large number of Congressmen in Alaska at their own expense, who were there to understand the situation. A large number of wealthy people went to Alaska the past summer, not simply for the pleasure of its scenery, but also to study the situation.

In its commercial aspect Alaska has become more valuable than ever before. From the far North, from under the Arctic circle, come the last ships of the season from that region bearing precious commodities of gold, silver, tin, oil, fish, and the various products that make one portion of a country valuable to another.

We find that we are not out of the world as we were twenty years ago, but are practically in the center of the American world and of the interest of the whole civilized world.

As has been frequently said in these Conferences, the progress of mission work and of civilization and education has largely been among the dependent races, Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, Thlinget, whatever may be their distinctive local names; and in their largest villages missions have been maintained by the churches and schools by the United States Government. Since Congress made its first appropriation for schools in Alaska there has been no distinction between Indian, or dependent, and the white races, but our schools have been for all classes of children of every nationality in Alaska alike. Among these dependent races, of course, we have seen the greater progress, and they are the ones occupying the attention of this Conference.

Commencing in Southeastern Alaska great progress has been made in the schools, missions, and churches. Speaking religiously, there has been a constant revival for the past four or five years in Southeastern Alaska, and there are a large number—over a thousand native communicants—in the churches which have been established in that section. Some of the better class of American capitalists are now trying to exploit Alaska in that section. I remember one instance at Kasaan, on Cape Prince of Wales Island, where a syndicate of Connecticut Christians, of one of whom our good Indian friend Mrs. Kinney, of Connecticut, is a sister, opened up copper, lumber, and fish interests. The syndicate came with the proposition to the United States through their Alaska agent that they would erect a building that could be used for school purposes for the native population if the Government would supply a suitable teacher. Further than that, they would lay out an improved American village—that is, the platted ground for a village—if the Government would use its influence with a barbarous tribe still heathen that lived in their native filth some miles away to induce them to move and build up an improved village, where the syndicate would give them constant work winter and summer. The thing was undertaken; a graduate of one of our Western colleges was secured as the teacher; the company carried out their pledge; Mrs. Kinney started a free library for the miners and employees of the syndicate; the Government teacher gave his evenings largely to missionary and religious work, and a native evangelist was brought to assist. And in that village of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred last year, ninety of those natives who in 1877, when I first visited Alaska, even captured American schooners and held their crews for ransom—ninety joined the church and commenced Christian living, erected small cottages on their lots, and kept them in good condition. They are making great progress, and it is simply a sample of what can be done in every village throughout all that land if the churches will furnish missionaries to co-operate with the Government teachers.

To the west of Southeastern Alaska, on Wood Island, in the harbor of Kodiak, on the island where the first European settlement was made by the Russians a hundred years ago, the Baptist

Woman's Home Mission Society have an orphanage. And 625 miles west of them, among the Aleuts and the Creoles of Southern and Western Alaska at Unalaska there is an orphanage, the Jesse Lee Home, under the care of the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society, of which our beloved Mrs. Fiske is President.

At the northeast, in the great valleys of the Kuskokwim and the Nushagak, the Moravian Church has brought the population of two large river valleys almost completely under the influence of Christianity; not all of them surrendering their hearts to the claims of the Cross, but largely influenced by Christianity.

To the north of them, in that marvelous valley of the Yukon, one of the great river valleys of the world, where you can travel by steamer in summer against the stream day after day and week after week; in the earlier periods, with less improved machinery, it was a trip of some two months from the mouth of the Yukon up to the head of navigation. I remember in the first season of the Klondike excitement, with the steamer loaded down, men sleeping on the table and under the table in the dining room, every place that would lodge a human being was occupied; among the passengers was an elderly lady, and as she traveled day after day and week after week, almost a month making the trip, her heart began to sink within her, passing no village of any size, here and there an Indian hut by the stream side: "Oh," she said, "will this never, never cease? Must I always, always travel up the Yukon, and never get to the end?" In the Yukon Valley the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church are doing a good work. The chief mission is that of the Roman Catholic Church, known as the Holy Cross Mission, where they have a number of sisters and Jesuit fathers, and over one hundred children as boarders in the home school.

Still further to the north come the Swedes and the Norwegians along the northern shores of Bering Sea to Cape Prince of Wales, where the American Missionary Society has carved out a church to the glory of the Lord Jesus Christ in a community where in 1890 no white man dared stop over night, and where even an armed whaler with its crew of one hundred men and their Winchester rifles did not dare drop anchor. The Congregational Mission and the Holy Spirit have brought many of that population into the kingdom. Now anyone can stop there; the lonely miner can pitch his tent upon the beach in perfect safety.

One hundred and fifty miles north of Bering Strait, on the edge of the Arctic Ocean, in Kotzebue Sound, we have had this last year the most marvelous work of grace that has occurred in Alaska. Last winter, coming two and three hundred miles with their dog sleds, fathers, mothers, children, some of them babes at the breast, journeyed through the Arctic cold (fifty and sixty degrees below zero) down to the little Quaker Mission on the coast, where a man and his wife and an assistant missionary lady, three of them, supported by two or three of the Friends churches in

Southern California, have been laboring five or six years against discouragements that cannot be conceived of by anyone who has not been similarly situated. The population that came to them last winter were evidently directed and sent to the mission station by God's Spirit. They came confessing their sins and desiring that the bad in their hearts should be eradicated; they had come to the white missionary to know if his God could not change their hearts and make them better, and over one hundred of them gave their hearts to the Lord Jesus Christ. They had come from north of the Arctic Circle to this mission, and the reality of that marvelous change has been shown in their lives.

The natives of Alaska, like the natives of every country, in their natural and heathen condition are great drunkards if they can get liquor. They are also great gamblers, and when they mingle with the baser sort of the white population the first English they learn is profanity; they are glad to swear, simply to show that they are learning English. But when this change came some nine months ago they broke off suddenly; no more drinking, no more swearing, no more gambling, no more using tobacco. Anyone who broke over the rules was suspended from church privileges for awhile, and I understand that of over one hundred of those native converts, with the little instruction they had had, almost no instruction, only that they had a heart that needed a change, and that God would change that heart by the grace of his Son, only half a dozen out of one hundred have had to be suspended for a time from the church.

One woman—showing the tenderness of the conscience—when under stress of starvation had helped herself to a little of her neighbor's fat blubber, but she felt she had done wrong, she had stolen, and she declined to come to the communion table until she could make restitution to the man she had robbed.

This last summer, encouraged by what they heard, a tribe still further up the Noatak River, and still closer to the North Pole, when they heard of this came down with their boats during the summer and camped at the Friends Mission. There was not room in the missionary's house; if he had had all the partitions taken out and added to the chapel and schoolroom they would not have had room for the audiences of five hundred natives that were hungering for God's word. They went out on the seashore where Christ taught the multitudes, and there that humble missionary of the Friends Society told the story of the Cross. And at one meeting thirty-five of these heathen men, with the tears streaming down their cheeks, came to him and wanted to know what they could do to get that new heart. And before they went back up the river to their winter home they had found Christ precious to their souls. So that in that community, where the missionaries labored for six years without much apparent results, they now have a church of two hundred and ninety communicants north of the Arctic Circle. The power of God's grace!

At the northernmost station in Alaska the missionaries of the

Presbyterian Church and a Government teacher who is also a missionary, with his wife, will have a very hard time. It is, perhaps, with the exception of St. Lawrence Island, just south of Bering Strait, the most unreachable people to evangelize that there is on the earth. Three times in the past eleven years the United States revenue cutter, which is the vessel to make the annual visit and take their annual mail, has not been able to visit the place because of ice. This year the cutter, Thetis, having a supply of coal for that place, hundreds of miles north of the Arctic Circle, with the mail, which had been accumulating since June, 1902, started for Point Barrow, but could not get there. The mail was landed at Point Hope, three hundred miles south of the missionaries. The mail may reach them next February, 1904. The Post Office Department has given them two reindeer mails for next winter, and if the reindeer teams prove a success, as they have done in other places, the mail which has been accumulating since June, 1902, will reach them February, 1904. Perhaps the privation of not hearing from loved ones and not getting any business letters will not be so bad as the coal question in that region, where there is no timber. They may be driven to go underground like the bear and the Eskimo, and practically hibernate during the winter; try to warm up their home with a stone in which whale oil is placed with a fringe of dried moss for the wick. This gives a little warmth and light, and they eat fat and drink oils to warm them up within. They need and desire the prayers of God's people of every name and denomination. The heathen crowd their little church to such an extent that they cannot all get in. One service is held and the audience dismissed, and another audience files in and a second service is held to accommodate the people, some of whom have come thirty or forty miles in order to have a chance to spend the Sabbath at the mission.

We have a very serious question facing us at St. Lawrence Island, the most inaccessible of the mission stations. It receives an annual mail in June or July each year. As the revenue cutter passes north in October the cutter returning south calls and takes out the mail, and then the curtain of winter drops. On that island are a medical missionary and his wife. In the spring before the ships arrive the hardy, wild Siberians are in the habit of coming over, forty miles from Asia, and laying tribute. They have done it for centuries. They bring over much whiskey. They also help themselves to the whalebone or ivory of the people. The missionary in 1902 tried to prevent the landing of the whiskey from the boats before it could be consumed, had a fight, and in the effort was knocked down and the bridge of his nose was broken. He cannot let that whiskey come in, as his own life is in danger among three hundred drunken, fighting barbarians. He cannot keep it out single-handed. And the question has arisen what to do. It is a serious problem. If any of you can solve it to me before I leave the Conference you will secure the lasting gratitude of the missionaries and of the Christian church.

But we have another great question. I spoke here last year in regard to the changed condition of the Indians since the coming of the whites. Of course we have all classes of whites—good, bad, and indifferent, the highest and the noblest of Christian characters among some of those stampedeers for the gold fields, and the lowest and the basest sort also among them. Saloons spring up everywhere. The natives find their fish wanted, and with their lack of forethought sell them to the white man, and by the holidays they have nothing to eat, nothing to do. They must either lie down and starve in their huts as some of them do, or flock into the miners' settlements and hang around the saloons, beg whiskey, and go from house to house begging for something to eat. They are thrown into all the vice and immorality of a wide-awake mining town, and the result is that they are disappearing from the face of the earth. Many miners and saloon keepers are joining with the missionaries and asking that the Government should segregate the natives and establish what this Conference and all the friends of the Indians have been trying for years to disestablish in other parts of the country—the reservation system. The question is, What is to be done? And if any of you can solve that to me I will be most thankful to urge it upon the attention of the Secretary of the Interior, and try to get something done.

It has been proposed by some of the better sort that a reservation should be established in the neighborhood of every mission station, and let the missionaries, who are the best friends of the Indians, have general charge, unpaid by the Government, the Government simply setting apart the land so that saloons cannot be established in the neighborhood. Then let the missionary societies provide the unpaid labor and missionary effort necessary to civilize and Christianize the people, with perhaps the Government stepping in and establishing a school in the larger settlements, as they have done in somewhat similar instances in that country.

I ask your thought and your prayer in this matter. We have come to the parting of the ways. Five years from now there will be but few natives left to save. There will be a remnant round the mission stations, but those not thus cared for will be gone, and gone forever.

In closing I ask your prayers, and if your thoughts can devise any efficient, practical method of saving these masses and turning them into Christian citizens, I shall be most thankful, and the Government and the churches also will be most thankful.

The CHAIRMAN.—What effect has the incoming of the whites had upon the death rate of the natives in Alaska?

Dr. JACKSON.—That is a very difficult thing to determine. The death rate during the last five years among the Eskimos in the mining regions has been one third of the entire native population. Perhaps that has not been all due to the coming of the whites, but the natives come and sell their provisions to the whites; they are de-

bauched morally, and we all know the result. The death rate is greatly increased by, if it is not very largely and almost wholly due to, the coming of the white men. They will tell you that epidemics are responsible, but do not they come with the coming of the baser sort of the white men among them?

Dr. CHARLES F. MESERVE.—I would like to ask Dr. Jackson what is the population of St. Lawrence Island to which he referred.

Dr. JACKSON.—It is about four hundred.

Dr. MESERVE.—I do not know that the thought I have in my mind is at all practicable, but would it not be wise instead of sending a missionary to the far North, to endeavor to have those people live in a more decent climate?

Dr. JACKSON.—You know the difficulty the Government had in moving the natives out of Florida. Those people in Alaska think they have the best country in the world. They have been carried to San Francisco by whalers, and have mourned all winter and longed to get back to their winter climate.

The Rev. PAUL DE SCHWEINITZ, Secretary of Missions of the Moravian Church in America.—Dr. Jackson's reference to the work on the Kuskokwim and Nushagak Rivers led me to think that a supplemental word would be of value. You may be surprised that in sixteen years it has been possible to reach two river valleys. This has been done in large measure through native helpers. After the first few converts were made, the brightest of these were gathered around the missionaries, taught English in the schools, and then the simple gospel narrative was told to them, which they took down in their own hieroglyphics, and then went out telling the gospel story. When they were followed up by our own missionaries we would find whole villages ready to receive the gospel message. Without that it would have been almost impossible to accomplish what has been done.

I particularly desire to supplement what Dr. Jackson said in regard to the difficulties of this present day and hour. Take the work on the Nushagak. There we have the school which has longest received the support of the Government. It would have been impossible to maintain this, as has been done, if the Department which Dr. Jackson represents had not helped us so thoroughly. You may get some idea of the inaccessibility of these missions from the fact that neither Dr. Jackson nor his assistant have been able to visit these schools on the Nushagak and on the Kuskokwim. When we have educated these young people, the moment they get outside the school they are snapped up by the cannery people, who pay what seems to the natives fabulous wages—\$2.50 and \$3 a day. In these places they are thrown under bad influences and often go to the bad. At Nushagak there is a population of whites and Chinese amounting to between two and three thousand during the fishing months, and the things which transpire there are perfectly horrible to contemplate. It is exceedingly desirable that the Government

should establish proper courts there. One of the recent United States marshals there drank himself to death.

Taking up the question you asked Dr. Jackson, I wish to mention that our medical missionary has just come home on a furlough. He has been over the whole territory from the Yukon River to the Nushagak, and he comes home with very gloomy tales. Villages that used to have three hundred inhabitants have dwindled down to seventy-five. This is largely due to the epidemics which the white people have brought into the country. The natives gather in the winter months in what they call kashimas, corresponding to our clubs, a little bit of a room half underground where thirty or forty people congregate to keep themselves warm. Our missionaries travel up and down the country and preach to the people in these kashimas. One of the missionaries on entering a kashima found the air so foul that he remarked to his assistant that he must smoke to preserve himself. He could not strike a match to light his pipe because the air was so foul, so he crawled out again to the outer air where it was 30 or 40 degrees below zero, and lit his pipe and crawled back and preached to the people.

In 1900-1901 the population along the Nushagak and Kuskokwim Rivers was reduced one half by measles and consumption introduced by the whites. Our medical missionary thinks the native population will die out in five years unless it is segregated. I cannot think that is true, but if it could be possible to get them away from the influence of the whites it would be of great value.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONDITION OF THE INDIANS OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY MR. BENJAMIN S. COPPOCK, SUPERVISOR OF SCHOOLS,
CHEROKEE NATION.

The Indian Territory was selected when practically the Louisiana Purchase was at the disposal of the Government. It is a better country than the country north, south, east, or west of it. There is coal, oil, natural gas, zinc, lead, copper, and gold found within its limits. It is a fertile country with a good climate; they raise two crops of potatoes a year, and good crops of cotton, corn, and wheat, and the eastern part is an excellent fruit country. The Territory comprises 31,400 miles square. It is occupied by five nations known as the Five Civilized Tribes, with governments of their own. In the past all the land has been patented to these tribes of Indians. In my talk if you can distinguish between the word "citizen" and any other expression used, I would like you to do so, because these peoples are treated as nationalities, as a group of individuals whose names are upon a roll. They are citizens of the nation and tribe; they have an equal share in the communal property; lands, and funds in the care of the Government.

I wish you would keep in mind the distinction between the Indian Territory and the Cherokee nation. The Cherokee nation has about 7,500 square miles of land, something about the size of the State of New Jersey. This Territory, and all the 31,400 square miles of land so far as it was settled, was taken up and occupied before it was surveyed. It has now been surveyed and is in the process of allotment. Since I went there more than a thousand miles of railroad have been built in that Territory; hundreds of towns have been built; scores of thousands of energetic, determined citizens from all parts of the world, largely Americans, have come to these towns and settled. The greater part of the land, however, is still held by the citizens, by which I mean the Indian.

There are perhaps from a half million to 600,000 people in the Indian Territory. There are about 80,000 citizens of the Five Nations; of these from 16,000 to 18,000 are black men, freedmen and their descendants. In the Cherokee nation there are about 38,500 citizens who have rights to the land, and of these about 8,500 are full bloods, about 4,000 are freedmen and their descendants, about 2,500 are white, mostly men; the remainder, some 22,500, are mixed blood, Cherokee and white. The Cherokees do not take kindly to the black men; there is a strong race feeling, perhaps more intense from the full blood Cherokee toward the black man than from the white race to the black man.

These statements have a bearing upon any thoughtful consideration of that country, of its present and its future, and of the work now progressing.

I will pass to some suggestions upon the schools of the Cherokee nation. They had a well-established system of public schools before the war, well-founded seminaries, graduating their own children when there was no place else west of the Mississippi to educate them; also sending some of their sons to Princeton and their daughters to various places in the East,—Connecticut and Maryland and New Jersey,—turning out men and women of refinement and education. Some Cherokees travel extensively abroad, and for two generations they have kept a delegation in Washington. They are expert politicians. It took the Dawes Commission nine years to make a treaty with them.

We have four high schools, with 720 pupils; we graduated last year 22 young men and young women. We have at this time 163 day schools, and they enrolled last year 5,400 pupils. We have to-day no doubt, if it is a beautiful day in that country, more than 6,000 Cherokee children in Cherokee schools; 2,000 of them are in graded schools, 700 of them in our own graded boarding schools. One of these schools is for orphan children, another is the colored high school, another one for the males, and one for the females.

During the last four years we have called the teachers together for a normal institute, in which we had last summer 184 Cherokees and 26 negroes. We have had but two chiefs since there was a

government in that country that could speak Cherokee. One of the chiefs of the Cherokee nation, in a class of forty-three at Princeton, graduated with first honors. Two years ago we had eight of our teachers in Chicago attending the Cook County Normal and the Chicago University. Every year we are pushing our teachers out to go to various schools of national reputation, and return and bring back their thought and their methods and their inspiration.

In regard to the moral and religious side of the question, a few words. Some of us are in that country for the development of character, and to keep out whiskey and bad men and bad women, for they are there and are very hard to keep out. That matter is well known in this presence. In our high schools last year there were more than one hundred young men and young women who accepted Christ as a personal Saviour and became candidates for church membership and fellowship. They are still most of them in the schools and under the kind of influence that brought about that delightful state of mind and of spirit. The Cherokees are a religious people, and there are a number of mission schools in the nation; there are two at Tablequah, the Presbyterian and the Baptist, which have enrolled more than two hundred pupils each this year.

I have a paper here printed in the Cherokee language of eighty-six characters. At the present time the nation owns this paper; it appoints and salaries the editor and meets all expenses, and it is distributed through the post office to all full bloods who will take it. At an early time this paper was filled up largely with sermons and extracts from the Bible, and with hymns and selected matter; its influence has been very marked during the past century.

The full bloods live in neighborhoods by themselves, the negroes by themselves, and the whites by themselves. We have seventeen negro schools, and thirty-four full-blood schools where the language of the home is exclusively the Cherokee language. English only is used in all schools. We have given a great deal of attention to reaching the class of people who cannot help themselves, and who are dependent and must be dependent upon the Government. The Cherokee newspaper which I have here and to which I have alluded was founded in 1823 or 1824.

CHAIRMAN.—We have now had presented to us the two extremes of the Indian condition, that in Alaska and that very advanced condition that has just been described to us in the Indian Territory. Between these two extremes lies the condition of the Indians of our land variously graded along this line. To supplement the study that has been made by Mr. Coppock I would ask Miss Alice Robertson, who is particularly well informed upon this subject, to speak to us.

Miss ALICE M. ROBERTSON, Supervisor of Schools for Creek Nation.—I do not think those of us who are privileged to come

here ever feel old; it is eleven years since I have been here. I have been on the frontier, and I occupy the same position in the Creek nation that Mr. Coppock does in the Cherokee nation. In 1825 my grandfather gave the Bible to the Cherokees in that most difficult of Indian languages, which only one white woman ever learned to speak. She married a full blood, and went back to the hills; and she had to either talk Cherokee or hold her tongue.

My father went out from this State in 1849, and found my missionary mother in her little log cabin among the Cherokees, and he persuaded her to go to the Creeks. I have been in school work almost continuously since my girlhood. I was a little over three years ago promoted to be a supervisor, after the Curtis Act. It took the Curtis Act to bring the haughty Cherokee to a treaty with the Dawes Commission; it made life so intolerable to the Indian that he had to do something. Under this Act the supervision of the schools was placed jointly in the Indian officer and the hands of a white person.

We have more or less of hardship in our work, but it is great fun if you only take it that way. If you can swim your ponies through water and get drenched to the skin, it is a good thing that it is a summer day to dry you off; and if you get caught in a blizzard you are glad to find the shelter of a haystack.

We have ten boarding schools instead of four as the Cherokees have. Ours are small; we have a sort of idea among the Creeks that we can do better with our children in the small schools than in the larger ones. One hundred is the largest number that we have in any of our boarding schools. Then we have our neighborhood schools. We have our normal school, and choose the teachers, grade them, select them, and however it may be anywhere else we have as far as possible civil service principles. Our teachers are examined, and their examination grade and their records as teachers decide their salaries for the coming year. Some of our teachers are Indians, some whites; but Indian or white they must all face the same ordeal of examination and tests for fitness.

The last talk that I made in public was in a very different place from this; it was at the annual council of the Creek nation. They have two houses,—the senate,—one senator from each of the towns, and the warriors elected according to the number of voters in each district. The Indians always fancy that I ought to be at the annual council to have some hand in the school affairs. The man who has charge of the schools on behalf of the Creek nation was also present. This man is of Scotch descent, and is named Mackenzie. His mother was a Cherokee, who went to school with my mother when they were both little girls. Mackenzie has rather a romantic history, as a good many people in the Indian Territory have. It used to be there that it was hardly polite to ask any white person what his name was or where he came from. This Indian got into a little difficulty there which made it prudent for him to leave the country, and he hid himself in the wilds of Tennessee, where he

taught school, and became a practicing attorney and county superintendent of schools. When the Indian courts passed away he was no longer amenable to Indian law, and the white courts could not take any knowledge of his almost forgotten offense. So he came back, and is now a most useful citizen. At the last annual council to which I refer Mackenzie read his report with all the statistics, and then I was asked if I would say something. We were put through a good deal of questioning by those Indians, and one topic that came up especially was in regard to allowing the white children to go to school.

The serious question in the Indian Territory is not so much about educating the Indians as it is a question of educating the white people. You will remember that we have at least ten white persons in the Indian Territory to one Indian, and except in the incorporated towns along the railroad, these people are absolutely without any provision for education. They are of a low class; for what kind of people can you imagine are willing to bring up their children among the cotton fields without any prospect of education? The children are brought up in ignorance and under the influence of moonshine whiskey. They say it is unconstitutional to try to do anything in the way of schools for them. Could not the Constitution be amended?

The other day I took a New York college girl to an Indian cabin, and showed her their simple life, their simple furniture, and the beautiful white flour meal made from the peculiar kind of corn they raise. We had just taken her in to see one of the rented houses of the cotton people, and I said to her, "Which do you think is really the higher type of civilization to-day?" She said she thought the Indian was far beyond the white.

So these Indians brought us up in council for allowing the white children to go to their schools. We do allow it; we encourage it, but we are compelled to make them pay tuition. And there are very few of them that are willing to pay a dollar a month; five cents a day seems enormous to them. We told the Indians in council, as they questioned us, that we thought it was a good thing to let the white children go to school, but we said, "If you insist that you do not want the white children we won't make you take them."

CHAIRMAN.—We are very much indebted to Miss Robertson for her vivid statement, and we will now hear from Superintendent Pairs of the Haskell Institute of a few things that have been accomplished and some crying demands.

Mr. SMILEY.—The Haskell Institute is one of the greatest Indian schools in the country.

Mr. H. B. PEAIRS.—I think possibly I can make clear what I want to say with reference to the progress of the work just as well by giving a little incident. A few weeks ago there came to Haskell

Institute an Indian man and three boys. He said: "Seventeen years ago you came to our reservation and picked me up, a boy." I remembered him very well, and remembered the circumstances under which I persuaded him to go to Haskell Institute. He was there for a few years, went home and afterwards was married. Now he has a family, and one of the three boys which he brought to the school was his. He said: "This is my boy, and I want him to go to the school where I got my education, and get his education." I remember how hard it was when I went to the reservation upon which this man lived to persuade the Indian people to allow their children to go to school. I worked for days and days to secure a party of fifteen or sixteen children; it took a great deal of persuasion. Now seventeen years have passed and the one who was a boy at that time goes to the train with his own boy, buys his own ticket for his boy, brings him to the school and asks for admittance. It seems to me that that ought to be one of the greatest encouragements that anyone could ask for in the Indian work.

The great work in the early days was to secure an attendance in the Indian schools. There are now, I think, about thirty-five thousand Indian children of school age in the United States; of that number there were during the last fiscal year approximately twenty-five thousand in school, and without any compulsion whatever. This number could easily be increased and is being increased each year, so that practically the entire Indian population of school age is in school this year. This is one of the great advances that has been made, and the one thing that means the final solution of the Indian problem, because I believe we all agree that the great work to-day is the training of the young people.

We have succeeded in getting enough of them into school and back out of school into their homes and among their people to bring about a change of thought among their people, and to get them to feel that the only thing for them is to get this training. Great changes have been made in the training of the young people in the schools, and especially is this true of the last few years. Great stress has been laid on industrial training and on domestic training for the girls. The girls will be the home makers, and they are the ones, it seems to me, that we should be very careful to give the best of training.

As we go from the schools to the homes through the reservations we find a different problem entirely. The Indian people are not working as they should. The reservations are being opened up, land is being allotted and land is being cultivated, but who is cultivating it? White men, in most instances. There are some Indians who are at work, but not many. The leasing system has been one of the greatest curses to the Indian people that has ever been put upon them, and to-day the great trouble about our school work is that when our boys and girls go to the reservations the surroundings are such that it is impossible for them to do what they would like to do; the leasing system stands in the way.

I remember a young man who had been in the school for five or six years, was well trained in farm work and then went home. I passed the reservation and he came to me and said: "I would like to work my farm, but a stock company has leased a large tract of land and my farm is in the middle of it, overrun with cattle, and I cannot get hold of it." There are many instances where we find the parents leasing the land of the children while the children are in school, and when the children go home they find the way barred; there is no possible chance for them to get to work if they want to.

It seems to me that the crying need and demand to-day is for an opening for our young people, and that opening of course we must look for largely among their own people. There are openings out in the world and a great many Indian boys are going out to work, but the great majority must go among their own people; therefore it seems to me that the great demand to-day is to so change the conditions on the reservations that it will be possible for young men and young women who go to their homes to get something to do.

I understand there is to be some discussion with reference to one particular phase of our work, the religious work in Indian schools. So I simply want to mention now that I believe one of the crying demands in our Government schools is for more religious work. The young people on the reservations are reckless and wild; the surroundings are such as to make them so, and it seems to me that the schools are the best fields for the missionary work which is needed.

A year ago a decision was made by the Secretary of the Interior which threw down the bars for religious work. We have been afraid in the past years of trampling on each other's toes, and we have been afraid of criticism. But that time has passed and there has been an opportunity given for religious work in our schools. Nothing is done in the way of appropriation or anything of that kind for religious work; it remains for the churches to do the work, and earnest religious work needs to be done in every Indian school in this country.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will now have a statement from Dr. Lucien C. Warner upon the native race in Hawaii.

THE NATIVE RACE OF HAWAII.

BY LUCIEN C. WARNER.

A more delightful climate than that of Honolulu I have never found in any part of the world. The air is balmy, it is neither too hot nor too cold, and the northern trade winds give a tonic quality to the air which is the perfection of comfort. The thermometer rarely rises above eighty, and never falls below sixty-four, while the average rainfall at Honolulu is thirty-eight inches, or about two thirds the amount of New York City. Other places in the islands have a rainfall varying from twenty-six to over two hundred inches. One does not feel altogether friendly toward the ship

which brought over the first importation of mosquitoes, but with a land and climate so perfect the people need something to keep them humble.

The development of the Hawaiian Islands during the past few years has been truly wonderful. The leading industry is the cultivation of sugar cane and the manufacture of sugar; and this gives direct employment to nearly sixty thousand people, mostly Japanese. The total value of the sugar plantations is seventy-five million dollars, and the annual export of sugar twenty-four million. This great industry is nearly all owned and controlled by a company of a few thousand Americans, prominent among whom are the descendants of the former missionaries.

The total population of the Hawaiian Islands in 1900 was 154,001, divided among the different nationalities as follows:—

Native Hawaiians	37,635
Chinese	25,762
Japanese	61,115
Portuguese	15,675
Negroes, Malay, etc.	638
English, German, etc.	5,893
Americans	7,283

One of the most difficult questions which confronts the islands is the future of the native race. The problem is quite different from that of the undeveloped races in most other countries. They are already full American citizens, with all the rights and responsibilities which this confers. They exercise the right of suffrage without restraint, and as their total vote somewhat outnumbers that of the whites, they have their full share of elective offices in the territorial government. All this responsibility has been thrust upon a race just emerging from barbarism, with their moral and intellectual natures but feebly developed. The white population of Hawaii advocated the adoption of a restricted basis of suffrage, which should not give the political control to the natives, and this view was strongly urged by a committee of Congress, which visited the island to study and report on the situation. If additional argument was needed as to the wisdom of this course, it might have been found in the experience of the carpet bag governments in the South after the war; but the opportunity to play the demagogue was too tempting to be resisted by our lawmakers, so they deliberately turned the government over to a semi-civilized race. It is true the natives have attended the native schools, and can read and write, but they have not yet acquired that more important education which develops self control, the power to resist temptation, and the ability to administer a public office for the good of the whole community. It may be that all the Caucasian race have not yet attained to the full measure of this high ideal, but there can be no question that the average sense of responsibility is higher than that of a race but two generations removed from cannibalism. The whites have been very patient and tactful in meeting the trying

problem imposed upon them by Congress. They have not resorted to the shot-gun policy of the South, nor have they in any way interfered with the vote of the Hawaiians. They have rather sought to cultivate friendly relations with them, and to defeat bad candidates by uniting with the better element of the natives in supporting candidates of Hawaiian blood who were disposed to do well.

It is a curious sight to visit a session of the Legislature of Hawaii. In the lower House fully three fourths of the members are native Hawaiians, while in the upper House the whites and native race are about equally divided. The proceedings are conducted in both English and Hawaiian, as many of the members understand English but imperfectly, and all the natives prefer to speak in their own tongue. The interpreter, who stands by the speaker, is the most conspicuous personage in the assembly; and he translates into Hawaiian every word spoken in English, and into English every word spoken in Hawaiian. The character of legislation favored by such a body is shown by the fact that last year at the close of the session the lower House voted to destroy all their vouchers in order that the details of their expenditures might not be known to the public. The Senate is composed of better men than the House, and this together with the wise, upright, and careful Governor prevents much bad legislation. The islands suffer from the lack of good legislation, but that is not so great an evil as to suffer from bad legislation.

The present delegate to Congress is Prince Kalainanaole,—a pure blooded Hawaiian. He received the greater part of the white vote against R. W. Wilcox, the former delegate, who was of mixed blood.

The school system of the Hawaiian Islands is excellent, and nearly all the children of school age are in attendance. Of the 17,508 pupils in the schools in 1902, the Hawaiians numbered 7,772, the whites including Portuguese 5,611, and the Chinese, Japanese, and other races 4,125. They are each year giving increased attention to industrial education, which is proving of great service to the natives. All instruction in the public schools is given in the English language. Of the 609 teachers 149 are Hawaiian, or part Hawaiian. Nearly one fifth of the native Hawaiians are being educated in private schools, most of which have been endowed by wealthy Hawaiian bishops. Many of these are boarding schools, where the children spend several years separated from the unfavorable influence of their homes. This is found to be very beneficial especially for the girls, who acquire habits of tidiness and thrift which they could not obtain while residing in their own homes.

There is very little race prejudice in the islands, although the race question is very complicated. While staying at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in Honolulu the battleship Wisconsin was in port, and the fashion of the city gave a dance in honor of the naval officers. Among the company I saw four of part Hawaiian blood, three ladies and one gentleman, and they seemed to be as much at ease



as any in the party. The young ladies were in nearly every dance, and were apparently very popular with both officers and civilians. Two of the young ladies were of mixed Hawaiian and Chinese blood.

Most of the native Hawaiians are poor, and earn their living by day's work, though a very few of the descendants of the old royal family and chiefs still own considerable tracts of land. The common people, even under the ancient régime, owned very little land. There is abundance of work on the island, and the natives are fairly industrious—not as industrious as Americans, and far short of the Chinese and Japanese, but compared with other races emerging from barbarism, particularly those living in a tropical climate, they may be termed industrious. Many are employed as teamsters, hack drivers, sailors, stevedores, carpenters, masons, painters, and workers at odd jobs. They are better at work by the day than by the month, and they especially dislike work calling for a regular routine or repetition of the same thing. They are also better at earning than at saving. Money seems to burn their fingers, and they proceed to spend it as quickly as possible, using very little judgment in the purchases which they make. This lack of thrift is one of the greatest hindrances to their material advancement.

Another deficiency of the Hawaiians, not shared to the same extent by other undeveloped races, is the lack of financial responsibility. It is hardly proper to call it dishonesty, for that implies a deliberate purpose to possess that which is not one's own. With the Hawaiians it is rather a sin of omission than of commission. They contract debts and neglect to pay them, or use trust funds and do not replace them. Probably they would pay if they had the money and could spare it conveniently, but it is not important enough to cause them to economize and save up the money to meet their obligations. This racial weakness is so generally recognized that natives are rarely employed in positions where money is to be handled. The most striking illustration is that Hawaiian churches do not trust one of their own number as treasurer, but select some responsible white man. When a Hawaiian was made treasurer of the territory two years ago, he was advised by some of his Hawaiian friends not to accept the position. He was considered an upright and capable man, but they feared his half Hawaiian blood would not stand the strain of handling large sums of money; and their fears proved correct, for he soon fled from the islands with twenty thousand dollars of territorial funds.

This weakness of character is very detrimental to the advancement of the race, as it prevents their success in any business enterprise. Very few lay up money with which to buy homes for themselves, or to engage in trade on their own account. It is the opinion of those best qualified to know that there is a slow but steady improvement in this respect, although the outlook is still very discouraging.

The general health of the natives, especially of the full-blooded

Hawaiians, is far from satisfactory. They usually have small families, many of the children die in infancy, and among the adults consumption and other diseases indicating low vitality are prevalent. Their total number has been reduced from 70,000 in 1853 to less than 30,000 in 1890. The health and vigor of those of mixed Hawaiian blood is much superior to that of the pure Hawaiians. There are two leading types of these mixed races,—the Caucasian Hawaiian and the Chinese Hawaiian. Of these, it is the testimony of all observers that the Chinese Hawaiians are the best race, both physically and mentally. Many centuries of Oriental civilization under trying conditions have made the Chinese the most virile, hardy, industrious, patient, and thrifty people of the earth. These qualities, added to the kind, open-hearted nature of the Hawaiians, make a very superior race. It is said that Chinese husbands are popular with Hawaiian women, as they are kinder and better providers for the family. Marriages between the Hawaiians and other races are quite frequent, and the number of part Hawaiians is steadily increasing. In 1872 the census gave but 1,487 part Hawaiians. In 1884 they had increased to 4,218, and in 1900 to 7,848. The larger proportion of children among the part Hawaiians is shown by the statistics of school attendance, which in 1902 showed 4,903 full-blooded Hawaiian children to a total population of 29,787 and 2,869 part Hawaiian children to a population of 7,848. In other words, the proportion of children is twice as great among the part Hawaiians as among those of pure blood. These facts force upon us the conclusion that within two or three generations the Hawaiians as a type will pass away, and the Hawaiian problem will find its solution in the gradual absorption of the natives into the larger and stronger races.

The CHAIRMAN.—This completes the subjects assigned for our consideration this morning, and the Chair will now delegate a part of his duties to Mr. Frank Wood.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—Our host allows us to publish a report of the Conference, and it is all that he will allow us to pay for. This is very largely the source of information throughout the country on Indian subjects. I think I am quite correct in saying that the largest amount of information that can be found on Indian affairs can be found in the past reports of this Conference. We need \$400 to publish and pay the postage and expressage on the reports, and I have no doubt you will furnish me with that amount before the end of the Conference, as all previous Conferences have done.

Mr. GARRETT.—We have usually listened at the beginning of the Conference to a *résumé* of the last year's work from our friend General Whittlesey. To-day for the first time, I think, his face is missing; the weight of years seems to be pressing on him so that he feels unable to attend the Conference. It has been suggested

that we send him a telegram expressing our feeling toward him, and at the request of a lady of the Conference I have sketched the following telegram, which I move may be signed by the President of the Conference and sent to General Whittlesey.

Mr. SMILEY.—I have known General Whittlesey intimately for twenty-four years. He has been here at every Conference but this one; I have traveled with him and his wife and my wife all through the Indian country, in Arizona and the Indian Territory. He is a scholarly man, and he is the most experienced man, except General Dawes, in Indian affairs, that I know of; he is always courteous and gentle and yet firm. He was always popular with the members of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House and the Senate, and he gained his point not by opposition and brow-beating, but by his gentle, winning way. I second this resolution most heartily.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the next day, on the arrival of the Hon. John D. Long, President of the Conference, he signed the following telegram on behalf of the Conference, which was then sent:—

MOHONK LAKE, 10-21, 1903.

GEN. E. WHITTLESEY, 8 Iowa Circle, Washington, D. C.

The Mohonk Conference regrets your absence and misses your counsel. Accept our benediction for your long devotion to the Indian cause.

JOHN D. LONG, *President*.

The Conference then adjourned until 8 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Evening, October 21, 1903.

The Chairman called the Conference to order at eight o'clock, and announced as the subject for the evening's consideration: "The Evils of Political Patronage in the Indian Service," and possibly the remedies.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will first have a paper by Mr. J. W. Davis, of Boston, Secretary of the Conference.

INDIAN INSPECTORS.

PAPER READ BY MR. J. W. DAVIS.

A statement of facts limited by required brevity to only three years of the twenty-three years of experience of the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee. And also, for brevity, all investigating officers of the Department are considered together, although some report to the Commissioner and some only to the Secretary of the Interior.

Surely in these days of unlicensed criticism and ruthless aspersion, it becomes us to be heartily appreciative of good done; and for our Committee I gladly speak of earnest and thorough work begun under Secretary Hitchcock's direction at the Omaha and Winnebago Reservations (concerning which reservations I reported last year), but as the work is not completed, I limit report and comment upon it.

But enough has developed to confirm to the fullest extent the charges which others and ourselves have made for several years concerning that agency, and in condemnation of the lack of any reform following the report of two previous inspectors.

In all fairness it is due to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior to make full allowance for the circumstances under which our charges and appeals first came to him.

If, on his accession, he had report from officers certified to him as efficient and faithful that they had found no sufficient proof of the charges made, it is most natural that he should at first rely on their statement, as against the allegations of those whom he had heard subtly characterized as "Eastern sentimentalists" or "philanthropists,"—a noble name, but uttered with a sneer—or "believers in the noble Indian,"—a perverted characterization of these friends of Indians.

And it is not strange that he should look askant at their appeals when it is evident that the utterances of some true friends of the Indians and even of some leaders among them have been academic and unpractical, and have shown that they have never been on a reservation, and that some of their complaints have been without accurate knowledge of the conditions; and further, that some of the complaints presented at second hand as being received from Indian protégés are in some cases colored by the selfish purposes of cliques and parties among the Indians, who have misrepresented their grievances, for politics not only prevail among them, but as among us, warp and pervert their utterances.

Still further, those among the whites whose selfish interests have been checked by both Western and Eastern influence have artfully used the minor mistakes of friends of Indians to create an atmosphere in Washington as far as possible unfavorable to a ready and unbiased reception of their protests and appeals on Indian matters.

But most assuredly, all these defects and influences taken together are not substantial reasons for any prolonged rejection of the appeals of friends of Indians of known standing, but for a time they do affect their reception as against official reports.

And it is therefore not strange that the Department has sometimes settled into an indifference toward outside protests, and given unwarranted credence to inspectors' reports. And the limit of time for a head of a Department to reach the point of not being thus hindered from seeing clearly is indefinite.

But the time is certainly now past for any misconceptions by this administration. The new inspections which it has recently made have proved to it the falsity of previous inspection reports, as well as shown that there is among the recognized friends of Indians, West and East, first of all, absolute disinterestedness, with no selfish interests to be promoted; secondly, resources of accurate knowledge of inner facts as full and true as the Government can acquire; and thirdly, that the present protest against the condition of the inspector work of the Department is no hasty, ill-considered fling at an important branch of Government administration.

I stated at the outset that a third inspector's work at the Omaha and Winnebago Reservations had been earnest, and it has been so thorough and searching that the agent has vehemently pleaded to have his resignation accepted immediately. And it is no unfair inference that this sudden urgency to be released from his office, to which he had recently as urgently sought re-election, was to stop further inquiry and escape consequences.

Now the same facts which we and others have been pressing upon the Department's attention have been for more than a year as evident as now; have been urged in reiterated and emphatic forms by various persons, West and East; and proofs were just as accessible to the two previous inspectors who have been on the case as they are now to the third. But the respected Commissioner told me personally, in answer to our appeals, that he could

not do the injustice of dismissing this agent who was certified to the Department as innocent by inspectors on whom they relied. (We see here the stifling power of inspectors.) To the Commissioner I replied that the second of the inspectors on whose report he was rejecting our appeal had also certified as "not guilty" another case which he (the Commissioner) and I both knew was a guilty one, and acknowledged by him to be so; and I claimed that an inspector thus found guilty should be dismissed from the service with short shrift.

But it has been pleaded that inspectors are human, and are sometimes deceived. To this we reply that until the service has been purified and uplifted, the only safe policy is that of an eminent military commander, to treat a blunder as a crime; for, for a trained inspector to be hoodwinked by those he has been sent to investigate is a most grievous blunder, sufficient to relegate him to some other service where he may possibly be competent and valuable.

The summary in that case is two whitewashing or blundering reports to one honest, thorough one. But the first of our four cases in the past three years was one in which there were four inspections which resulted in nothing, and the fifth confirmed all the charges we had made for years previous. And this case was presented to the present Secretary of the Interior the first week of his coming to office, and was therefore a case inherited from the previous administration, and on it he scored an immediate victory, but the record on it was four false reports before the fifth true one.

It might be conceived that we have selected exceptional and extreme instances, creating an exaggerated impression. Two statements will, I trust, lead to a just balance of judgment.

I have been informed by a leader in this Conference of another case where the proportion was the same,—four false before one true report was secured; and out of the history of the last twenty years other leaders in this Conference have brought here and cited to each other scores of cases of aggravated grievousness. But it must be recollected that even scores of cases represent only a portion of the examinations constantly in progress through the wide field, and there remains a wide range of cases where we hope righteous judgment has been rendered; but that so large and very large a number of cases are not followed by enforced reforms is the subject of our complaint.

In the case we have just referred to, we notified the Department that the agent boasted that he had turned down four investigations, and would turn down the new one; and he did temporarily deceive the fifth inspector. But here, as well as in other cases, we met the powerful influence of a United States Senator, who, as the agent afterwards angrily said, had used him as an editor to do his dirty work for him, and when the last investigation became too close and hot, dropped his protégé. And here we touch a powerful influence which attempts to control the action of the Department in these matters.

On another case, concerning which we have had correspondence with the Department, a senator has informed us that another agent, as corrupt as those already mentioned, is supported "by strong political influence," as he expresses it; which means in plain language, is held in office, and his discharge delayed by the Congressional representation of his district.

Now, none of us can be blind to the political expediency under which senators and representatives maintain themselves and their henchmen in office, but we maintain that the heart of the people is sound, and if any administration will boldly let the facts appear plainly to the people (and there are many and sufficient ways of doing it), the people will support the administration in an honest effort to purify the public service.

Further, we cannot know the contents of the inspectors' reports, but evidence from a majority of cases seems to prove that attention has been chiefly directed to the grosser offenses, omitting the question of capacity and actual uplift to the people.

We have urged that our charges against the Omaha agent need not be carried to the extent of the evidence produced by others against him, that his previous public reputation was stained—though we also maintain that reputation is an indispensable requisite, where moral influence over children and adults is concerned; nor was it necessary for us to prove that he was in collusion with the fraudulent land transactions by which large lots of Omaha and Winnebago orphan lands were being deeded to whites at one quarter to one third of their ready market value.

It was sufficient for us to say, and should be conclusive with the Government, that this agent, with every opportunity for knowledge and a real certainty of knowledge (for he approved the deeds), did not protect the Indians, both orphans and adults, from the fraud. And without saying that he was himself intemperate, as some testify, it was plain that he had not worked to save the people from the blight of intemperance. He had plainly, in the eye of the public, failed in his trust, where a lack of a saving quality of service was murder of body and soul, by an easy tolerance of the liquor curse. And if not a sharer in the land frauds, he had failed to work for the defeat of the dastardly robbery of children and dependent ones. And the moral and physical loss to so many and to such extent, involving the question of life and death with many of them, makes the crime one of such turpitude that any delay of full remedy is a crime in itself. And if any outside of the Department are obstructing the efforts for pure administration, it needs that the force of public opinion be turned upon them. But the effort must begin with the Department under all the light which recent disclosures on inspectors' work has brought to it.

While thus urgent in bringing its attention to the failure of its agents, we would acknowledge the courtesies of the Honorable Secretary and his valued assistant, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. And while saying this, it would be inexcusable to omit an

ingly generous. Yet the settlement of the Indian problem seems very distant. Why? Because there is an irrepressible conflict between a free civilized government based on law and the reservation system; they cannot live together, one or the other must die.

During the last thirty years \$240,000,000 have been spent on an Indian population not exceeding 180,000. The appropriations of the United States Government for Indians in 1901 were \$9,040,475.89 and more than \$3,600,000 was used for education. In 1887 only \$20,000 was appropriated for Indian schools. There has been a large and constant increase to the present time, until in the last twenty years \$45,000,000 has been spent by the Government for the education of not over 20,000 Indians. We should bear in mind while we are discussing this question that all of this money was obtained through political influence. It was voted by Congress for the benefit of the Indians by the action of politicians, because public sentiment demanded it, and when public sentiment demands the abolition of the reservations political influence will enforce the demand, and the Indian will then, and not till then, become a free American citizen with all a citizen's rights, privileges and duties.

The CHAIRMAN.—A still further presentation of this subject will be made by Mr. Meserve, of North Carolina. Mr. Meserve was formerly the President of the Haskell Institute in Kansas.

Dr. CHARLES FRANCIS MESERVE.—I want to speak very briefly of how some, if not all, of the positions that are now included in the classified list of the civil service came to be in that list.

As many of you here know, I was appointed in 1889 Superintendent of Haskell Institute. I had hardly begun my duties before I received a letter from Senator Plumb, now deceased, one of the Kansas senators. The substance of that letter was this: "It seems to me strange that in the goodly Commonwealth of Massachusetts, from which you have just come, you could not find one competent Republican for your clerk, instead of retaining a Democrat from Missouri."

It was not long after this that I called the employees together, and said: "I have not been here long enough to become acquainted with you, but all I shall ask of you is this: that you show yourselves men and women of solid character and capable of rendering efficient service. Your politics or religion will cut no figure with me."

Very soon after this Senators Plumb and Ingalls asked Secretary Noble to remove me. This, of course, came to Commissioner Morgan, and he took issue with the Secretary. Then the matter was carried to President Harrison, who took it into his own hands, and said he should sustain his Commissioner—a very unusual proceeding. Very soon after this Senator Plumb appeared in the office of Commissioner Morgan, and in an angry manner and with violent gesticulations, said: "I have got on my war paint. I am going to fight you. I shall fight everything you do."

Let me say in passing that I do not speak of this in condemnation of Senators Plumb and Ingalls as men. They were very kind to me personally; but they were victims of an evil system, and were doing what others had done before them.

It was not long after this that President Harrison, by executive order, placed in the classified list of the Indian service the positions of superintendent, physician, matron and teacher. The list has been extended, until now every position in the Indian school service is in the classified list, including the position of supervisor of Indian schools.

Now when we come to the agency question it is a different thing altogether. There have been grave abuses, and there are still grave abuses. I feel very strongly that if there could be placed in the classified list of the civil service the position of inspector and special agent great progress could be made.

Statute law says that the President of the United States must appoint the Indian agents, and that the Senate shall confirm his appointments. We know how it works; everything is in the hands of the politician. And let me show you in detail just how it works to-day. There are probably very few who are listening to me but have heard of what I am about to relate. There was recently an attempt to revive the sun dance; not the ghost dance, not the war dance, not the rain dance. These are less objectionable, and possibly some of them have a religious significance; but I mean the old time sun dance with all its tortures. It seems that a man, ostensibly in the interest of ethnology, went around among the older Indians and agreed to pay them so much to participate in the sun dance. He agreed to pay the one in whose back the thongs were to be inserted a large sum of money. When he found officials of the Indian service who were opposed to this, he said, "Now you must acquiesce in this and help me, because I have enough influence to get your official head taken off." A very trying situation. And the affair went so far that a photographer was engaged to be there with his camera; that when the victim, in the last moment of torture, was just collapsing, his photograph should be taken, that it might be preserved in the interest of ethnological science.

Now if there could be some arrangement whereby the work of the agency could be carried on as systematically and honestly as the business of a corporation is carried on, you can see at once how much greater would be the efficiency of the service. How can it be brought about? Of course you agree with me in this, that when the American people are aroused you can depend upon them. I have thought sometimes if it were transferred to the War Department there might be a gain; and yet I think, too, of the condition of things when General Grant inaugurated his peace policy; and so I have turned in another direction. The work to-day is largely educational; it seems to me that this whole Indian business ought to be put into the hands of the United States Commissioner of Education, re-defining his powers and his policy; and let the work

be there, the responsibility there, and there the finishing up of this problem.

Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D.—I wish to put before the Conference two propositions for its consideration:—

First. It is the duty of the Federal Government to secure a public school system for all children of school age in all territory of the United States not organized as self-governing States and able to provide such a system.

Second. All dependent peoples in the territory of the United States not citizens and not subject to and protected by the laws of the States or organized Territories should be under the charge of the War Department for the protection of their rights and the punishment of their crimes.

I do not expect the Conference will adopt at this session either of these propositions; certainly I do not expect it will adopt the second one. I do not even know that it is desirable the Conference should adopt the second one. I do think it is desirable that the Conference should consider both of these propositions, and the members of the Conference should have them in mind during the coming year.

We have come into a condition in which we have a large number of dependent populations subject to the Government of the United States and not participating in the Government of the United States. Whether we ever ought to have gotten into that condition or not is not a question I propose here to discuss. We are in that condition; we have these people; they are subject to us; they do not participate in the Government. This is true of the people of Porto Rico; it is true of the people of Hawaii; it is true of the people of the Philippines; and it is true of the North American Indians. Whether or no there ought to be in a Republic any classes who are subject to the Government, but do not participate in the Government, so long as there are such classes then it is clearly our duty: first, to protect their persons and property; secondly, to protect others from their wrong-doing; and thirdly, to educate them as rapidly as possible into the condition of manhood in which they will be able to take some part in the Government under which they are living.

Now these two processes of education and of government are different, and they should be treated differently. My first proposition is that it is the duty of the Federal Government to see to it that all its dependent peoples are adequately educated, whether they are Filipinos, or Hawaiians, or Porto Ricans, or North American Indians. And for this purpose it is the duty of the Federal Government to see that there is a public school system organized in all the territory of the United States, adequate to provide for the education of all the school children in the territory of the United States, unless such schools are organized and maintained by such government as already exists. And for this simple reason, that the foundation of free institutions is universal education. I use "education" in the

largest sense, meaning industrial education, literary education, secular education, moral education. I do not say that it is the duty of the United States Government to provide for this by taxation, that is another question; I do say it is the duty of the United States Government to see that in some way or other, by some machinery or other, these that are growing up to be eventually citizens of the United States, and in the final outcome to be a part of the self-governing body of the United States, are made fit to be self-governing members of this community. And this ought to be done not sporadically. It is a large undertaking and we ought to deal with it in a large way. The time has come when the Federal Government should assume as its responsibility not merely the education of Indians; it should assume as its responsibility that all the children under the American flag for whom education cannot be provided by the State or Territory shall be provided for by the United States. If we had acted on that principle fifty years ago we should not be confronting any Mormon problem to-day; we should still have the Mormon Church, but we should not have the great Mormon machine acting as a unit and corrupting our politics, as it is doing in the far West.

If this is to be done, then there should be a school system of the United States, so far under the control of the people of the United States that loyalty to the flag, loyalty to the nation, and loyalty to those principles of honor, and justice, and liberty, and righteousness which we believe are the foundations of our nation, shall be taught in these schools. And therefore the whole school system wherever it exists, apart from that which is carried on by the States, should be put under one head, in one department, under one control. It would naturally come under the control of the Department of Education, and that department should be enlarged to be a great educative organism for those who are growing up to be either independent and self-governing members of our own Commonwealth, or independent and self-governing members of an independent commonwealth which we shall have launched into a new national life. I am not discussing here at all the question whether the Filipinos are to remain in the United States or are to become an independent nation; whether they remain in the United States or become an independent nation it is our duty to see that they are educated for the one course or the other. We have assumed this responsibility, and now we cannot take this infant nation and put it in a basket of bulrushes by the water side and trust that Providence will take care of it.

My second proposition is, that while these peoples are being educated for an independent life, either within the commonwealth or without it, their rights to person and property must be protected, and the rights of persons and property must be protected against them; and this protection of their rights and this protection of others against them should be furnished until civil government in a natural and normal method can be organized to carry on the

work. This belongs within the police powers of the nation, and the police powers of the nation are exercised through the army.

I am not therefore arguing here—though I think perhaps some will think so—merely that the present Indian schools should be turned over to the Commissioner of Education, nor merely that the present Indian Bureau should be turned over to the War Department. I am contending for this, that all children of school age in the organized territory of the United States should have their education provided for by the National Government, and under one well-organized department, and as the result of one well-determined policy; and secondly, that until the dependent peoples are able to govern themselves, or at least until they can be brought under some civil government organized where they are, they are to be protected in their rights and they are to be punished for their wrongs by the police power of the Government through the War Department.

I argue for this, firstly, because this is a systematic, organic plan; because it is not wise economic organism to take a few hundred thousand dependent people and put them under one department, and a few million dependent people and put them under another department. There is no more reason why we should put the North American Indians than the Porto Ricans under the Interior Department. The work is the same: it is the government of a people not yet ready to govern themselves; it is the government of people in communities in which they are not subject to the civil law of an organized people. In the second place, I argue for this because it belongs in the police powers of the Government, and the police powers of the Government are naturally to be exercised by the army. I argue for it in the third place because history demonstrates that government by a bureaucracy is always bad. People have been sometimes governed well and wisely by an autocracy; they have been sometimes governed well and wisely by themselves; but a bureaucracy has never furnished a good government, I think, in the history of the world; it certainly has not in our history.

For what is this government by the Secretary of the Interior? The Constitution of the United States is explicit that the officers shall be appointed by and with the consent of the Senate. Therefore no man can be appointed in any State by the President unless he gets the consent of the two senators from that State. What does that mean? Why, it means this, that the two senators from the State appoint and the President has a veto power. That is absolutely the whole of it. In point of fact, say what we will, the appointments in the Indian service are made by senators, and the President simply can refuse to ratify them in case the appointment is an exceptionally bad one, and he cannot know. Put yourself for a moment in the President's place. How will you determine as President of the United States who shall be appointed as agent in Kansas? What can you as President do but take the man that the

senators bring to you? You cannot give much time to the determination who shall be the agent on one particular reservation in one particular place; it is impossible. The evil is in the system, it is not in the man. It has been bad under Democratic administration and bad under Republican administration. The system is bad; it has been bad in all the history of the world, and there is only one way to change it. Theoretically there are two ways. One way to change it is to convert and regenerate the senators of the United States, and that means to convert and regenerate the people of the various States. Congress is a looking glass, and we can always see our own reflection in it. If we do not like the picture we had better wash the face and not the looking glass. Not until we convert the people of the United States can you make the present system reputable. And we cannot wait until we have put such infusion of new blood into this system that the system that is corrupt at the source is purified. Ever since I have been at Lake Mohonk we have been passing resolutions against political patronage and against the spoils system, and we are told to-night that it is as bad as ever it has been.

The other way to change it is to put the Indian administration under the War Department. I argue for this change because it is the only direct, straightforward way of breaking up the spoils system. If the care of the dependent peoples is put under the War Department, the President of the United States as commander-in-chief will appoint the man he chooses, and then he alone will be responsible. I remember in the time of the Tweed ring an ingenious picture drawn by Mr. Nast, in which the men stood ranged around in a ring, and underneath was the question, Who did it? And every man was pointing over his shoulder at the next man. Under the present system we can hold no man responsible for bad appointments. I argue for this change because by the splendid constructive work which the army has done in Porto Rico and in the Philippines it has proved itself a fit organization to do this work. I put forward something of this plan in the *Outlook* a few weeks ago; I was rather surprised to find practically universal accord coming from many different quarters, with I think but one exception. That one exception was the *City and State*, Mr. Herbert Welsh's paper in Philadelphia; and one of his arguments was that the army is essentially a destructive organization, and you cannot set it to constructive work. I do not know how any man can read the work that has been done by the American army outside of destruction in the Philippines during the last two years, how officers and men have taught school till teachers could be provided, and doubt that the army is competent to do competent work. All the saints are not in the ministry, and all the ministers are not saints; all the sinners are not in the army, and all the army is not sinners! There are no nobler men, no more philanthropic men, no more patriotic men, no more self-denying men than are to be found among the men that lead in the American army. And it

will not be difficult to find among the army officers men that could be assigned to this work, who would do as well as any men who could be found in the United States of America.

The other objection that Mr. Welsh made was that it had been tried once and failed. He made a mistake. For one little time in the history of the Interior Department the Indian Bureau selected army officers as agents. That is not what I am proposing. Colonel Pratt told me a little about this this afternoon, and I am going to ask him to tell you more in detail. What I am proposing is that the whole responsibility for the care, for the protection, for the guardianship, and for the enforcement of law over our dependent people shall be handed over to the War Department, and the War Department shall be held responsible for it from A to Z, and as the head of the army the President shall be held responsible. It is for this I am arguing.

Mr. SMILEY.—Do you think the Senate will ever consent to turn the Indian Bureau over to the War Department and lose the patronage?

Dr. ABBOTT.—I will answer that by saying that as Mr. Smiley will remember, nineteen or twenty years ago a few of us met in New York to talk over the Indian question, and we said to ourselves, "The reservation system is bad, and it ought to go." And it was said, "There is no use in saying that for nobody will agree to it." But finally we said, "We will bring it up at Lake Mohonk." And we brought it up and fought it for three successive sessions, and the next year Senator Dawes introduced the bill for the abolition of the reservation system, and it was adopted. Again, the school system was growing up in a very inadequate manner; we were spending much more for rations than for education. It was said, "Do you think the United States will ever consent to spend millions of dollars for the education of the Indian children?" And after two sessions of discussion on that subject the third year the Commissioner of Education came here and said, "The President of the United States has authorized me to say that this administration is ready to take the responsibility."

My answer to Mr. Smiley is this: Whatever is right and whatever is reasonable is always practicable. It takes time to convince the world that it is reasonable and that it is right, but if it is reasonable and if it is right it is practicable. If the propositions which I have put before you this evening are reasonable and right it is possible for the Lake Mohonk Conference to set in motion the forces which will convince the people that it is reasonable and it is right; and when the people are convinced that it is reasonable and it is right the Senate will come to the same opinion.

Mr. SMILEY.—I asked the question to bring you out.

Hon. MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D.—Arriving late last evening, I accepted from the Committee, and not from any choice of my own, the duty of saying something to-night in reply to Dr.

Abbott. I do not wish to follow him by way of special controversy; I do not wish to follow him into general discussions as to an entire scheme of Imperialism for our country. I should be willing to venture with him into the realm of historical illustration, if he wished to attempt to prove to us that a great nation like our own can safely assume to administer its trust, for itself and for other nations, on the fundamental principle that "all the police powers of the nation are to be administered by the army," and are properly to be placed and left in the hands of the army. I do not agree with him that you can build up such a system of administration as he has outlined for dependent peoples at large, or for the Indians in this country, and leaving it in the hands of the army, still hope to build on American principles. Such "police powers in the hands of the army," "police powers under direction of the War Department," if adopted as a general principle, must tend to the worst form of bureaucracy. I do not know a surer way of arriving at a purely bureaucratic form of government than for a nation which stands upon the basis we stand on to assume the immense and far-reaching premises on which Dr. Abbott has based his proposition to-night. His propositions assume that we are to give up the conception of training the peoples whom we take in hand by helping them from the first to practice self-government. He seems to me to assume that the civilians of our country cannot devise plans for carrying through successfully the policy to which we are committed for the Indians, but should give up hope of fitting the Indian for self-government, and should turn him over to the army "to be governed." I find myself so utterly at disagreement with my friend as to the premises that I do not think the fuller discussion of this point would be profitable here.

But I would like to say that I am surprised and gratified to find myself very much more hopeful, and very much more sanguine as to immediate results from the application of principles already at work, than is my friend Dr. Abbott. I think that we are nearer the solution of this Indian problem than Dr. Abbott seems to think.

I do not understand the speakers who have preceded me to say that "the spoils system is as bad as ever it was." My experience in Indian affairs extends over twenty years. I have been a close student of these affairs for the last two decades. And I am very much more hopeful about the outlook than my friend seems to be. We are approaching the end of a special system of administration for Indians. Our common schools and the great school of citizenship will soon complete the solution of the Indian problem. I should, therefore, hesitate to advocate a system which would put the Indian schools under the care of the Commissioner of Education. Those of us who watch affairs feel certain that it would involve so large a rearrangement of the Bureau of Education that it would amount to saying: "Let us change all our conception of the National Educational Department; let us make it not statistical and advisory as it now is, but administrative, as it has never been

and is not designed to be. Let us re-create it for the sake of putting it in charge of the Indian schools." And this at a time when in my opinion the system of special Indian schools for the Indian children will last but a few years longer.

Many things conspire to give us this feeling of hope. For instance, there are 2,882 superintendents and employees in the Indian school service, and practically all of them are under civil service regulations. This means that they are chosen for their fitness for the work; that they are promoted for fitness; that they cannot be put in at the demand of senators or representatives; and that they cannot be put out at the dictation of representatives or senators. I cannot conceive a spirit more different than that which we now meet in dealing with this problem when compared with the spirit which ruled fifteen years ago, when Dr. Meserve went to Haskell. I am ready to admit, as is sometimes said by my friends Dr. Meserve and Colonel Pratt, that "if you would let the head of a great Indian school choose his teachers freely it would be better done than it is done under the civil service regulations." But if, in order to bring that about in the case of a few of the most competent executive heads of schools, we had to sacrifice the security which we now have—that good men cannot be put out at the demand of politicians—the loss would be infinitely greater than the gain. Better for the system of civil service upon the whole, though it sometimes works hardship to an exceptional school!

The influence of the spoils system is nearly killed under the civil service regulations. And even if the Indians were to be placed under the charge of army officers, we should not pass out of the realm of human frailty! We have not found it this last year to be a demonstrated fact that a man detailed from the army is secure in his good work for the Indians, even if he has made himself a world expert upon the matter of Indian industrial education! The strong worker for good, if an army officer, is not free from molestation! I do not believe that it is worth while to transfer this system to the army for the time that remains. For see, for years we have been saying, "If we could only get the agents (the only point where the spoils system still holds in all its virulence), if we could only get the agents under civil service regulations, we could save the situation." We have seen the number of agencies reduced from sixty-three to fifty-two. Yet each dropping of a needless agency from the list costs a struggle. I see one member of Congress, at least, in the audience to-night who has been present when the argument for the reduction of the number of agents has been waged before his committee; and he knows how a senator whose patronage is in danger tries to save the needless agent and the desired appropriation for the agency. Therefore, it was announced here a year ago that an effort was to be made to put the agencies under the care of bonded superintendents. Of the fifty-three agencies thirty-four are now in charge of bonded superintendents. And this has been accomplished within two years.

If I were asked who were best fitted to lead the Indians in their transition from barbarism to civilized life,—in their first faltering steps in citizenship,—I should not say that with all the virtues of the army officer he was the man best fitted by his training to be leader of these tribes of savages who are beginning to be citizens. The finest military virtues which are brought out by the life-discipline of our military officers are not precisely the virtues most needed in dealing with these Indians. Danger of revolt is past. Sympathetic and encouraging leadership is needed. Stimulus, initiative, love of citizenship, Indians need—not repression and dictatorial rule now. It is the hand of the teacher who has devoted himself for years to assiduous effort to uplift individual boys and girls; it is teachers, it seems to me, who are better fitted to lead the Indians in this transition period.

This method of substituting bonded superintendents of schools for agents appointed as “spoilsmen” promises well. It is a hopeful experiment. These men who have thus been charged with the duties of the agents, bonded superintendents who have been made agents, cannot be “put out” capriciously. They are there to stay on good behavior. The President is directly responsible for putting them out if they do not behave well. The only danger lies in the lack of enough good superintendents for these places. But I think the chance of finding good men for this work is better than is the chance of getting the right kind of army officers detailed for work as Indian agents. Time after time, the army officers of the right kind who have been suggested have been unwilling to take this Indian work. And they have had influence enough to prevent the unwelcome detail. Appointments to Indian agencies have been treated time after time as though they were a place to which to banish some army officers of very doubtful reputation. I do not forget the noble service rendered by many army officers in Indian affairs. But I have seen a list where man after man is named—an army officer who has been put under this responsibility and has failed, has broken down utterly, sometimes through drink, sometimes through impurity. You know the awful history that has shamed our army posts where they have touched the Indian reservations. Time after time we have had army officers who have broken down along this line at agencies, and have had to be put out in disgrace. Especially Christian virtues are needed in this work for Indians. We are “nearer the finish” in Indian problems, on this present basis, than many seem to think. Indian affairs are more full of hope. If we can only get the Indians separated from their masses of undivided land, and their masses of undivided tribal funds! Some of us can recall—and they seem now like the words of a prophet—the warning of Senator Dawes after he had spent his first season in the Indian Territory. He described to us here the lawlessness which prevailed in the Indian Territory. Some of us can remember how he lifted his hand in warning and foretold the “plundering” in oil leases and land

leases, which he feared even then. If we could separate the Indian from his land, get his great tribal funds broken up into individual holdings, and do away as rapidly as possible with special Indian schools, we should be doing all that legislation can do.

But we should not then be discharging our whole duty to the Indian. For how can anyone discuss this question without understanding that something deeper than statute law and administration is needed before the Indian can become a useful citizen.

We meet here as Christians interested in this work. We cannot touch the problem wisely unless we see that only divine grace in the heart can make over the Indian—grace which comes from the story of the gospel, from the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, taught by a heart that loves him to hearts that are in the darkness—it is this, and this only, that can save these people. They must be saved one by one. You cannot save them by legislation, not even by a constitutional amendment!

We are getting the Indians under law. I do not think it is quite fair to say that there is no law on the reservations. Eighty thousand Indians are now voters. We have made 444 treaties with them since 1788, and only two of them have been abrogated. I still believe that the first paper I ever read at this Conference, in 1885, in which I suggested one white farmer chosen for character to be given a farm among each eight Indians—this idea of “good neighborhood” has in it the essence of the most hopeful work we can do. We want to bestir ourselves each of us in caring for the neighbors next us. And we will not turn aside from the Indian in these last days of his weakness and trouble; we will give to him more missionary workers. Our churches will renew their efforts for him. And in this way I believe that by the system under which we are now working we shall carry through this reform to a happy issue without turning the Indians over to the army.

Col. R. H. PRATT.—Thirty-nine years ago I came under the command of a man who was specially selected by our great leader Grant and sent out to General Thomas’ army to take command of our cavalry, reorganize and make us more useful. The memories that linger in my mind covering the few months I was under his command are among the most vivid of my life. He brought under one control by far the largest cavalry command ever on this continent, and during the campaign falling back from the Tennessee River to Nashville in front of Hood; and the fight at Nashville, and then driving Hood back and out of Tennessee, then following down through the Southern States, penetrating into the heart of the Confederacy, this man led us early and late. There was always an eye and a direction and care over our movements of a sort somewhat new to us, who had been going along in a sort of helter-skelter way much as our Indian management has been going on all the years. That man is in the audience to-night, and I want the audience to know him. I speak of Gen. James H. Wilson, of

Delaware. I obeyed him a long time ago, and now request him to stand up and let the people see him.

The Chairman invited General Wilson to the front, and he came amid great applause.

Colonel PRATT.—I am glad we have the General here. I think there will be no disagreement this time after all we have passed through and listened to if I say that the real need is the purification of politics. I do not care what system we adopt, it can be perverted. In my experience civil service has become a good deal perverted, and there is great politics in it notwithstanding all said here to the contrary. ✧ The need for the Indian, as I have contended all the time, is that individual ability which will enable him to compete with all the rest of us as an individual, and take care of himself and all of his. Do you agree to that?

The means to reach that consummation is what we must consider. We can pervert our school system so that it may do exactly the opposite thing. The Indian school system, in my judgment, is just now largely doing that, and my judgment will be yours before very long on your own observation if things keep on as they are now. We have heard here to-day that the Indian is becoming absorbed. How and where are we absorbing him when by every act and system of management we keep him out of the body politic all the time? How is it possible to make a good American out of any man even if he is a well civilized man but a citizen of another country and language? How is it possible to make him an American citizen except we put him in actual contact with American citizens, and thus enable him to see and know by experience what it is to be an American citizen? I never advocated the present system of Indian schools? Go back in your records of this Conference and you will find that I have always contended against the tribal and reservation system, including the present tribal and Indianizing system of Indian schools. I believe the United States Government has the absolute right to so control within its borders that every child shall be so trained and instructed and prepared for life that it can meet the issues of that life thereafter in competition with all the rest. I do not believe a system of any sort which will keep any class of children away from the life of the nation, from the association of its people in all their best life, will ever accomplish these ends, and I believe that when we create a system that does keep them away under the pretense of education, then we do them and ourselves the greatest possible wrong. Such keeping them away is an acknowledgment of weakness in them, and unfits them instead of preparing them for their citizenship duties. By this method we are saying to our Indians: "You are Indians and cannot become like us. We do the best for you we can by keeping you by yourselves, but we will care for you as long as you live." Experience more than school is absolutely necessary to accomplish the object. ✧

As for the army, I stand for it with its bad and its good. We

have in it, just as Dr. Abbott says, good men and bad ; and success in its management of the Indians would depend altogether upon who were selected as agents, just as it does in our political management. Army officers of improper ideas and habits won't do very much good.

When, years ago, this proposition was up for the army to take a little part in Indian management, so as to find out whether the army could do the work any better, and Congress had yielded somewhat to it because some of the people thought it was a panacea, the Adjutant General wrote and asked me to name some army officers that I thought would be suitable for Indian agents. I had been out of touch with the army for a long time, but knew a few officers I thought would be all right, and went to Washington and consulted officers in the War Department who knew other army officers better than I did, and thus made up the list the Adjutant General wanted. I handed it to the General, and believe if the General could have made the selections many of these officers would have been selected, but when the selections were made and the orders issued there was only one from my list designated.

Dr. ABBOTT.—Who made the appointments?

Colonel PRATT.—The selections were not made by the Military Bureau at all, but an official of the Indian Bureau, who had been in the army, selected men of his own stamp.

The contention of Dr. Abbott, as I look at it, has a good deal of merit. It is to be said for the army that the actual responsibility for the Indian Bureau did not, in any manner, by these details, rest with the army. A few army officers were just turned over to the Bureau to become agents. If the entire responsibility for the care of the Indians rested with the army the situation would be radically different in every way, but it would all depend upon what we intend to accomplish, and the selection of agents to work that out. The point Dr. Abbott makes about the supremacy of the President and Secretary of War is all right, but I believe also, with Dr. Gates, that we are nearing the end ; that things are going to be resolved in some way, and the Indian is to become free from Bureau control and from the clutches of this all-absorbing administration of his affairs and destiny, which is really the Indian problem. There is absolutely no problem with the Indian himself. Give him the same chance given all other citizens to become a good citizen and he will become a good citizen.

A man can only know what it is to become a citizen by seeing citizens and being with them. Any Indian boy in the country placed in Bucks County, Pa., as I have been doing for twenty-four years, with any of our good Quaker families, in a little while will be taking hold of the plow handle and the reins, and plowing just as deep and just as straight and just as nice as the farmer himself, only and altogether because he sees the thing done.

Last year I spoke about a certain person in the audience who has been doing that for Carlisle and the Government of the United

States for twenty years. I am glad she is here again, and I shall venture to ask her to stand up so you can all see her, because I want you to talk to her and know through her for yourself. Mrs. Palmer, will you please stand up?

Mrs. Palmer and her husband have had in their family, as I remember, during the last twenty years, about thirty of our Carlisle Indian boys. They have taken them into their kindly home and farm life, and done for them that which is necessary to make them equal to our American citizens.

Some people plant notions among the Indians against the Carlisle system on the ground that we are making servants of them. The Government has decreed that they are all to be farmers. I call your attention especially to that fact. Am I going behind the administration of affairs in any way in doing what I have been doing? Is not this the best way to make the Indian a farmer, and at the same time enable him to realize what it is to be a citizen? I have said over and over again that putting a community of Italians in one of our greatest cities to settle by themselves in a mass will simply reproduce a little Italy in our America. I have been out among the Indians recently to see what is going on, trying to find out the conditions under the continuation of the old system, and I find this: At an Indian agency where three tribes are located under one agent the Government of the United States has a school for each tribe, a kind of anthropologist and ethnologist arrangement to keep up tribal distinctions.

"A school for each tribe." What do you call that? What do you think of it? Tribal education! Does it not say to each tribe, "Stay right where you are. You are a people by yourselves. Remain so." And so the school is used to hinder American citizenship, to hinder individuality, to hinder the man from thinking anything about becoming at one even with his own red race, much less the great body of our people and the population of the country. He is told he is to remain at Comanche, at Choctaw, or Shoshoni indefinitely. To help the scheme along we set each tribe off on reservations by themselves and then give them such tribal treatment in schools and through other methods of industries, etc., as to keep them a people by themselves, even though as in New York and other great States they are surrounded with our best civilization. We then come up here annually and publish what we are doing: Pratt comes from Carlisle and tells what Carlisle is doing; Peairs comes from Haskell and tells what Haskell is doing; the missionary comes and tells what he is doing. It reminds me somewhat of something I use on my boys occasionally when they incline to brag. At the Battle of Waterloo Wellington was watching the whole field, and some staff officer came from a distant command and said, "Sire, we have captured a standard." The great commander looked over the field and paid no attention. The officer repeated, "Sire, we have captured a standard." Still the iron duke paid no attention. With louder voice the officer again urged, "Sire,

we have captured a standard." "Well, capture another," said the great master of the situation.

We need a general competent to take hold of the whole situation and command, but we must first bring ourselves to the notion that, as I have explained, the Indian is a problem just as long as he is continued under influences calculated to make and keep him different from the rest of us. We must acknowledge that, principle first, and then have somebody big enough to take command, and then give them the power to make things go. If we can only realize our mistakes and overcome them, the end is very near. Dr. Abbott hurling army management at the situation is capital. It is a much-needed expression of discontent. The things that hinder are becoming so indurated that they must be disturbed and radically changed, else we shall fail utterly. That Dr. Gates made such reply shows that both are thinking intensely about it, and as they are good thinkers they can keep the rest of us thinking until we think something out.

For many years we have been providing farmers to teach the Indians farming. We put one farmer to instruct a hundred of the Indians to farm, and his hundred pupils are widely scattered. That reminds me of a certain man nominated for the Presidency of the United States who was not so well known over the country as he was in his own locality. A man visiting Washington from the home of the candidate was asked how big a man the candidate was. "Well," he said, "among us he is a very big man, but I am afraid when you spread him out all over the United States he will be a little thin." Under the Carlisle system we have one farmer working on one Indian boy, and I do not believe anywhere in the United States you can average better farm helpers among boys of their years than the Carlisle Indians. I can at least say they are overwhelmingly in demand.

Dr. GATES.—It is vastly better to get the boy where he can have the attention of one farmer. I am on record a good many times as saying that if we can get the boys in our families it is the best system.

The CHAIRMAN.—General Wilson, it will give this audience a great deal of gratification if you will say a word to them upon this subject.

General Wilson was introduced.

General WILSON.—After the very fulsome remarks of Captain Pratt there is very little that I can say for myself, and still less that I can say in reference to the Indian question. When I came here I supposed that the Indian question was settled. It has been my ill fortune never to have seen a hostile Indian; never to have seen a tribe of Indians; never to have seen any Indians except those at the railway stations, and a few that found their way into the army. When Colonel Pratt was Captain Pratt the chief bugler at my head-

quarters was an Indian, and he was as good a bugler as any other bugler I ever saw in the army. I attributed it chiefly to the fact that he was individually instructed and placed among the people where he was to practice his art.

The dependent people that we have is a much broader question than the Indian question; and within the last four or five years, since I re-entered the military service, I have learned something of dependent peoples. I have traveled quite a distance in the service of the United States. Some fifteen or eighteen years ago I went to China on my own account; about three years ago I was ordered there to assist in the work of the Relief Expedition. Previous to that I went to Porto Rico, and was there when the island came under the American flag. From Porto Rico I went to the island of Cuba, and remained there some eighteen months.

General Wilson then went on to speak enthusiastically of the island of Cuba and its people, and gave an interesting and instructive account of the history and condition of the sugar trade of Cuba, closing by saying, "I think myself that one of the best things in the world that we could do for a dependent people in our immediate neighborhood would be to establish a tariff that would give sugar free entry into the United States from the island of Cuba."

Mr. SMILEY.—We are under great obligation to Mr. James Wood for his services. Governor Long, of Massachusetts, has now arrived and will take his place as President of the Conference to-morrow morning.

The Conference adjourned at 10.30 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 22, 1903.

The Conference met at ten o'clock, and Mr. Smiley introduced ex-Secretary Long as President of the Conference. Ex-Secretary Long then took the chair, and was greeted with applause.

Ex-Secretary LONG. — As I went through the agony of Mr. Smiley's introduction, an agony which only a modest man can appreciate, I thought that Sam Weller's question, which occurred to him with regard to learning the alphabet, might occur to you,—whether it is worth while to go through so much to get so little. I am reminded of a story which I read in a religious newspaper—I would not refer to any other here—of a lady of great wealth who was spending the winter in Paris, and had her portrait painted by one of the most distinguished artists in France. She had many sittings, but he would not let her see the portrait until it was finished. When at last he unveiled it before her gaze a look of uncertainty and bewilderment came over her face. The artist, disappointed, said, “Zee lady doesn't like zee picture?” “Like it,” she said, “it's the most beautiful face I ever saw! Whose is it?”

Now I begin, and you know what the first words of a presiding officer always are; they are words either of self-depreciation, which I will not utter if you won't, or of thanks, which I will if you will.

Beginning again, therefore, and this time I do it most sincerely, I thank you for the honor you have done me in asking me to preside at a Conference which is made up of such earnest and high-minded people, which has become a most beneficent national influence, and the work of which is recognized the whole country over as the work of a wise benevolence. There are many things which conduce to the reputation which the Lake Mohonk Conference has attained, and among them we must not forget the very beautiful surroundings in which its meetings are held,—this family roof where the principles of equal rights are taught in very deed and fact, and where the charm of a sober, sweet life, combined with all the delights that nature or personal hospitality can afford, mark it among the most mentally and physically healthful resorts of the world.

I share with you great interest in this work in which you are engaged in behalf of our Indians, and I share still more in the liberality with which you extend that work to all dependent people, recognizing that here you carry out the family idea, to which I have

said the hotel itself is consecrated, the one family of our common human brotherhood. We are all dependents, and you recognize that fact by your generosity toward all, by the liberality with which you include all denominations, people of all ways of thinking, representatives of all the varieties of our national and local life.

I began my interest in this work many years ago, when, as Mr. Davis and Mr. Wood and some others remember, we were much interested in Boston over the treatment of the Poncas. From that day onward the good work has gone on of promoting the welfare of the North American Indians. I shall not stop to review that work; the best review of it is yourselves. It is worth while sometimes to consider what it has accomplished. The result has been the citizenship of the Indian, the ownership in his own right of the soil which he cultivates, the schools where his children are educated, and his gradual emancipation from ignorance and from the condition of a dependent and often defrauded ward into the broadening lines of American citizenship.

It is of course right that we should deal with the evils that still exist; it is right that we should emphasize them; it is right that you should hold our public servants to their responsibility. And yet I think it would be well if there also, on the other hand, might be presented—as undoubtedly there is—at your Conferences the things that have been accomplished, the advances that have been made, and the securely upbuilt steps on which we now stand, although you do not propose to remain on them, but propose to go on upward and onward.

I said I was glad that our work is extending to other dependents. I was especially interested last evening in what was said in regard to our foreign dependencies. I appreciated very much the remarks of Dr. Abbott with regard to the importance of furnishing the largest education for our dependencies. I wish he had emphasized—of course he is familiar with the fact—what we have already done and are doing in that way. Porto Rico and the Philippines and Hawaii have to-day beneficent institutions of learning and common schools, with thousands of American and of native teachers. It is, however, a question whether all these great educational institutions should, as suggested by Dr. Abbott, be consolidated in one great Bureau in Washington, or whether we should not rather extend to them the right to manage their own affairs and to have the charge of their educational establishments as is done in our States. Some of us think that there is no more reason that their educational control should be taken away from them and centralized in a Bureau at Washington than there is that the educational system of Massachusetts should be taken out of her own control.

The hopeful thing is that all this present progress on behalf of the North American Indian, all this rapid progress in our new territorial possessions, is the evolution of the idea which you represent here,—the idea that the United States, the American flag, the American system, shall stand for the development of the man,

whether it be the white man of the North, the colored man of the South, or the dusky islander of the sea.

I am aware, however, that the best contribution which a presiding officer can make is to set the example of brief speaking. I am here to help you so far as I can, and that will be only so far as you help me, for as your presiding officer I am only one of those "dependents" who are candidates for your sympathy.

Referring to the program this morning, the first topic in order will be a *resume* of Indian work during the past year. This paper was prepared in the Indian Bureau in Washington; it will be read by the Hon. Darwin R. James, President of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

The following "*resume* of the year's work" of the Indian Department, prepared by Miss Emily S. Cook, was read.

Finance.—The appropriations for the Indian service for the last fiscal year, including deficiencies, aggregated \$9,172,173. For the current year it is \$8,521,307, a decrease of \$650,000. Forty per cent of the appropriation is devoted to the support of Indian schools.

Education.—The 257 Government Indian schools have enrolled 24,357 pupils, and have secured an average attendance of over 85 per cent. As compared with last year there is a slight decrease in the enrollment, which is overbalanced by the increase in average attendance. Ninety-one schools are boarding schools on reservations, and 140 are day schools. The remainder are the 26 non-reservation schools, whose capacity, 7,950, is so out of proportion to the combined capacity of the other schools that it is hard to keep them filled with the right sort of pupil material; that is, the exceptional ones who have had preliminary training in the home schools and have shown such soundness of physique and brightness of mind as to justify giving them the prolonged and expensive schooling which the non-reservation schools afford. Too often the \$1,000 education is given to the one who, mentally or physically, is only a \$10 youth.

These figures do not include 44 boarding and four day schools conducted and supported by religious societies and attended by 3,789 pupils; nor 101 Indian pupils at Hampton; nor the Indian schools in the State of New York, which enroll about 700 pupils.

In detail the school statistics for the year are as follows:—

	Pupils enrolled.
Government schools	24,357
26 non-reservation boarding	8,651
91 reservation boarding	11,209
140 day	4,497
Mission schools	3,789
44 boarding	3,484
4 day	305
Hampton	101
12 public schools	164
Total	<hr/> 28,411

The superintendents and employees in the schools numbered 2,282, of whom nearly one fourth were new appointees during the past year. Twenty-one per cent of the school employees are Indians.

The outing system is spreading, and is reported by eight schools as successful, the number of pupils placed out in families varying from eight at Flandreau to 617 at Carlisle, 1,287 in all.

In addition to the general Indian Institute held at Boston in connection with the N. E. A., which was of unusual interest, local institutes have been held at nine Indian reservations or schools. In this way the large majority of the educational force of the Indian service has had an opportunity to gain the new ideas and revived enthusiasm which come from acquaintance and conference with others engaged in the same line of work.

The schools of the Five Civilized Tribes are not included in the figures given. The gain in the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw schools since they came under Government supervision continues both as to increased attendance, reduced expenditures and improved methods. Government school officials have gained the good will of the people, and summer normal schools have raised the standards and been well attended. In the four tribes are 374 district day schools and 33 boarding schools, academies, etc., whose total enrollment was 13,935, with an average attendance of over 67 per cent. These figures do not include the Seminoles, whose schools are under their own exclusive jurisdiction, nor the 18 invaluable schools conducted by religious societies, with an enrollment of 1,800 pupils. Comparatively few of the white children in the Indian Territory have access to public schools, and the freedmen in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations are also growing up in illiteracy,—a quicksand foundation for statehood.

Indians Placed under School Superintendency.—Last year twenty-one agencies were reported as having been abolished and the Indians placed under bonded school superintendents. Thirteen more agencies have thus changed hands, or rather heads, during the past year. They are :—

Cheyenne and Arapaho, Oklahoma.
Fort Apache, Arizona.
Fort Peck, Montana.
Klamath, Oregon.
Mission, California.
Omaha and Winnebago, Nebraska.
Southern Ute, Colorado.

Navaho, Arizona.
Pima, Arizona.
Ponca, Oklahoma.
Potawatomie, Kansas.
Sac and Fox, Oklahoma.
Sisseton, South Dakota.

In the first seven, however, the agent himself was made the bonded school superintendent, and was thus brought within the classified service. Several agencies covering large areas or several tribes have been divided between two or even three superintendents in order to bring the Indians within closer range of the fire of civilization. Only twenty-seven commissioned and politically appointed agents are left in the service, the Indians of the other agencies being distributed among fifty-two bonded school superintendents who are under civil service.

Allotments and Patents.—During the year 4,687 patents have been issued to Indians, 1,190 allotments have been approved, and about 900 more allotments have been made which have not yet been acted upon. Allotments are in progress on the Cheyenne River, Crow and Shoshoni Reservations.

Sixteen landless Indian families have been settled upon an 80-acre tract in what was formerly Camp Independence Reservation, California. They are clustered about a day school.

Sales of Indian Lands.—Since the fourth of last March inherited Indian lands have been sold to the extent of 44,494 acres at an average price of \$17.01 per acre, aggregating over three quarters of a million dollars. That was the date upon which the amended rules went into effect which required that inherited lands should be sold only upon sealed bids and after ninety days advertising. These rates were from ten to fifty per cent higher than were secured for lands offered under the original rules; but under those rules no deeds were ever approved. Of course the parvenu rich Indian becomes immediately a quarry for swindlers, and it is suggested that, as a means of protecting him, the sales be made on time, payments to be made annually for ten or fifteen years, deed to be withheld until final payment, and evidence of indebtedness to be non-negotiable. This would cut off speculators and encourage home seekers, and would postpone the Indian's day of impoverishment. As a rule the legal heirs to the lands sold have been ascertained without difficulty, and little litigation has grown out of the distribution of the property.

Nine small bands of Indians in Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Michigan, and Wisconsin, certain of whose lands are alienable, have sold portions aggregating 24,901 acres at an average price of \$7.32 per acre.

Last March all restriction was by law removed from the sale of Puyallup lands in Washington, and in consequence the Indians are rapidly parting with their lands at inadequate rates—the victims of sharpers.

Irrigation.—Last year's \$150,000 appropriation for irrigation was made a blessing to the Crow, Southern Ute, Pueblo, Walker River, Western Shoshoni, San Carlos, Pima, Navaho, Klamath, and Mission Indians, especially the latter, for whom thirty-five artesian wells were developed in the desert reservations of Torres and Cabazon.

Warner's Ranch Indians.—The Warner's Ranch Mission Indians have been finally moved to their new home at Pala. A tract of 3,353 acres was purchased for \$46,280, and several adjacent sections of unoccupied public lands have been temporarily reserved until it can be ascertained what, if any, of them can advantageously be added to the purchased lands. An irrigating ditch is under way, farming implements have been provided, and some ready-made houses have been shipped. Unfortunately it has been necessary to issue some rations. These and other Mission Indians in that part

of California have been detached from the Mission Agency and placed under a bonded school superintendent who is located at Pala.

Northern Cheyenne in Montana.—The last settler within the Northern Cheyenne Reservation has entered into an agreement for the sale of his land, and improvements and deeds will soon be passed and payment made, and the Northern Cheyenne will have a fair field on which to cultivate civilization.

Five Civilized Tribes.—The revenues from coal, asphalt, timber, stone, hay, pasture and cattle tax, payments on town lots, etc., collected by the Government for the benefit of the Five Civilized Tribes during the past year aggregated \$970,623. Of this, one third was from sale of town lots and one fourth from coal mined in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations under 124 leases. Nearly half a million acres of coal lands have been segregated in those nations to be sold at public auction prior to September, 1905.

Creek allotments are practically completed, and allotments among the Cherokees, Choctaws and Chickasaws are progressing; and another nine months will doubtless see a majority of the members of these tribes in possession of title to their respective shares of tribal lands. Creek allottees may, with the consent of the Department, sell all their lands except the forty acres homestead, which is inalienable and non-taxable for twenty-one years. The Creeks began to dispose of their lands at much less than their value; but by recent regulations the sales are to be made on sealed bids to the highest bidder after sixty days advertisement, and conveyances made under previous regulations have been disapproved by the Interior Department. Meantime the lands are to be appraised, and no bids under the appraised value (which will not be published) will be accepted.

Railroads Across Indian Lands.—As the act of February 28, 1902, in regard to railroads in Oklahoma and Indian Territory goes into operation, it becomes apparent that by its terms the Interior Department is deprived of any jurisdiction in those territories over the acquirement by railroads of Indian lands through which the roads pass. The necessity for taking lands at all is to be determined by the railroads themselves, and they may make their own terms with the Indians, both as to the amount to be used and the price. If the Indian rejects the "amicable settlement" proposed to him, the railroad may have referees of its own selection appointed by the court, from whose award any appeal must be taken within ten days. Thus by private barter a railroad may acquire any Indian land, homestead or other, and under this act the railroad obtains it in fee without reversion if the railroad is discontinued.

Exhibition of Indians.—All requests to be allowed to take Indians from their reservations for exhibition purposes have been refused, and with the exception of the annual festival at Denver, Col., all requests that Indians be allowed to participate in county or State fairs and festivals have also been refused.

Last summer four cases were reported of Indians (41 in all)

who had been enticed away from home by so-called Wild West shows, and left stranded in Coney Island, St. Louis and Janesville, Wis.

An item of some general interest in the Commissioner's report is a statement as to the number of treaties and agreements which have been concluded with Indian tribes. The United States Statutes contain 370 treaties and 74 agreements negotiated from 1778 to 1902. Two other treaties were made, which, though not formally promulgated, were nevertheless carried into effect. Hardly a year of our national life has passed without some formal negotiation by the Government with Indians; but nearly half the whole number of treaties were made in the years 1815, 1816, 1818, 1825, 1832, 1836 and 1837, 1854 and 1855 and 1865, the number in each year varying from 10 to 20. Only one has ever been abrogated by the Government—the treaty with the Minnesota Sioux after the massacre of 1862.

Mr. C. Rumsey, of Riverside, Cal., was invited to speak on basketry. Many baskets were on exhibition during the address.

Mr. RUMSEY.—It seemed rather singular to me yesterday to find in this assemblage, which is devoted to the interest of down-trodden people, that when most severe references were made to ethnologists and archæologists there was no voice raised in their defense. I am an amateur ethnologist and archæologist, and am brought before you to-day as a horrible example. It would seem to me that these gentlemen who have been so patient with the North American Indian might have had some hope of an ethnologist. As for the individual called an ethnologist who is said to have done this act on the reservation, I can say for myself that he represents ethnology in its very lowest form. I think a true ethnologist would just as soon go to Mr. Smiley's stable, borrow a golf club, and go down among his cows and have a buffalo hunt in the interest of ethnology, as to do what this person is said to have done. I hope it can be disproved.

I first became interested in Indians through ethnology. This industry of basketry appealed to my sense of beauty, and I began to purchase a few of them with that in mind. The study of this industry from my love of ethnology soon began to assume a different form. I began to find that it meant something more than an article to pick apples in, or carry groceries in,—which is the general idea of a basket which we have. There is no one thing in the ordinary life of an Indian which touched his life in so many points as what we call basketry, from the cradle to the grave. I speak of course of the basket-making tribes; among the pottery-making tribes that is not so, but certain tribes were so situated that all their utensils were composed of basketry; they had no knowledge of pottery.

The Indian woman making meal of the seeds of weeds for food

would go into the plains or mountains with a basket which she held under the weed when the seeds were ripe. With another article made of basketry she picked the seeds, poured them into a burden basket, carried them to her home, placed them in a storage basket, ground the seeds afterward in a stone mill, poured the meal into another basket, sifting it over the edge and retaining the bran, cooked it in a basket by heating stones red hot which were placed in the water until it was boiling, and when it was done she poured the mush into a bowl of basketry from which it was eaten. So there were seven or eight different forms of basketry used in preparing the necessary food of a basket-making tribe.

You can realize how vanishing this industry must be. Do you think that a woman will any longer among the Indians spend two months to make a cooking pot? She buys a tin pan or granite ware vessel for a small sum, and basketry in that form dies out in that tribe. They are becoming more and more scarce, and will eventually, I think, be found only in museums.

There is a book now being prepared by Dr. Otis Mason, of Washington, who is the patron saint of basket lovers. He has given probably the better part of twenty years to the consideration of this subject which may appear very trivial to many, but which is so much a part of the life of the Indian that it is of exceeding interest to ethnology. Dr. Mason has now in preparation the book which is the crowning effort of his life, the proof sheets of which I saw a few days ago. I said to him, "Did you ever think how many points in the life of an Indian a basket touched?" "Oh, yes," he said, and he showed me a page and a half of that book in double column instancing the uses to which basketry was placed among the Indians. Their infants were placed in baskets soon after birth, and their ceremonials were dependent upon basketry. I have a specimen of a so-called wedding basket of the Navahoes,—a ceremonial basket,—and one of a kind of basketry which is as sacred to the Navaho shaman (medicine man) as the communion service is to us. It is used only, I believe, for ceremonial purposes; the sacred meal is ground in a sacred mortar, made into a sacred cake, and placed in a particular form upon this basket, and upon another which seemed to have four St. Andrew's crosses at different points. This basket was said to have been always presented by the shaman to the bride. It always has a broken line in the decoration, which is called sometimes the way of life or the path of life. But I do not think anyone has ever got at the true significance of it, because an Indian rarely divulges anything connected with his faith. It was supposed by ethnologists that this was simply a line which enabled the shaman to orient the basket as he held it, placing the basket to the east.

There has recently been discovered a tribe whose life antedates the cliff dwellers, and who were basket makers, carrying basketry back to a period which no man can measure. Among those people the Indians were buried and covered with these baskets,

some of them very large, with beautifully woven patterns and designs.

It is claimed by basket lovers that basketry antedated pottery, and that pottery was evolved from that. When basket making comes to be only the catering to a tourist taste it will cease to exist. As a part of the life of the people necessary to their existence it has had a very long survival.

All ethnologists claim that every design upon an Indian basket has some meaning; that all of these designs are intended to represent something. This is no doubt true in part, but I, with presumption no doubt, but with a sort of instinctive feeling, claim that an Indian who could make a basket as beautiful as some of these had the taste to make that basket simply from the love of the beautiful, and not chiefly because it represented anything.

Were these beautiful baskets made by the leisure class among the Indians, the dilettant? They were made by the busiest person in the whole tribe; the slave and the drudge of the tribe made these things for use, and then made them beautiful. They show the marvelous skill and patience and idea of beauty of these people.

Mrs. Alfred R. Page was invited to speak on the work of the Mohonk Lodge, at Colony, Okla.

Mrs. PAGE.—I feel, dear friends, that it would be impossible to put into a few minutes the faithful and constant work that has gone on during the year of 1903. Beginning with October, 1902, Mr. and Mrs. Roe were absent from the Lodge and from the work nine months, and necessarily many of the enterprises that they had proposed had to be left until their return; nevertheless the home department and the industrial department went forward. Mr. Kincaide, who was sent by the Government, had charge of the industrial work. Miss Jackson, who is the Lodge matron, went in and out and did faithful work. The quilting frames were often laid out upon the floors, and you would see from time to time the wash tubs being taken down to the camp for washing that could not be brought up to the Lodge. The sick were cared for by our Lodge matron, food being sent down to them from the parsonage, and Miss Johnson would go in and out among the tepees taking care of the people there. This Lodge was a direct outcome of this Mohonk Conference. In 1898 the money was given to Mr. and Mrs. Roe, and the house was placed half way between our church and the parsonage. The Lodge brings the Indians there, and the church and the mission influence them. It is a work that has grown during the last three years out of all of our anticipations. Last year, as I told you, we raised about \$1,500; this year our assets are between \$3,000 and \$4,000. You can see the great gain that has been made, and the gain has fully equaled the amount that was raised last year.

Our work is among the Cheyennes and the Arapahoes entirely.

This last spring we had a storm, similar to the one I told you about a year ago. Every tepee in the entire camp was almost riddled by the wind, and the Lodge furnished a place of refuge for them. The church was also thrown open, and the whole tribe was cared for until they could construct their camp anew. We propose this year a new department. Many Indians are suffering with their eyes, and Mr. Roe has sent for an oculist from Chicago. We hope many of the Indians will have their sight restored to them, and that others will be prevented from going blind.

This last summer we had a gathering of the women, coming in just for the afternoon, bringing their children and going over the work of the year. It would have been a very sweet sight if you could have seen them sitting around that room. We had no interpreter, so that we had to depend upon the sign language. The women were very shy about interpreting, and we had to send out in the camp for a girl to come and interpret, and meanwhile Mr. Roe went on with the sign language. He held up before them a piece of the work that was done three years ago, and showed how crooked it was; and then he held up a beautiful, even piece of work just done, and showed the improvement; and then he showed them how at first we had to urge them to come in, but now they came in of their own accord, and we have more work than we can do. And whereas before we had to say to the women, "Wait, wait!" now to-day it is all push and hurry because we cannot fill the orders sent to us.

I feel that this work comes as an industrial work, and also a mission work. The outgrowth of the industrial work is one that not only helps them industrially, raising them so that they can support themselves and tide themselves over until the men can take hold of their allotments, but it is also bringing them into close touch with our missions.

Through the kindness of Mr. Smiley an additional building has gone up at the end of the Lodge, and this furnishes us a room where we can attend to the sick. They are very superstitious, and feel that if an Indian dies in the tepee it is haunted by the spirit, but now we keep them in the new room if necessary until they pass away. Miss Johnson is not only a trained nurse but she is a cook, and she asks the women to bring their food material and teaches them to cook a sensible, wholesome meal for their families. Then again we want them to quilt their comforters, and that means that we must have additional space now being used by our industrial department.

About Geronimo.—I had a long talk with that terrible man just about three weeks ago, and I find him very different from what I had anticipated. Possibly it may be the result of his conversion, which we believe to be genuine, which took place this spring. A year ago at our regular Apache gathering he came forward, and standing and raising his finger impressively he turned and spoke to his people very rapidly in Apache. The interpreter said that he

told the people that what Professor Berwin had told them was true; that it was time to try to catch the upgoing road. He asked to be taken into the church, but we hesitated to take him, knowing his past life. This year he came again; he said he wanted to change, and he wanted to devote what few remaining years there were left to a better life. And so we took him. I saw him in his own home, and we had a long talk. I told him all the white men were looking at him and watching him, and if he should fall he would take with him a large part of our faith in what the Indians could do and could become. He said that he knew it, and that he was trying very hard. And he has remained firm ever since his conversion. He has not gambled, he has not taken part in any of those strange Indian worships that they have there, and he has been regular in his attendance at the mission.

A great many of our Comanches came in, over seventy of them in one day, and all along the line of Indian work there is a great change. They realize that the old life is a thing of the past, and that if they want to remain firm in their civilization they have got to have something outside of themselves to keep them so.

Mr. SMILEY.—Mr. Roe has sent an official report of the work done at Mohonk Lodge of which Mrs. Page has spoken. I do not propose to read it, but I want to say that this industry is, I think, exceedingly interesting. The cash sales for the year ending October 1, 1903, were \$5,200, and are rapidly increasing. Those Indian men and women have something to do by which they can earn money in steady employment the year round. They have a building provided by the guests of this house for which \$1,500 was contributed here several years ago, and I recently sent \$500 which was raised for another purpose—for a pottery which was unsuccessful. And they are accomplishing something. Here is Mrs. Greatnose getting \$107.95 for her work, and Little Woman \$98.50; that tells the story. I bought \$300 worth of their goods, and we have been selling them to our guests, and beautiful things they are—moccasins and belts and all sorts of things, and they cannot begin to supply the demand.

Miss Sibyl Carter was asked to speak.

Miss SIBYL CARTER.—Last night when the good brethren were speaking about the Indians I thought of five hundred brown-visaged women scattered around over the great West, whom I know so well and know that they are working.

I have now cottage industries at ten different points in the United States, and I have altogether in the neighborhood of five hundred and fifty Indian women making this beautiful lace. In the past twelve years since I began we have gained recognition unexpectedly to myself certainly, and I think equally so to the Indians, in the shape of a gold medal at the Paris Exposition and also a gold medal

at the Buffalo Exposition. Now that shows that they can work. And I was extremely pleased when I was in Europe this spring, going round among the Italian lace villages, to have an opportunity to start another lace school there in an old Waldensian village, and one of my teachers who was with me said, "Why, they learn almost as fast as the Indians!" I thought, in the country that is called the home of lace-making, that was a very great compliment to our Indian people.

I have just come from the reservations in Minnesota and South Dakota. I noticed one or two things where the Indians were trying to be like the white people. One thing was pathetic: the only child of an industrious couple had died, and on the morning of the funeral we were much surprised to see the funeral team come from the white village near by. Usually the Indians carry the dead body to the church. We said to the man, "What did you send for that for?" "Oh," he said, "this little girl was a dear little girl; Miss Carter always called her Cola." When I first became acquainted with her this little child was very much afraid of a white lady, and I said to her mother, "Tell her I am a friend; I am Cola." She came to me at once, and after that the little child was called "Miss Carter's friend." He said, "About a month ago I saw them carrying a white girl in this way, and we are trying to be like white people, so I sold my only horse that I might have that wagon and have her buried like a white child."

There was a very pretty thing done at this time. The mother sent for all the little children in the village, and had them gathered together. Her little girl had been sick a long time, and there had been a good many toys given her, and she had always kept them. So the mother gathered the little children round, and smiling, though the tears were running down her cheeks, she said: "My little girl was good; I give you her playthings. All you little girls be good like my little girl, and then Jesus he love you, and you go and live with him."

I am encouraged because I see improvement wherever my industries are; in all of our places they seem to be neater and cleaner. I think one of the strongest recommendations for the lace that I showed the ladies this morning is its beautiful purity; many of the pieces it takes more than a month to make, and yet they have kept them beautifully white and clean.

There used to be an Indian encampment just opposite St. Paul, at the village of Mendota, and when I first went to Minnesota there were twenty families there. Now there are but two women left; all the others have moved to Birch Coulie because they could get work.

Another interesting thing to me occurred last August. I was in the town of Plymouth, England, waiting for my steamer to sail. I was walking round seeing the town, and I suddenly turned a corner and ran into one of our Indians. He knew me at once and went and told his friends. They had been left in England by a Wild

West Show, and they were actually every one of them in good business in Plymouth. They were just as glad to see me as if I had been one of their sisters, and they followed me round the streets much to the amusement of the people.

I leave to the men of America the consideration of political questions; but I do wish you would start up more industries. I believe in them. I am so sorry the pottery failed. If somebody would just take hold of that and help those people in that way, nobody would be gladder than I.

I have a school in Honolulu, and I have sent off two teachers there. I taught them in my own home how to make the lace.

There is a Mohonk gold medal, too. When they award you a medal in one of these great fairs you have to pay for it. I did not know this until I got into the business. When the medal was awarded at Paris the friends who helped me said, "Of course, we will have the gold medal!" and they paid for it. When the medal was awarded at Buffalo the charge was \$175. Mr. Smiley said, "You must have it." I said, "I cannot get it without \$175." So he had a meeting right in this room, and the first thing I knew I had the gold medal.

MR. SMILEY.—The one given at Buffalo was the highest prize given lace in the world, and the prize medal at Paris was the second prize against the world.

MISS MARIE E. IVES.—As the editor of the *Indian's Friend* I am in a watch tower looking over the field, and can perhaps help the work in that way. During the last year I have had a little practical interest in the Indian industries. The missionaries asked if I could not sell things for them, and I said, "Send on the things." I was in New York at the time, and the first work that came was bead work from Mohonk Lodge, which sold very rapidly. By having the bead work, people came who would not come to a missionary meeting, and I also sold my paper. I sold bead work and baskets until I really became quite a business woman for the Indians. What beautiful things they make! I do not know but I shall open up these little places wherever I can get people to take the Indian industries and take *The Indian's Friend*. Aside from the beauty of the work, if we are helping even one Indian woman to earn a living it certainly is worth doing.

The Chairman announced that the next in order was a paper prepared by Miss Alice C. Fletcher, to be read by Mrs. Barrows.



THE PREPARATION OF THE INDIANS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

BY ALICE C. FLETCHER.

The Indians hardly exceed two hundred and fifty thousand, and of these, excluding the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory, about forty-one per cent, by virtue of the Severalty Act of 1887, are citizens of the United States. The question arises, What preparation have the Indians had for the responsibilities of citizenship?

History shows that outside philanthropic circles the Indian as a man has received little consideration, and that such importance as he has obtained in public affairs has been due to his landed possessions, for from the planting of the first colony on the Atlantic coast to the latest rush upon a reservation thrown open to settlement the acquisition of Indian land has been the object of treaties and of wars. When the Indian's "right of occupancy" had been purchased, the expenditure of the accruing funds, both principal and interest, has been the charge of United States officials, and the management of his remaining lands has devolved upon agents. In the administration of the Indian's property the business interests of our race have always been considered and conserved, while care has been exercised that the Indian himself should have as little as possible to do with the management of his own property.

The reservation and the agency system were makeshifts devised to meet pressing exigencies. Bad as in some instances the agency system has proved it was a great advance upon earlier methods of dealing with an alien and untutored people. The system is complex and its official requirements onerous. An Indian agent must have administrative ability, business sagacity and untiring philanthropy; in fact, a rarely gifted person is demanded for the office. In return for his unstinted services he receives from \$1,000 to \$2,000 per annum, and must reside in an isolated region, necessitating a withdrawal from the delights and stimulus of society. That so many men have nobly filled this difficult office is a far greater wonder than that there have been those who have failed.

What has the agency system taught the Indian of citizenship, of which one of the primal requisites would seem to be that a man shall understand something of the laws under which he lives, the mode of their execution and his responsibility as a part of a co-ordinated society?

The Indian has learned that he and his tribe are controlled by the will of one man for a term of years, to be followed by a different man's will for the next term, and so on. There has been no continuity of policy; one fact only persisting,—that through all terms one man power has held almost absolute control of life and property on a reservation. The Indian has also observed that generally those persons in the tribe who made themselves useful or

pliant to the purposes of the agent received benefits from him. As a result, there has grown up in every tribe a set of petty politicians, who form a sort of agency ring, and these largely administer tribal affairs through the interpreters and employees, each new agent falling, often unconsciously, into the groove of his predecessor. The tribe knew only the agent or "Father," the President or "Great Father," with sometimes a "Little Father" between these two, who might be either the Secretary of the Interior or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Owing to ancient tribal training the Indian accepts these terms as something more than mere names, and believes that they represent our forms of government. The treaties were made with the "Great Father," and if their terms were not carried out, then he, personally, was not true to his word; for the complicated machinery attending all executive acts was unknown to the Indian; Congress was regarded as a council, but the real power was vested in the "Great Father." The belief obtains with the reservation Indian that a personal government is the law of the land, and his daily experience confirms him in it; for on a reservation a man may do a thing, not because the law allows, but because the agent consents, or a man may not do a thing, not because the law forbids, but because the agent prohibits. To the Indian the agent has not stood as an officer of the law, but as a ruler by his own will or that of the "Great Father."

An incident which came under the writer's notice a number of years ago illustrates this view of reservation authority. A Christian Indian who had had some education had read something of our history, and the precepts of the Declaration of Independence dwelt in his memory. He told his friends and neighbors that the white people were not governed by an agent, but by laws, and they believed that all men were born free and were equal before the law. News of this talk reached the agent's ear and he sent for the Indian, obliging him to make a forced journey of over fifty miles under a torrid sun, and on his arrival at the agency cast him into jail without stating his offense, and kept him in solitary confinement. Upon his release some days later he received a severe reproof from the agent for teaching seditious doctrine, which would "subvert his authority."

During later years the efforts of the Indian Commissioner to modify arbitrary agency control have been assisted by the better sentiment of the country, and valuable aid has been rendered by the development and influence of the Indian schools and by the establishment of the Indian Court of Offenses. At first the Indians who were appointed as judges naturally knew little of what constitutes legal evidence, nevertheless they generally meted out justice to the offenders brought before them. Changes have taken place in the manner of selecting these judges, due in good measure to the increasing number of young men who have been to school, particularly those who have attended the training schools outside the reservation; these, acting under the stimulus of the allotment of lands

under the Severalty Act, with its prospective citizenship, in a tribe known to the writer, secured the election of one of their number as judge, and the newly elected man at once bought a copy of the Revised Statutes of the State, determined to administer his office as though he were indeed a justice of the peace. It is almost needless to say that he did good service to his fellow judges and to his tribe. The Indian Court of Offenses has done much to counteract the false teaching of arbitrary agency control, and has helped to prepare the people for self-government. Of course among tribes where citizenship obtains the decisions of this Court have now less effect, as the people are nominally subject to the legal authority of the State.

It may be asked, Are the Indians prepared for the relinquishment of agency control? Yes and no. Many persons in the various tribes of the country are ready to meet the change; others are not prepared, and it is doubtful if they can ever become fitted for the full responsibility of government, but they should not be allowed to hang as a weight about the necks of those who are impatient to advance. Unfortunately it has been the custom to hold up to view the weak and ignorant of a tribe to the exclusion of the strong and intelligent, and to act in the interest of this lower class, as we should call a similar group in our towns. The result has been unfortunate both to the progressive and to the non-progressive Indian. Experience is needed for growth, and experience is what the Indian has not been allowed to gain. He has not been permitted, generally speaking, to spend his own money; it has been spent for him by officials. He has not been permitted to make his own bargains; they also have been made for him. Of business affairs he knows little or nothing, having never been permitted to reap the fruits of his own good or poor judgment. Agency shops, agency employees, agency issues, and the like, all of them well-meant devices to protect the ignorant Indian, have left the entire people without the self-reliance of which they now stand in so much need.

It is easy to criticise the management of Indian affairs, but it is not so easy to suggest practical and adequate changes to meet the many and complicated difficulties that attend the saving of the Indian's property and the preparation of the Indian to maintain his place beside his white neighbor. It is true that Indian wars have ceased, but conflicts of a subtler and more dangerous character beset the reservation. The Indian still possesses lands that the white men covet, and his funds offer temptations to greedy schemers, but while the Government protects lands and funds these cannot be squandered. That the Indian needs to feel the pressure of his own responsibility there is no gainsaying. The time is at hand when he must stand on his own feet and rely upon them to carry him forward. That he will stumble and fall there is little doubt, but there is also a reasonable hope that he will gather himself up again, for it is only by struggle and experience that a man can fit himself for the serious life of self-dependence.

The question of the Indian resolves itself into the question of training the individual to meet the responsibilities of life, and the same methods we pursue to bring about like results in our own communities are needed to make the Indian intelligent and strong, able to resist evil and to earn his own livelihood. The Government is most generous both in the quality and quantity of its Indian schools, and but little more can be asked on this line. The churches have done much in the past, but the demand to-day is greater than ever before for unstinted Christian work. For the encouragement of all efforts in behalf of our native population it can be stated that there are now hundreds of young men and women who are holding positions of responsibility in the many arts and crafts of our country, and these afford ample proof of the capacity of the Indian to become an enlightened citizen of the United States.

Mr. GARRETT.—I am inclined to think that this is the most important paper which has come before this Conference, or will come before it. My opinion is that the time has fully come for the abolition of the agent. I am inclined to think that at the beginning of the work among the Indians an agent was necessary, but I believe that now it is the worst possible thing that can exist. The existence of the agencies is an incessant source of scandal and irregularity at the present time. The point upon which the paper lays stress is education in the duties of citizenship, and placing the Indians on their own feet, and teaching them to be citizens. I believe it would be good for Congress to pass an act declaring that at some near date the agency system should cease. Something of that sort I believe might wisely be done.

Hon. JOHN J. FITZGERALD.—I would like to ask the gentleman one question. He has made a suggestion as to what Congress should do; I think he should also suggest upon whom the duties of the agency should devolve.

Mr. GARRETT.—I believe it is not a difficult problem to accomplish. It is true there is a great deal of red tape about the whole Indian question, but it is not impossible to do it. You have begun now a good work in this direction by devolving the work of the agencies upon bonded superintendents of schools. That is good, because there is less of despotism about it. The agent who sent for the Indian fifty miles through a hot sun, and cast him into prison, should be brought two thousand miles, or whatever it is to Washington, and thrown into prison ten years. Just think of it, teaching them outrageous despotism instead of the principles of our Constitution! I wish he might be punished in some way.

Mr. WOOD.—I rise to say one word in response to Mr. Garrett's suggestion, and that is "Amen." I believe that the time has come for the abolition of the reservations. I suppose that the man at the head of Indian affairs in this country would say "Amen" also. I refer to Commissioner Jones. I have carefully watched his official

career, and I feel sure that in Commissioner Jones we have a man whose sole purpose in his work is to seek the highest welfare of the Indians. I also believe that his superior officer, the Secretary of the Interior, is an honest, able man. It is too common to make sweeping charges and wholesale denunciations against those in power when we have not been able to have our own way, or when we have known of existing evils that they would have corrected if it had been possible for them to get the facts. The Indian Bureau is only one of a multitude of departments under the control of the Secretary of the Interior, and it is simply impossible with the demands upon his time to master all the details of these various departments. And the facts in relation to some wrong done the Indians often come in the shape of personal complaints against the Secretary or Commissioner, which do not put them in the very best frame of mind to consider them.

The reservations would soon be abolished, I think, if the Commissioner should be put in full charge of the Indian Department; he is not, but should be made responsible for the conduct of this Department. He should have the appointment of his own agents and employees. The control is now vested in a divided jurisdiction,—the Interior Department, the War Department, and the Indian Bureau,—often working at cross purposes. It is nearly impossible to fix responsibility under this system, or correct evils promptly. For when there is a failure it is always the fault of some one else. The time has come for the abolition of the agencies, and I think the Commissioner would say so. He has made an advance step in putting bonded superintendents in charge of many of the agencies. If bonded superintendents were in charge of all, I think that in less than ten years the reservation would be a thing of the past. The abolition of agencies should be left to the discretion of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Mr. E. M. WISTAR.—As Mrs. Barrows closed her reading I felt as though that paper might be regarded almost as a platform for this Conference, it seemed to cover so much.

I would also refer for a moment to the paper read by the Hon. Darwin R. James, probably prepared by Miss Cook, and to say briefly that from observation in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory in different years, and comparing the results, I have found that the appointments of the bonded superintendents have been greatly to the benefit of the service and have been the cause of much encouragement.

Mr. MESERVE.—At the risk of getting on my feet too often, I wish to say just a word with reference to the admirable address that we received from Mrs. Page in reference to the Indian industries. I do not want to minimize that work, but I do want to emphasize the importance of the religious work that they are doing at Colony. I was there when the Mohonk Lodge was completed, and I have

visited it several times since. I spent a few days there last March, and I know the good work that is being done. I see here many members of the Reformed Church in America, and they are specially interested in the work there because Mr. Roe is the missionary there of the Reformed Church. We have been discussing this evening the question of the Indian industries, and I just want to refer to the other side, which is equally important if not more so, and that is the religious phase of the work. I would like to speak of the religious work carried on at Colony because it is outside of my own denomination, and I have rarely seen the work at a mission station that seems to be so wisely carried on as there.

Colony, Okla., is on the right hand of Cobb Creek as you face the south, and to the right of the school is the Dutch Reformed Church building. It is a beautiful church outside and in, built of stone. Just over to the right of the church is the Mohonk Lodge, built with money raised here a few years ago, and just near the home of Mr. and Mrs. Roe. I like to go into the church; it will hold about two hundred, and there are usually gathered in it 175 Indians and perhaps twenty-five white people, farmers of the locality, for the land has been allotted and the surplus sold to white settlers. When I was at Colony last March I spoke to the people in the church with Wautang as my interpreter, and I want to assure the communicants of that church who may be here that a great and good work is being done. It is the only church that the Indians can attend for miles and miles. I have gone out with Mr. and Mrs. Roe among the tepees, and have seen the kind of work that they are doing. The religious work is after all the important work, and to my mind it will be the abiding work in that part of the territory.

Dr. JACKSON.—With reference to Miss Fletcher's paper I want to add my full endorsement, as a few others have, and to say "Amen" to that paper. But I simply rise to answer a question which has been asked about baskets, whether they will really hold water. I would state that the majority of the Indian baskets of Alaska, which are made for holding water, will hold water. They are made for that purpose. The people go to the mountain stream and get water in their baskets to carry home for cooking. Some of the baskets are made of straw and others are made of the bark and the roots of the cedar tree. They have no rubber garments to protect them from the rain, but they wear a hat that is rainproof.

The Alaska Indians are native born mechanics and artisans. At the time of the New Orleans Exposition the Commissioner of Education wanted me to make a collection of the various things that illustrated the child life of the Indians in Alaska. We got the board with the leather into which the baby is placed, padded with the dried moss of that region, and I wanted something to represent the baby. I went into the school at Sitka and told the children the situation. I said: "I want one of you to carve a baby's head in

wood that I can put in this cradle and send down to the white people in the South, where they are going to have a collection from all the natives everywhere of the work they do." After a little hesitation a boy, perhaps sixteen years of age, who had just come into the school, said that if he could be excused from school for the four or five days till the steamer arrived, he could do it. And he took a piece of cedar and carved a child's head, which was put into the cradle and sent to New Orleans. We could not make the people there believe that the boy had done it; they thought it was the work of a trained artist.

Colonel PRATT.—I want to put myself fair and square before the Conference, and be entirely honest with myself, and go away with some respect.

About this industry business, far be it from me to place the slightest restriction on the development of honest toil anywhere; whether it is for practical or ornamental purposes it makes no difference. I think that one of the best things our railroads could do, or that our Christian people could do, would be to go to Alaska and get some of these people that Dr. Jackson has been talking about, and put them into the railroad shops and let them earn good wages. And I can guarantee entire satisfaction if it is properly managed.

A gentleman feels uncomfortable because I spoke against the ethnologists. I want to say that from his own confession he did not seem to be very much of an ethnologist. He is just beginning; when he gets along in the service, with the Government salaries that these fellows have been getting so long, and dominates legislation as these fellows do, he will be a nuisance. He is all right now. This very moment, right now, down in the Indian Territory where that act was committed that my friend spoke of, this ethnologist is getting all sorts of papers from the Indians to disprove the statement that has gone out about it. But I was there, and I know it happened just about the way our good old Seegar said it did. The Commissioner heard about it from somebody else. The ethnologist had hired an Indian to go trotting round there with a thong in his flesh and dragging the skull of an ox—could not get any buffalo skulls; they are gone.

I say that the usefulness of the Bureau of Ethnology has gone, and, Brother Fitzgerald, I say it here in public, and if it comes up and it is worth anything you can say it to your Committee in Congress and I will stand for it there. The usefulness of the Bureau of Ethnology has gone in the way they hold the people to the past. And without any intention in the slightest degree to hinder all the industry of this kind that can be accomplished, and all the money that the poor Indians can get out of it going into their pockets, I want to say that I mean there is a far bigger and brighter and better way. And that way is on the lines that I have so often contended for here, and means more to them. They do not make the

old things any more; the patterns are new. Our friend has explained that, and apologized for them. There is no use in making them, because they can buy a pan or a piece of pottery that will do the work better for a few cents. We want to bring them into possession of our things because they are better, and we want to have them help us make them. That is the better way.

I want to say what I have said before, that we can bring these people into our industries quickly, and then they will earn more, and they will be of us, and that is the end of it. And there is no end until we get to that point. If we insist on their staying in their tepees and working at these industries it is a hindrance; you cannot get enough out of it to keep any one tribe. We earn more at Carlisle in one year than can be got out of these industries in four years. We earned over \$30,000 last year working for the farmers.

We have got to have the Indian on exhibition all the time; that is the work of the ethnologist. We had them at the Buffalo Fair, and we are going to have them down at St. Louis. The man who has charge of that for the Government wrote to a friend of mine to know if he couldn't help him along a little. This was written last June, and I will read you the reply of my friend.

"June 22, 1903.

"*Sir*: Your letter of June 17th received. In answer to your question 'can I furnish any old Indians to work at the occupations enumerated in your letter,' viz., Chippewas at birch-bark canoes, Navahoes at blanket-weaving and silversmithing, Sioux on stonework, bead work, etc., other tribes on basket-making: As the Indians under my charge would come under the head of other tribes and would be expected to work at basket-making, I will have to say that I do not know of an old Indian in this district who can make a basket.

"I have a few young men who have been doing something at stonework, and can lay a very fair stone wall; but as this is an acquired art with them, and it is young men that do it, it would not fit in the exhibit.

"I have some quite old men that are quite expert with the spade and shovel, and some that are quite handy with the axe. I am sure they would make a more creditable showing along this line than they would at basket-weaving. Then, again, I believe that basket-weaving would be too sedentary an occupation for the old Indians of this district.

"As my work and experience among these Indians for thirty years has been with a view of getting them to forget their old ways and pursuits, and I have been so far successful, aided, of course, by the conditions and environments which surround them, that it would now take some time and expense to get them back to where they would make a creditable showing in any pursuit peculiar to Indians.

"I, of course, could find a few who could make a creditable exhibit in smoking the pipe of peace, or any other kind of a pipe, providing the tobacco would be furnished free of cost to them. Thirty years ago in every large Indian camp there could be seen groups of old men squatted around in a shaded nook playing 'Mexican Montey.' There is a remnant yet of these old men left who would have no objections to giving an exhibit of this accomplishment at the exposition.

"Outside of these two things the old-time occupations of the Indians have about passed away. When I first knew them they hunted the buffalo and lived by so doing. The work of the men did not go much farther than making bows and arrows and herding their ponies. The women tanned the robes, skinned the buffalo, built the lodges, leaving the men but little to do when in camp. So it is not strange that their time was put in when in camp, smoking and playing 'Montey,' and I might add in pulling out their eyebrows. As I don't imagine these occupations would add much to the exhibit, I must frankly say you have struck the wrong men to furnish the features of the exhibit you asked for in your letter, but there is an Indian farmer in this agency who is employed in cultivating the native industries of these Indians. I will quote from his catalogue, which says: 'All goods quoted are genuine Indian design and made by them in the old way. We allow no thread to be used by them in the construction, but insist on sinew being used exclusively, as that was the only thread known before the white man came, and is much more lasting. With very few exceptions, all the articles quoted are practical. Take, for instance, the golf belts—they are original and beautiful, practical and durable; combined with the purse there is no more practical article in the market. So it is with moccasins and card cases, music rolls, book covers, etc.'

"Now, my dear Colonel, you can plainly see you have missed your man. You should get — to furnish you with some of these old Indians, and have them employed on the exposition grounds making golf belts, card cases, music rolls and book covers, just as they did ages ago before they met the white man and became acquainted with him. The only obstacle I see in the way of this plan being carried out is that the — woman who cuts out and designs this aborigines work might be too close in the background, and might be heard to answer to the question as to why these Indians do not cut this work themselves that they did not understand how to do it as they only knew how to do things their own way.

"I came among these Indians too soon, and have been here too long to appreciate this kind of Indian industries.

"I received a letter to-day from another person asking me to contribute to the St. Louis Exposition. In this letter he says, 'If you like we will make a special exhibit of what you furnish, and give your school and reservation credit for the same. Would you like to have grasses of every kind, and wheat, oats, etc., and the

grain when thrashed?' Now this man struck me with a full hand, and I can play to his ante, and if I don't turn trump from the bottom of the deck on his deal and sweep the stakes it will be because my experience in the Indian work has profited me nothing.

"As I cannot see that I can help you out in the line of exhibit you have asked for, I have referred you to the one that can do so. My first experience in Indian exhibit was in 1877, when I took a party of one hundred and fifty Indians to a fair at —, where I took twelve premiums and diplomas with the Indians and school children in fair competition with the white exhibitors of Kansas. Among the premiums I took was the best collection of handmade work, the prettiest thing of any name or nature, the best collection of garden and field seeds which was put up by the Indians, light bread baked by a girl fourteen years old, jelly and preserves of different kinds put up by schoolgirls. I made an Indian exhibit at the first fair held in —, and got several premiums and diplomas in fair competition with white people. I did not enter in my exhibit any old-time golf belts or music rolls, or the war club which Captain Smith was not killed with. I leave those kind of exhibits to the frontiersmen from Boston and other frontier places.

"I think I have fully shown that I am not an exhibitor of the type you are looking for, although I would be very glad to help you out in any way that I am capable of doing.

"Wishing you unbounded success in this enterprise, I am,

"Yours very respectfully."

Mr. DARWIN R. JAMES.—It is never pleasant to make reflections upon the Indian agents; they get their share and perhaps more than their share of criticism. I have had much experience with them, and have found some of them to be worthy men who were trying their best to fill their positions acceptably; some have lacked capacity, and some have been negligent of their duty, if nothing worse could be said.

The paper of Miss Alice Fletcher brings to my mind an incident upon one of the reservations where she was one of the Government allotting agents; I will not mention which reservation, or the name of any official except herself. Mrs. James and I were making an extended tour, visiting Indian schools of the Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church and Indian reservations and schools of the Government; among the latter was the reservation in question. We had an unusually hearty welcome by the allotting agents, the superintendent, teachers and others who had learned that we were coming.

The special occasion for their joy was the fact that matters were so intensely unsatisfactory that they had grasped at the suggestion that they utilize the coming of a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners for an investigation into the conduct of the agent. Charges had long before been forwarded to Washington, and

they had been promised an inspector to investigate, for whom they had waited in vain, and the condition had become almost unbearable. Fortunately, the inspector came the following day. He proved to be a wise and capable man; a lawyer of fairness and ability. At his request I sat with him during the investigation, which took several days; the charges were produced and sworn evidence was taken for and against the agent, who was shown to be a thoroughly bad man and absolutely unfit for the place. The witnesses were teachers and employees who were courageous enough to come forward to present testimony. They were reluctant to do it, however, and were actuated by a sense of duty. The inspector presented his report to the Secretary, and I sent mine to the Indian Commissioner. Both were overwhelmingly against the agent, but it did not seem to make any difference; the agent retained his position. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs urged his removal. Personally, I had a long conversation with the Secretary, urging that the man be displaced; but it was all of no avail; the man's political "pull" was too much for us, and he served his term, and was succeeded by a man appointed by the new administration.

But this was not all. Among the witnesses who testified upon the stand was a man who had been upon the reservation in various capacities for several years; he was a plain, unsophisticated, honest man, who at that time was driver for Miss Fletcher and her assistant in their frequent and long drives over the reservation in the work of making allotments to the Indians,—a work in which Miss Fletcher had no superior, and a business which the Indian Office entrusted to her care upon several reservations. Some time after the inspector and myself had left the reservation this driver was arrested upon a trumped-up charge that he had brought intoxicating liquors upon the reservation, which he had sold to the Indians; upon which he was shut up in the reservation jail, remaining there until the new agent was inducted into office. No power could get him out. Miss Fletcher presented and pressed the case at Washington, but made no headway; the inspector and myself lent our influence, but all in vain; the man, if I recollect correctly, was incarcerated a year and a half. In this statement I am presenting bald facts only; the details of the outrage I am not mentioning; but it is enough to make one hold down one's head with shame that such a thing should be permitted in this enlightened country.

Rev. GEO. L. SPINING.—I want to speak about something in a country where they have very few clouds, something under the sun in Arizona; I want to speak upon a subject that would take me an hour to enlarge upon, but I do not wish to press the meeting for time—the history of from five to seven thousand Pima Indians. Briefly, they came to us about fifty years ago by cession from Mexico; they are down below Phoenix, Ariz., on the Sacatone Reservation. They are not as picturesque as those who wear

plumes and war bonnets, and they are apt to escape our attention, inasmuch as they have never been by occupation hunters and by profession warriors. They are an agricultural people, accustomed to self-support, never asking a dollar from this Government until some few years ago this Government allowed colonies to come above them and divert all the water from the Gila River, from which they had taken water to irrigate their little farms for at least three hundred years. By the diversion of this water by these colonies these Indians have been left out on the desert to starve; a number of them have starved. A few years ago, in 1889, a friend of mine visiting there found a trainload of grain raised by these Indians; he found in a more recent visit one hundred and fifty sewing machines among these Indians; there were also seven organs that were furnishing music for as many churches among them. There are in connection with the Presbyterians five churches with twelve hundred members, and a very large communion in connection with the Roman Catholic Church. The Presbyterian Church alone has expended in the last thirty years, since it has had a missionary among them, \$270,000 to elevate them to our plane of civilization, to lift them up from barbarism and paganism, and bring them to our way of living. I am not prepared to tell how much money has been expended by the Roman Catholic Church, but doubtless a very large sum. We have been working together in behalf of these Indians for their elevation in every sense; now they have started backward toward paganism and vagabondism and even crime. The Government has recognized the equities in the case, the Indians' prior right to the water, and after laboring there for several years those of us who have been deeply interested in the matter brought our witnesses on from Arizona, had maps made of the country, had sworn testimony laid before a committee of the United States Senate on different occasions, and succeeded in getting some annual appropriations to keep these Indians from starving, through giving them work on canals on the reservation, which it was intended should be subsidiary and contributory to a large system of irrigation, when a dam was to be built that would cost \$1,250,000. But legislation is slow, and the water is slow in coming to these people. In many instances they ate their cattle, and in some instances they ate their ponies, and they are losing all they gained in the past years. There is not an Indian on this reservation who does not make the last prayer at night and the last words of his prayer in the morning, "O God, send us water!"

Miss ALICE M. ROBERTSON.—We all work in a circle. I come here to make confession; I have been in the last year of my life engaged in encouraging the native industries, and my grandfather and grandmother and my father and mother for all these years have been in the same work. But if you had sent enough missionaries long ago to reach the old people these questions would not have come up at all. What will you do with the old people?

There is nothing in which I take more pride in my secret moments than the little stories I am going to tell you. The first is about an old Indian woman, wife of a man who stands very high among his people as a healer of diseases. He is a heathen, and his wife is a devout Baptist. She keeps a neat cabin, with a little row of family graves right behind it, and the other little cabins about it. At the time of which I am speaking there was such a demand for pottery that everybody said, "Oh, please send me a curio!" Whether it were a senator's wife or a schoolgirl, they all wanted curios; and the curio time had passed away, I thought, forever. I found that the old Indian woman could make the pottery; she was nearly seventy years of age, and she made fourteen curios which she sold for \$450; and she was so happy because there was money to help build the church.

We had among us what was called the Snake uprising. They were just as sincere in rising against the United States authorities as our people were in rising against taxation without representation. I was in a great gathering of the Snakes, hundreds of men and not another woman or a white person there; and they all listened while I told them to go home and send their children to school. They are supposed to be terrible people, and the Government has sent some of them to the penitentiary. I saw one of them when he came back from prison, with his long hair shaven. I went to see him about some chairs he was making for me—dreadful thing, encouraging these Indian industries! He does silver work and woodwork, and his wife makes baskets. And why shouldn't they, these old people on the reservations who can't do anything else?

S. J. BARROWS.—When Colonel Pratt puts on his war paint and gets out his tomahawk and goes after the ethnologist, I want to be pretty close on his trail. We have had a paper here this morning that has received some attention and some approval. That paper was invited by Mr. Maynard, who is the chairman of the Press Committee, because he wanted to show the people of this country in a brief way what had been done for the Indians and what should be done for them. I want to say that the lady who has written that paper is the best ethnologist in the United States. She is the only woman who has a fellowship in Harvard College—a fellowship created for her by which she could pursue her researches. She is a philanthropist and an ethnologist, for it is quite possible to combine the two. I have no respect for the cold-hearted ethnologist who simply goes to delve in the past of the Indian. But this woman, who led the way in allotting the lands of the Indian, who has made the most profound study of Indian music, showing to the world what a contribution the Indian himself has made to musical ideas, is Miss Fletcher.

Let us remember when we speak so easily about the ethnologist, that we must not let the impression go out from this Conference that we have no sympathy with the past of the Indian. Miss

Robertson, who has just spoken, is also an ethnologist, and she can tell you that the Indians have never found it necessary to impose an oath in their legal proceedings.

Gen. C. H. Howard asked to have more time given to the consideration of the wants of the Pima Indians.

The Chairman said that the matter would be referred to the Business Committee.

Mr. SMILEY.—I believe work is the saving of any people, and if we can find steady work for all men and women throughout the world crime will decrease and the world will be lifted. We cannot get every Indian into Carlisle School to go out among the Quakers in Bucks County. That is a splendid work, but you cannot move all the Indians from where they are. An Indian is like a cat; he likes to stay in one place, and cannot be moved; and some of us are in the same position.

We must plan the industries for the people just where they are. An Indian can get \$75 for making a basket, and for the bead work that they are making in the Mohonk Lodge a woman gets \$108 a year when she would not get ten cents a year if she did not do that work. Some people pay \$300 for a first-class basket, and it takes a woman a year to make it. People are storing them up to sell fifty years hence, and they will then get ten times what they are worth now. Farming is good, but this is also good, and so are all sorts of industries that stir up the Indians to work. I believe such industries should be encouraged.

I want to endorse what has been said about agencies. That is the most important business before us, the condemnation of agencies.

Mrs. PAGE.—I would like to explain to many who were here at the time Mrs. Roe raised the money for Mohonk Lodge that she had not the industrial work in mind; it was simply to tide the Indians over an emergency. But it has grown; there was a need for it. We have taught the Indians that work on their allotments was the first need, but meanwhile we will provide work for the Indian women.

The Conference adjourned at 12.45 P. M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Evening, October 22, 1903.

The President called the Conference to order at eight o'clock, and announced an address by Dr. Azel Ames on "Conditions in Porto Rico."

CONDITIONS IN PORTO RICO.

BY DR. AZEL AMES.

I count myself fortunate to have the opportunity in this presence and with this touch of elbows to say a word upon a subject which lies very near my heart, which is akin to that which has for so many years chiefly engrossed your thoughts and evoked your grand work.

My father's house was a station on the "underground railway," and I recall to-day with great gratification that many times my sister and myself returning from school were deftly side-tracked by my good mother and hurried off to bed early because, as we would afterwards learn, there was a fugitive slave in the house and we were not to know much about it. I can remember with gratification my good father's windows being purposely blown out by the concussion of a cannon because of his stanch advocacy of the abolition and temperance causes. I feel, then, that in a manner I was born into membership in the Lake Mohonk Conference, and I count it a privilege, a heritage of hope and of service, that I am permitted to work with you for the Indian, and not only for him but any who may be of the oppressed of any name in any land. It is a heritage than which no better could have been left by a noble father to a worshiping son.

We have thus far been considering the Indian, his relations and his needs, as you have been in the habit of discussing them here. I take it that it is under that "general welfare clause" which you seem to have adopted in the work of this Conference, which takes thought for all the oppressed everywhere, that you have taken what have been termed "the dependent peoples" into consideration, and thinking of our new ward, Porto Rico, somewhat in that light, have asked me to speak to you of its people from some acquaintance I have had with them.

I should not be quite just to them or to you if I did not say in the beginning that I fear they would resent in a measure the designation of "dependent people," though in a measure they are such.

My good friend, Larrinaga, one of the best civil engineers of the island, once strenuously objected to my speaking of Porto Rico as one of "our new possessions," so I fear he would still more urgently object to my speaking of them as "dependent people." And the little island of Porto Rico never was dependent, as a whole, for anything upon anybody, but has been grandly in the way of working out her own salvation, and without very much "fear" or "trembling." As a matter of fact, she has been financially rich in resources always, and a money lender. She paid four million dollars annually to the Spanish government to help out that profligate country, and her own expenses besides. The island as a whole, even under the Spanish flag, and the people of Porto Rico as a whole, have been less a dependent people than any other island in the Antilles. So that I think we may consider them as dependent upon us, since they came under our flag, for government and education only.

It is an interesting point that the Indians whom we have been considering are "wild men," who have never known much of any civilization; in fact, have known nothing, except it may have been in a prehistoric state, which my friend Colonel Pratt neither knows nor cares much about, but which nevertheless probably existed. They knew nothing of civilization except as it was brought to them. On the other hand, the people of Porto Rico have been for many centuries under the rule of a very ancient, if effete, civilization, which has been to them, I regret to say, not an "uplift," but only an oppressor, tax-gatherer, and taskmaster. But it is interesting to observe that the same conditions have come as results along either line. Filth, poverty, disease, and degradation have been the lot of the Indian as a wild nomad; and in a like manner have become the lot of the people of Porto Rico under the unbalanced conditions of a corrupt and degenerate civilization. It has been a class government, like that of De Tocqueville, the education and control of the few, as against the education and the uplifting of the many. And Porto Ricans, too, will get their relief from these ill-starred conditions only as Christian Western civilization is brought to them. We hold them "in trust for civilization."

It is but fair to say a word in regard to their antecedents. They were a very mixed people, though Porto Rico is the only "white island" in the Antilles. They have taken on almost every nation under the sun. I was much interested to find in the hill country there a few years ago a neighborhood of people with good old Scotch names and sandy hair. And with that interest in history of which I wish we all had more, including my friend Colonel Pratt, inquiring as to their antecedents I found that these people were the relics of the army opposed to Cromwell and defeated by him at the battle of Dunbar, many of whom he had, after their defeat, transported to the Barbadoes as "Redemptioners," and they had found their way after they had gained their liberty to Porto Rico. They were a good "leaven in the lump."

We found no schoolhouse in the island when we went in, and yet we found a keen appreciation of the advance of the mechanic arts as indicated by the little German sewing machine to be seen in almost every poor hillside hut all over the island. And I believe that the oil stove following it there would be a greater blessing than almost any other single thing. It would mean better physical and moral cleanliness, purer food, and purer life.

We found that their moral and religious natures had been very much "sent to the rear." I was greatly impressed by the remark of Father Sherman (the son of General Tecumseh Sherman), who lived with me for awhile, made to me one day in disgust at the dinner table: "Major, there are in this island neither morals nor religion, and hardly priests." Such were the conditions we found,—a social life sadly at variance with what we had known, and the marriage relations little regarded. The governing church there has made marriage expensive. The priests have had the right to make their own charges, and their revenues from their people have been a large part of their support. Sixty-five dollars was for a long time the charge for marriage, and so marriage was necessarily waived by many and they lived in conjugal fidelity, but without the sanction of the sacrament. That laches could be forgiven by the church, although civil marriage could not, as casting contumely upon one of its sacraments, so the church, not designedly but practically, puts a premium upon these illicit relations. I hope the distinguished prelate of that church who is with us to-day [Archbishop Ryan] will find a way to help solve this difficulty.

So much in a general way for what we found, and I must pass on to what we did. We took conditions very much as they were, and applying to them, as nearly as possible, the remedies and means that we use at home, endeavored to give them the benefits of such advances as were practicable. We had some grand rulers. General Brooke, more concerned with the early departmental and administrative work of different kinds, was unable to give very much attention to detail. He was soon followed by Gen. Guy V. Henry, a man whom the Lord made and loved, and who loved the Lord and his fellow men in return. He did grand work there in every way, nobly illustrating the fact that no man is fit for a ruler among "dependent" peoples unless he sincerely loves his work. General Henry truly loved his work and the people. I remember how they by hundreds knelt and wept and waved him adieu as he left the island; General Davis, his successor, standing by, saying to Mrs. Henry, "Madam, if I thought that when I left this island there would be one half as much affection and regard shown toward me as is manifested toward your husband here to-day, I should feel perfectly satisfied."

This is an organization where the absolute truth should be told, because it is an organization which reaches out to remedy things. The facts are not, as to the real needs of Porto Rico, in some respects, far to find; in others, it must be the work of years and

study to bring them out. We are hardly progressing as we might. We gave them an honest government, but we made the mistake, in trying to do it, of concluding to too large an extent that old methods and old ways would do best with new rulers and new principles. It is never well to try to make "patchwork." We all know about the "old wine and the new bottles." We ought never to have left the Spanish law and practice in force, or tried to "patch" them upon American principles and practice.

We found a sanitary condition which demanded our utmost efforts. Smallpox was rife in the island as in no other place (except possibly Russia) that I have ever known. Three thousand cases on the first of January, 1899, were scattered throughout the island; and what was exceptional, instead of spreading from the cities and towns, it was spreading to them from multiple little market places and hamlets throughout the island, which, of course, made it far more difficult to control. It had been said that the United States Government was hardly likely, in acquiring "new possessions," to gain the confidence of the people by its paternal care, as England has done. In this matter of sanitation, at least, I think the United States was as beneficent as it was potential in the new great problems that came to its hand. Suffice it to say, that at the end of five months we had vaccinated 856,000 people, making our own vaccine lymph from 1,240 head of cattle, and leaving only those people unvaccinated throughout the island who were protected by having had smallpox previously or by vaccination, or who were too young, infirm, or diseased to be vaccinated. Since then smallpox has not shown its head, and the United States has furnished to the world as one of its first and great beneficences in its "new possessions" the proof positive, that universal vaccination will anywhere and everywhere control and eradicate this dread scourge.

We gave them a new financial condition—honest money. We made a mistake in doing it, because the island had only about five million pèsos in circulation, and that was not enough for its needs; and when we came to transmute it into the better material of Uncle Sam we reduced it about one third, and the island has gone "hobbling" on its shortened allowance ever since. We know more now than we did then.

In the matter of religion and education, perhaps there have been greater advances made than in anything except sanitation. There is a population of a million souls, nearly 75 per cent of them classed as "white," and yet, as I have said, there was not a structure on the island especially constructed for school purposes when we took possession. There were a few little huts which we made use of during the vaccination period as rallying grounds for our people, that had formerly been known as schoolhouses. The Rev. Dr. Hale asked me once, in regard to the vaccination, how we accomplished so much in so little time, and I told him that I thought it was a case of "Thus saith the Lord" and "no back talk." We made it a "bread-and-butter" question.

The University of Pennsylvania furnished a noble Commissioner of Education in Dr. Brumbaugh, under the civil government which Congress soon gave the island (in the obtaining of which I was happy to bear an active part), and which was their best boon; and the 360,000 children of school age have now over 50,000 of their number in modern schoolhouses, and the number of those for whom school accommodation is being provided is steadily increasing. A normal school, as was stated here last night, has been recently established, and is thriving.

I take it my friend, Dr. Lyman Abbott, did not have in mind undertaking the national control of education where there were already proper facilities. In Porto Rico you can see what these facilities are doing. But unfortunately their revenues are reduced, —partly by the hurricane and partly by the changes in markets for their staples that have taken place,—so that they do need the help of the United States Government in the matter of education. It is interesting to note that in this study of Indian affairs and of those of all our dependent peoples we are all agreed upon two things: first, that there must be an increase of education; and second, that those higher moral and religious influences which underlie all other ennobling efforts must be strengthened. In that dual work the adjunct help of the United States can very readily and wisely be given in Porto Rico. We need it there, and it ought to be rendered. For although great effort has given 50,000 children proper school facilities, when you have 310,000 left unprovided for, time is too short to bring them all under the influences of education and the moral and religious influences (which we will all agree are what they must have) by purely insular resources and efforts. There must be on our part an earnest, strenuous effort to increase just those two elements that I have named. It will not be surprising to you to learn that four hundred years of tyranny should have developed in those people great skill in lying and trickery. Mrs. Ames was very much disturbed because the little boy I brought from Porto Rico and sent to Phillips Academy, Exeter, did not seem to realize the propriety of telling the truth. It never occurred to him. It was something entirely foreign to his thought.

I had forbidden the young chap to smoke in his room, but coming in late one night I smelt cigarette smoke, and going upstairs found all dark and Henry apparently asleep, but the air thick with smoke. I said, "Henry, you have been smoking." "No, Major," he said, "I was not smoking." A few days after Mrs. Ames called his attention to the fact that he lied very foolishly, and cited his denial to me of a few nights previous, saying that I knew then that he was lying. Whereupon he said, most innocently, "Why, Senora, what was I to say? the Major said smoke not in the house, and I had just been smoking."

When the only weapons of defense for generations against the oppression and rapacity of a brutal taskmaster have been deceit and procrastination, people must be imbecile if they do not become

adept in their use and slow to part with them. The Porto Ricans are not imbecile, but are a people of great individuality. It only remains for this Conference and for other associated forces of the kind to see that the little laches, the little mistakes we have made in the grand work upon which the United States has a right to pride itself, are corrected, and to go forward.

Mr. H. B. PEAIRS.—This subject, “religious work among the Indians,” is the one nearest to my heart or I would not take your time this evening at all. I know that you are all well acquainted with the fact that within a few years most of the missionary schools for the Indians in this country have been closed, the work is no longer being done in a good many of them; that is, the missionary work and the Government work have been separated.

While the civil service is one of the best institutions of this country it is almost impossible for us to secure a corps of workers in the Indian service who are deeply interested in the religious work. In training the Indian young people of this country, religious work is more important than anything else. The Government does nothing in the way of providing for religious training, and many of the mission schools having been closed, there is a greater demand to-day for religious training in the Indian schools than there ever was.

The work at Haskell Institute has been organized in a way to make it possible to do considerable active Christian work. We have 325 girls and 425 boys, representing 70 tribes, and those 70 tribes represent approximately 200,000 people. The school is to those young people a home for three, four or five years. We all know that were it not for the training which the child gets at its mother's knee, in later years the grown-up child would many more times go astray, so that we feel that the work of the home should be done in these schools.

We live so near the city of Lawrence that our pupils can attend the different churches in that city. The Sunday mornings are given up to that, and the children are urged to attend those services. Then we have a three years' Bible course arranged, and every student in the school takes that course. Besides that we have a preaching service, a gospel service, non-sectarian entirely, and in addition to that we have our young people's societies, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. These societies are attended by a surprising number of the young people; at the last meeting of the Y. W. C. A. there were 125 girls present, and the Y. M. C. A. had about the same number of boys, and with the junior societies the meetings are well attended.

In addition to all this the Rev. Father Downey, of the Catholic Church of the city, visits the school twice a week regularly to give instruction to the children of his church. In past years there has been a feeling that no active Christian work could be done in the Government schools for fear of criticism. Last year there was a decision rendered by the Honorable Secretary of the Interior which

makes it possible for active religious work to be done. The decision was that any religious denomination might be accorded three hours a week to give instruction to the pupils belonging to their denomination. This decision is of very great importance to our Indian work, and the religious people of this country need to awaken to the fact that although the Government is giving to these young people the best academic and industrial training they are not getting the religious training they should have. There is nothing in the way now of that religious training, and the churches should awake to the situation and there should be more active effort to do religious work.

Most Rev. P. J. RYAN.—*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen*: Before entering on the subject of my address this evening, I shall say just one word in regard to the observation made by Major Ames as to the amounts charged for marriages in Porto Rico by the clergy. The discipline of the Catholic Church requires that all sacraments shall be administered to the people without any charge. We are not allowed to charge anything for the administration of any sacrament, though a voluntary offering may be received. If a priest should demand a certain amount of money to marry a couple, he would be censured of the Church. If they do it in Porto Rico it is an abuse on the part of the clergy. But I am informed that the Government in most instances demanded of the clergy there and in the Philippines a certain amount for each marriage that they performed, and if the priest had not the money he could not conveniently give it to the Government, and it became therefore a necessity for him to demand a certain amount, which he had to pay to the Government. I may also add, that it is certainly not the spirit of the Catholic Church to keep her children in ignorance. If ignorance exists, the cause must be sought outside her influence and action as her history shows, for her schools with her churches marked her path of progress.

I now come to the subject of this evening's address. I was very glad indeed to hear from the last speaker his appreciation of the necessity of positive instruction on the part of the denominations of the children committed to his care.

I presume that the object that we all have nearest to heart is to civilize the Indians, not merely by the external civilization of progress in the arts and manufactures, but in the moral civilization of the Indian heart. And all moral civilization, as the speaker observed, all moral civilization of any people will depend upon religion, as affording motives sufficiently strong to overcome human passion. The classic civilization of Greek and Roman was aided by the religion of Greece and Rome. We often hear it said, "Well, they were pagans." What is paganism? There was, mingled of course with many gross errors, a great deal in paganism which was good and conservative, and which our modern pagans reject. They believed in the existence of a Supreme Being; they believed

in an overruling Providence; they believed in future rewards and punishments; they believed in a number of truths which the men of our day reject, and if they reject them they reject with them even that classic moral civilization which was built upon them.

I remember some time ago meeting an exceedingly bright, highly educated young New England girl, who boasted that she had thrown off the old notions of Christianity and the faiths of the past. After talking with her for some time, and finding in what danger she was from the principles of entire liberty, or rather license, which she laid down, I gave her a letter of introduction to a priest in Boston who was a convert to the Church and knew thoroughly the state of society there. Afterwards when I met her she said, "Why, in that letter you called me an amiable pagan!" "Well," said I, "I must most humbly apologize, and I do apologize to paganism, but not to you. Why, the pagans believed in conservative truths that you told me you were too advanced to believe."

There was also the civilization of the Jews. The Jews had their great moral truths. When we read of them in the Bible we think they were very bad people, but you must remember that the Bible is a sort of general confession of all the crimes of the Jewish people. They were infinitely above the pagans, and they were infinitely above any other people of their day in their moral condition; they had the Ten Commandments; they had the prophets; they had the teaching of their high priest, who with authority said, "Thus saith the Lord."

To that moral civilization succeeded Christianity. Christ spoke with authority, no mere pious platitudes, no mere opinions. He was the founder of Christian civilization, and he left a body upon this earth to continue those truths which civilize the world, and which alone can keep the world civilized, and the teaching of which can alone perpetuate the civilization which we all so prize. To that body he said: "All power is given to me in heaven and on earth; go ye therefore, because of this, and teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you all days, even to the end of the world." "As the Father sent me I send you." "He who hears you hears me, and he who despises you despises me, and he who despises me despises Him who sent me." Here was a body with his own power. Here was the charter of Christian civilization. These great truths remain with us, and there must be an authority as great as that of the Jewish high priest to give certainty to these truths, to give authority to these truths, commanding them, teaching them, not merely leaving them to themselves to decide on, but commanding them. "And he who does not hear this body, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican."

Therefore these truths of religion taught by the Church of God must have the certainty that the Jew had in his day, and a higher certainty, as Christianity is superior to Judaism; and hence the necessity of teaching these truths with certainty, with authority.

See for a moment how dependent we are on these truths. One of them is the unity of marriage, "one with one and forever." The Pope and all his cardinals, and all the bishops of the world, and all the Episcopal bishops of the world, and all the Greek bishops of the world, and all the ministers of every denomination of the world united have not the power to grant a single divorce! Why, here is a truth underlying the civilization of the family. The Pope cannot grant a divorce; it is taken out of his hands. Kings have sought it from him, but he could not give it.

Again, it is a great truth taught by Christianity, taught by all denominations, that no man has the right to take life except in just warfare; that God gave it, and he alone can take it away. Therefore the suicide is a murderer, and God will condemn him; and this truth must stare him in the face when, coward as he is, he would thus avoid the sufferings of this life. God, who gave life, will punish the self-murderer like any other murderer. Also the same truth protects the unborn child in the mother's womb, and says to the mother, "If thou darest deprive that child of its life, it is murder."

So might I pass on to the great truths that underlie all moral civilization, and these doctrines must be believed as certain in order to afford a sufficient motive for a man who is tempted to do wrong. The power that restrains him must be greater than the power that pushes him on. Now the certainty of faith, this knowledge of truth, can only come through positive teaching.

We are sometimes spoken of as opposed to the system of teaching in the public schools. It is false. We admire the system of teaching. It is as good as bright American intellects can make it. It has the effect of bringing together all nationalities, too, in these schools and making one people, in place of making an immense number of "reservations," as it were, in society. Why do we not support it loyally? Because, at least among our own people (we have nothing to say with regard to others; it would be for those of other denominations to say whether their case is like ours or not), because public schools omit the teaching of the strongest, deepest element in mankind, and that is the religious element. They teach the intellect, but cultivate not the heart nor the religious element in man. To this great, strong, overmastering power over human passion they will not appeal. But it is said, "Let the parents at home do it; let the Sunday school do it." Take away three classes of parents,—I am speaking now of my own experience,—the parents who have not the time, the parents who have not the ability, the parents who have not the inclination, though they have the time and the ability—take these three away and there are not many left. And therefore the religious education at home is terribly neglected. As for the education once a week in a Sunday school—if you were to teach arithmetic only once a week, or grammar once a week, in a short time they would forget it, and there would be left at the end on the mind a magnificent idea of nothing in particular.

So it is not to the system of the public schools, it is not to the Americanism of the public schools we object. When we compare our condition here to our condition in other countries we glory in the liberty of the people to worship as they please. The Catholic heart is loyal to America, and Catholic blood has been poured out on its battlefields, and will be poured out again if necessary. But because we feel that our children will not be taught religion at all, or will be imperfectly taught it if not taught in our daily schools, therefore we have our schools; we pay the general tax for the schools of others, and we support our own schools.

If this be true in regard to the schools of the country, with regard to the Indians the case is still stronger. They have not Sunday schools, they have not parents at home capable of teaching them; the poor parents do not know how to teach, have not the inclination, perhaps, to teach, have not the ability to teach these poor Indian children. And where would they be taught—as a gentleman observed awhile ago—if they are not taught in the school? The school becomes for them the parents' home, and though the first impression may be forgotten and the Indian wander in sin, the memory of his father's house will come upon the soul of the prodigal child in the hour of darkness and desolation; he will remember the first impressions made in the school as the other boy would remember the first impressions made in his home. Therefore do we plead for religious teaching, and I am glad that so far the Government has yielded that three hours at least in the week should be given to distinctly religious teaching. The merely undenominational teacher is put in the most illogical position—he has to teach nothing that will offend the conviction of anybody else! Therefore, if he teaches that there is a hell, and some Universalist says “I do not believe it!” then he says, “Well, it is not eternal!” Some one says that is popery, because purgatory is a state of punishment where some souls suffer for a time before they go to heaven, and therefore a temporary hell is a popish purgatory. And if he teaches that Christ is God, he offends a Unitarian. And as there is scarcely a dogma that is not rejected by somebody, the poor moral teacher is afraid all the time that he will tread upon somebody's corns in teaching. And therefore there is not the positiveness, the certainty, the “Thus saith the Lord,” the “Go and teach all nations,” “Go and teach all nations, and I am with you to the end of the world.”

The man of any denomination who believes in Christ must speak that way, and he speaks with conviction, with an overmastering power over human passion, to the Christian child. This is the foundation of Christian civilization, and the civilization built upon it will receive God's benediction, and will be perpetual to the American people and to the poor Indians that the American people are trying to civilize.

Rev. Dr. H. G. GANSS.—I desire to call your attention in the short time allowed me to a few ideas which the discussions of the

last two days suggested and inspired. They may not be altogether of a religious trend, but are calculated all the same to shed some little light on the problems confronting us, and prove that our common mission is not hopeless, much less beyond the reach of solution.

It struck me that there is a tone of doubt and uncertainty, not to say pessimism, running through many of the discussions. Are we not painting the difficulties in too vivid colors, and not making due allowance for the limitations that handicap the Indian? We cannot expect to accomplish in civilizing the Indian in one or two generations what took the Anglo-Saxon and Teuton centuries.

I confess that I am rather optimistic, and this increasingly so, since I have been specifically identified with Indian work. In our hurry and push, limited-express speed of modern life, we expect the poor Indian to keep pace with us. That he is making a noble effort, an effort not altogether unsuccessful, is the precise point I wish to bring to your attention by singling out three instances from which general conclusions can be drawn. The one is, the phenomenal success, educationally and industrially, of one of our Indian tribes; next I wish to call your attention to the exalted sense of morality existing in a tribe which, within the living memory of man, a very prominent general declared could no more be domesticated than the coyote and rattlesnake; and finally, to an exhibition of rare artistic talent on the part of some Indian pupils who, one generation ago, were living in savagery.

In the north of Idaho you will find the Cœur d'Alène tribe of Indians. Sixty years ago Father de Smet (a name synonymous with the most heroic work ever attempted or accomplished among the Indians) visited them in a transient way. He found them fierce savages, filled with deadly hatred for the white man, and the implacable enemy of all the neighboring tribes, confirmed polygamists, and in every way a bad and hopeless lot. This hatred of the white man was so relentless that the Hudson Bay Company could never establish a trading post with or even near them. He, however, saw more than a ray of hope, and though repeated attempts to reach them failed, imperiling the very lives of the missionaries, the most providential success was in store for them. In 1860 a missionary secured a footing and achieved a veritable triumph, in so far that this day, still living with them, he has the consolation of seeing the whole tribe converted as sincere, practical, and intelligent Catholics. Their Christianity is of such a pure, lofty, and zealous kind, that if I described circumstantially the lives they lead you would think it a piece of romance or a page from the history of the primitive church. Above all, their lives are transparently pure. Immorality is unknown among them, and where formerly polygamy prevailed you can search the Baptismal Register for years and years and not discover the record of one case of illegitimacy. Drunkenness is likewise a stranger to the Cœur d'Alène. They support all their own poor. They erected their own church,

and have a splendidly equipped school. Perhaps educationally they have not made the progress which we sometimes demand by our modern standards and ideals; still in shrewd intelligence and practical Christianity they compare with the best Indians, not to say white men. With regard to their religion a really ideal condition prevails, and it has not inappropriately been called a "Christian Utopia."

But how about industry and thrift? The Cœur d'Alène number about 490 according to official statistics. They cultivate 30,000 acres of land, with what results we can glean from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs report of last year. They raised no less than 121,000 bushels of wheat and 131,000 bushels of oats, rye, and barley. The magnitude of this achievement you will realize when you discover that the entire wheat crop raised in the United States by all the Indians amounted to but 935,780 bushels. But it was done, and what is more noteworthy, they employed white men to assist them in this work, and paid them white men's wages at that. That they are progressive as well as industrious you may understand when I tell you that they have two steam threshers on their reservation, own and operate both.

This seemingly sets at defiance all our accepted educational methods for the reason that, though living in comfortable homes, dressing like white men, abandoning all savage customs and superstitions, and morally far surpassing the white man, official records state that only 152 speak English, and they persist in maintaining their tribal existence. I regret to say that, like all Utopias, I fear this one cannot endure, lacking these essential elements of stability in our country, the acceptance of our civilization and the absorption into the body politic. The hungry prospector and greedy land shark are already fringing the reservation, waiting for it to be thrown open,—and what will occur then to the Indian can only make us shudder with sad anticipations.

The second instance to which I wish to call your attention is to the Sioux in South Dakota. It was my privilege and pleasure to be present at the Annual Congress of the Catholic Sioux Indians near Standing Rock last June, on what happened by a singular coincidence to be the twenty-seventh anniversary of the so-called "Custer Massacre." Nearly four thousand Catholic Sioux from North and South Dakota gathered to meet their bishop and missionaries in annual conference. Some of them came two and three hundred miles. The three days were spent in a most devout, edifying and prayerful manner. I never attended an assembly that was pervaded by such a contagious, electrifying atmosphere of earnestness and piety as I witnessed here,—not even excepting Lake Mohonk. These Sioux, you will remember, are the hostiles who took part in that memorable engagement at the Little Big Horn, March 27, 1876.

A most marvelous change has taken place here also. Savage customs, dress and superstitions have been abandoned, and peaceful,

law-abiding and encouragingly industrious habits have taken their place. As for their sense of morality and the exalted conception they have of the sacredness of the marriage tie, why the first public protest against the vicious, immoral divorce laws of the Dakotas came from the Sioux Indians. Some of the Indians had availed themselves of the white man's privileged civilization, and secured divorces from the county courts. The congress denounced this in unmeasured terms, full of eloquence and Christian indignation. One of the speakers invited the large assembly to fight these laws, because, unless suppressed, they would lead them back to the polygamy from which Christianity rescued them. I shall never forget the speech of the president of the meeting, Little-No-Heart, who, with vehemence, but clinching truth, maintained that the divorce of the white man was worse than the polygamy of the Indian. "When we lived in polygamy," was his contention, "we supported our wives and children, but when the white man secures a divorce he repudiates both."

If such results can be achieved in one generation I think the outlook is most promising and ultimate success assured.

You will permit me to close with another illustration, not in purely religious or moral lines, but showing the Indian's aptitude and capacity in artistic directions. This will take me to Carlisle, and cannot be illustrated better than by an anecdote. It was my pleasure while there to entertain a musical friend occasionally, Edoard Remenyi, the great Hungarian violinist. I was anxious to have him hear the Carlisle band, in which I always took more than a passing interest. The selection played was the overture to the opera "Tannhäuser,"—a difficult, intricate, taxing composition. On our way home the great artist, not yet recovered from his amazement, gave his opinion of the performance in this soliloquy, "I remember when Wagner composed that overture there were not forty artists in Germany who could play the first violin parts of it decently, and here are American savages playing those same parts on the clarinet." You can draw your own conclusion.

As long as the above results can be achieved in one or two generations we should not be pessimistic about the Indian's future. It is full of hope and promise.

Rev. Dr. ADDISON P. FOSTER.—A little over twenty-one years ago it was my privilege to be present at what was really the first Mohonk Conference, before it met in connection with this house. I was out on the Santee Indian Reservation with Dr. Ward of the *Independent*, and with the Rev. Dr. Strieby, who has since passed to his rest, we three representing the American Missionary Association of the Congregational churches. We found there Mr. Smiley, of the Board of Indian Commissioners, a good Friend, Rev. Messrs. Alfred L. and Thomas L. Riggs, Congregational missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Williamson, of the Presbyterian Church, and Bishop Hare, of the Episcopal Church, and we held an Indian confer-

ence, lasting two or three days, with the greatest joy and blessing to ourselves. From that point we visited several of the different churches. In the Congregational church I heard an Indian preach a sermon in his own language, which was translated to me afterwards; a noble gospel sermon. I visited Bishop Hare's mission and was greatly charmed with the spirit which was there manifested. I did not have an opportunity to visit the Presbyterian Mission hard by, but afterwards I went over to another agency, and there was the guest of the Indian agent, a devoted Roman Catholic. There was a Roman Catholic Mission on that agency which was highly spoken of for the good work it was doing. I came away feeling that all the different churches that were interested in Indian work were doing a work of great benefit to the Indians.

Mr. SMILEY.—There was also a Quaker Mission in the neighborhood, and General Whittlesey was there.

Dr. FOSTER.—I did intend to say that I knew there were faithful Quaker missions in that region, though I did not see one while I was there. There are now Y. M. C. A. missions there, and the American Sunday School Union has missionaries working among the Pimas in Arizona, up in Dakota, Montana, and Michigan, and in the Indian Territory. I have brought a few of our little papers, which I would like you to take that you may see what is being done for the Indians through our union Sunday schools.

I want to speak of the possibility in this twentieth century of reaching a *modus vivendi* in regard to religious education in our public schools through the Indian work. I have been profoundly impressed for years by the fact that in this country Protestants and Roman Catholics must live together and should live in harmony, and that the friction which has existed between them might very possibly be entirely avoided if we could find some common point of meeting in regard to the public schools. Now this great republic of ours is absolutely founded upon the public school. Destroy that and you destroy the republic. That is the conviction of the people of this country, and we shall stand upon that conviction. Our friends, the Roman Catholics, have been saying to us with some truth,—for perhaps in a spirit of conciliation we have sometimes thrown out our religious services from our public schools when we ought not,—that the public school does not teach religion and that we ought to teach religion to our children seven days in the week instead of one. I confess I have great sympathy with my brethren of another faith on that point; I want to see the children of this republic taught seven days in the week the religion of the Lord Jesus. Thus is secured the building up of character, and without this all other forms of education are as nothing or even worse than nothing. Now, how are we going to do this?

Last year I had a pleasant conversation on this subject with my friends, the Archbishop and Dr. Ganss, as we rode down this mountain. I wished the ride were longer, for we were only at the beginning of our discussion on the possibility of finding a way of

coming to an agreement. I was disturbed for fear that such an agreement was impossible, but it may be that a feasible *modus vivendi* is now suggested by our Government in the recent order to the Indian schools,—I do not know.

What is the order that has gone forth from Washington? It is this, that there shall be given opportunity in the Indian schools under Government to the different denominations to teach religion for three hours in the week, provided they do not interfere with the working of the schools. That means, as I understand it, that the teachers are instructed to arrange a time—ordinarily outside of school hours—in which anyone of any of these religious faiths who is disposed may teach the children who will voluntarily attend on their service. I do not know that I have any objection to that. I know that the Archbishop has no objection. I am not quite sure but that there is our *modus vivendi*. If it is, it is one of the greatest discoveries of this age, and I shall look anxiously, hopefully, and prayerfully to the future to see whether or not this is the solution of the problem.

Mr. SMILEY.—That conference in Dakota was a memorable occasion. General Whittlesey and I were sent out there to protect the Indians against the incursions of a railroad company that was going to steal their land. We unexpectedly met these Indian missionaries, and had a three days' session. We talked over the whole Sioux question from every point. After we got through we all agreed to work together and help the Sioux on a common platform, instead of working on different platforms. I said: "We must pull together. I will invite every one of you and every man who is prominent in the Indian work to come to my house next fall (this was in the spring) and spend one week." That was our first Conference.

Rev. Dr. FRANCIS E. CLARK.—It was said by the Chairman that I would perhaps say a few words with regard to the work that the Christian Endeavor Society is doing among the Indians. There are scores of such societies. One of the most striking illustrations of the work which the young Indians are doing was told me by a missionary who said he was visiting one of the reservations where there was a Presbyterian Church, when he saw some young men starting off in a carriage, and asked where they were going. He was told that they were going over to a neighboring settlement of whites to establish a society of Christian Endeavor among the white people.

One of the most eloquent, interesting, and forcible speakers who addressed the great convention of young people at Denver last July was an Indian, Mr. Whitecloud. I am sure those who heard him will never forget his refined and beautiful face and his eloquent words.

But I will not speak further on this subject, for I have a word of

a different kind this evening. I find myself in great agreement with what the Archbishop has said in regard to emphasizing the religious work for the Indians. Is it not important that this should be the basis upon which their civilization should rest? And in this connection is there not something else for us to remember, that there is a religious motive, a certain atmosphere of good will which we need to cultivate among our people in order that there may be kindness and brotherly love for all these dependent races? Is it not necessary that the American people should again have the vision that came to Peter, and that we should hear the imperative message, "What God hath cleansed is not to be called common or unclean"?

I remember one or two illustrations that have come to me of the way in which the Anglo-Saxon race with its pride of domination comes before these dependent races. It was in China, just before the Boxer uprising. I was standing on a wharf in Shanghai, when I saw a poor jinrikisha man coming up to the wharf in order to get a fare. Of course he was insistent, as all such drivers are, and he stepped over the forbidden line which, in this French concession, had been drawn. Just as he stepped over that line, though it was only a few inches, perhaps, a European policeman came up to him, knocked him down and broke up his jinrikisha, kicked him as he was down, and then went off laughing. After seeing and hearing of many such outrages I did not wonder at the Boxer uprising, and that they tried to drive the "foreign devils" into the sea.

The pride of race and contempt of inferiors is offensive to God and man alike, and is largely accountable for all our racial troubles; but there is a better way. I remember an illustration of this better way, the way which is founded on the religion of Jesus Christ, the way of charity and love and devotion to the hearts and souls of men. It was in Eastern Bengal, two or three hundred miles east of Calcutta. Many Bengalese had come to a convention where they enjoyed that fellowship with each other and with white people of which they had in the past known so little. As I saw the way in which the missionaries treated them it seemed to me that here was a solution of all our racial difficulties. Before this convention was over one of the speakers said: "Now let us make a chain of love for our friend from America." Verses were written upon pieces of tissue paper and glued together by Bengalese girls, and a good deacon came forward, and with great dignity and solemnity and with all the grace of a Lord Chesterfield took this paper chain and put it about my neck. He said they wanted that I should know that they in the wilds of Bengal had the same Lord that we had in America, and he wanted me to carry the good will of the Bengalese to the young people of America.

This poor paper "chain of love" was typical of the spirit which may bind all races together; and if that can become the dominant spirit of our American people North and South, and East and West, toward all these races, the Indians, the Porto Ricans, the Filipinos, the Negroes, then many of the questions which confront us to-day

will be solved. When we learn this, and when we are able to say with all our hearts, "One is our Master, even Christ, and' all we are brethren," then a large part of these problems will be forever solved.

Rev. Dr. C. L. THOMPSON.—The religious question is at the bottom of the whole Indian problem, as it is at the heart of every human problem. Not by Governmental action is it going to be solved, whether it be reservation or non-reservation, or Interior or Indian Department or War Department or any other, but only by religious, Christian education. That must be the beginning and middle and end of every serious endeavor to lift the Indian people of our country.

I will give you an illustration to show that it can be done, and how it can be done. Thirty-three years ago there was a German missionary in Chicago who had heard of the Pima Indians, that they had no teacher and no friend. He went to them, partly on train and partly on foot, with a Winchester rifle and a Bible. There were a great many perils, but he found his way at last to the Pimas, sat down among them and taught for a little while in a Government school. Then he became a missionary and sat down for ten lonely and hard years to live their life, to learn their speech, to interpret Jesus Christ to them and Christian truth. And after ten years he got a sheaf, and then another, then a harvest began to come. I was down there a few months ago, and I said I must go and see Charles Cook, for that is his name. It is necessary to speak it down here; up in heaven it would be so well known it would not be necessary. I shall never forget that moonlight ride out over the desert. At midnight there was a glint of light and I said, "What is that?" I was told that was Cook's light and he was waiting for us. When we got there we received such a welcome as that kindly man knew how to give. The next day about eleven o'clock the horizon was dark with Indians; they came in wagons and on horseback and on foot, and the church was packed. It was ninety-five degrees in the shade and you could have cut the atmosphere into cubes, and I preached through an "interrupter," as Mrs. Partington would say. But never, not in New York, not in Mohonk, have I preached to a more intent, attentive and devout appearing audience than that church full of Pima Christians. And he has six of those churches up and down that reservation, and twelve hundred members in those six Presbyterian churches, the fruit of the labors of one humble, devoted, godly man who said, "The Indian can be elevated, and by the grace of God I will do it." A Western college last summer made him a D. D. He said: "I don't know what to do with it; my Indians don't know what 'D. D.' means."

Then I went over to the Tucson school; a sister of one of the members of this Conference is one of the honored teachers there. It is an industrial school for boys and girls, Pimas and Papagoes.

Herndon was the name of the superintendent and he had a beautiful home. He drove me through the city of Tucson to a little Papago village where the people were living in misery and squalor, and he said: "I want to resign that school and come out here among these Papagoes; they have not a friend." "Well," I said, "your family can live in Tucson and you can drive out to the village and teach them." He said: "That won't do; I must live their life if they shall learn to live ours. Build us a little adobe house, and my family and I will live among them that we may help them." I call that heroism.

Do you know what an Indian's gift is? It is said to be an Indian's gift when something is given and then taken away again. I went a few years ago to the Indians in the Northwest, and wanted to see James Hayes, one of our native ministers. They said: "James Hayes has gone on a mission to the Shoshones. The blanket Indians sent up a committee to ask for light, and so Hayes has gone to preach to them. We said, 'Mr. Hayes' wife ought to go to teach those Shoshone women how to live,' and fifty-seven dollars was taken up to enable Mrs. Hayes to go with her husband." Then they took forty dollars to enable an elder to go with Mr. and Mrs. Hayes to the Shoshones to make the mission strong, and in a few months they organized a church among the Shoshones, and those Nez Perces Indians gave almost \$300 to enable those Shoshone Indians to build a house of worship. That, for Indians in their poverty, was a magnificent gift.

About that time we had been trying to raise a heavy debt on the Board of Home Missions, and one day I got a package tied in brown paper, and out of it rolled two double eagles and a letter from James Hayes saying, "This is a contribution from the Indian Church in Kamiah to help pay the debt of the Board of Home Missions." And I said, "If values were counted on earth as they are counted in heaven there would be worth enough in those double eagles to cancel our debt!"

The Conference adjourned at 10 P. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 23, 1903.

The President called the Conference to order at ten o'clock, and announced as the opening address that of Mr. Edgar B. Henderson, of the Indian Department, on "The Support of Schools, Courts, etc., where Indian Land is Not Taxed."

THE SUPPORT OF SCHOOLS AND COURTS WHERE INDIAN LAND IS NOT TAXED.

BY EDGAR B. HENDERSON, OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT.

The question of taxation in territories and reservations that have been altogether or to a great extent opened to settlement is one that is going to be a rather difficult problem for Congress to handle in the future, and foreseeing that, it was thought profitable to give an outline of the problem as it will appear then. The Indian Territory will present the largest problem along this line of taxation. According to the agreements that are at present in force, all lands that are allotted to the Indians and are not alienated by them are exempt from taxation. A local self-government that has no real estate to tax certainly cannot be a very extensive nor a very beneficent sort of a local self-government, and yet the demand for such government is pressing.

There is only one nation in the Indian Territory where allottees can at present sell their land. The Creek people can now, on application to the Interior Department, with a proper presentation of their capability to manage their own affairs, be given the right by the Secretary of the Interior to sell all the allotment except forty acres. Some of the lands are being sold under authority of the Secretary. So that in the Creek nation immediately on the breaking up of the tribal government on March 4, 1906, there will be some land subject to taxation outside of the towns. This question has been presented by the situation of a reservation in Nebraska, the Omaha and Winnebago Reservation, that is organized as a county. Some of the lands were sold and opened to homestead, and there are white people all through that county having their homes, but there is so small a percentage of the land that is taxable that the county government has found itself hampered in the way of funds for keeping up roads, bridges, schools, etc. The county warrants have as a result become so depreciated that it is almost impossible to raise money for the current business of the county. Representatives of the county have been before Congress for three different sessions asking that some sort of relief be granted. It is only a small problem there, but the Indian Territory does now and will in the future present a large one, and certainly something different from the present conditions must be set up when the tribal governments are ended.

I am not in agreement with some sentiments I have heard expressed here with reference to the throwing of the Indian on his own resources, if all Indians, regardless of intelligence, are left to administer their own property as they may see fit, or as the white men may induce them to do. It is ridiculous to contend that the intelligent, educated people in those so-called civilized nations should have their lands exempt from taxation. Necessarily any government which is established there will be established for their benefit as well as for the benefit of the whites, and it is to the interest of the Indian, for his protection as well as for the benefit of the whites, that common schools should be established for the whites. The Indians have at all times been surrounded by a low class of whites and the result has been the very great lowering of the whole moral tone of the community, and criminality has been so great down there that the governments are to be broken up for that reason alone. The conditions will become worse when local government is established unless education is provided.

Unless some of these lands are subject to taxation country schools cannot be established, rural communities cannot have the benefits of education, and the United States with the consent of the Government has allowed thousands upon thousands of children to grow up there without any sort of education whatever. I say this because the Government of the United States is morally and legally responsible for the Indian Territory. Personal property cannot possibly produce sufficient revenue not only to establish schools and maintain them, but to build roads, erect bridges, and create all the agencies of county and township government.

The condition of insane people in the Indian Territory, particularly among the whites, is deplorable. There is no provision for sending them to institutions for such unfortunates. There are no institutions in the Indian Territory for white people of any kind except in the villages, so that a poor family having an insane or feeble-minded member who cannot earn his own living has one of the most trying problems that any part of the country presents. If eleemosynary institutions are to be maintained in the Indian Territory when it becomes a self-governing community, as will be the case very soon, something must be done on the question of revenue. And it seems to me that since the tribal schools are to be wiped out March 4, 1906, along with the tribal governments, it will be absolutely necessary to consolidate these tribal schools with the schools established for white people. And the only solution that I can see of it is this, that possibly in some instances the tribal funds might to a certain extent be used for the purpose of offsetting exemption of these Indian lands from taxation.

The reason that the Government exempts Indian lands from taxation is the knowledge that the Indians are not likely to pay the taxes, and that non-payment of taxes will result in the loss of their lands. An educated Indian is certainly not entitled to any further protection by the Government in reference to his lands, but when we

come to the full-blood Indian who has never been educated, in the Indian Territory, or elsewhere, who is ignorant because the Government of the United States has permitted him to grow up in ignorance, and possibly has not discharged its full duty in the past in that respect, that Government cannot say, "We will turn you out and leave you at the mercy of the white sharper, or your own folly," that he may be despoiled of his property or squander it, and leave him at the mercy of the world in three months, as would be the result in most cases. I believe that any young Indian who has had educational opportunities, for instance, equal to those given by the Government training schools, ought to be thrown on his own resources; but the old man or the old woman who never did have such opportunities ought certainly not at this late stage in their lives, when they cannot change, when their habits are settled, be thrown on their own resources, surrounded by such conditions as exist down there. The Government cannot acquit itself of its duty to this class of Indians in such a manner.

So it seems to me the solution of the problem may be that the intelligent Indians should be required to pay taxes as other people do; but with reference to the full blood, the minors, whose lands are not either alienable or subject to taxation now, I think possibly either the funds of the tribes should be taken to offset taxes, or that the Government should pay from its own funds what would offset taxes. But the latter proposition I think is one that Congress will never agree to adopt. Congress has up to the present time refused to give any relief with reference to the other reservation I mentioned. I think, though, that the present situation in Indian Territory will necessitate action not only at once, but action of a far-reaching character, and that Congress cannot and will not refuse to seek a just solution of the question. Congress is being appealed to on all hands with reference to the educational question in Indian Territory, and I hope that this next winter something will be done.

Mr. SMILEY.—Will you give to the audience the number of Indians and of white people, and how many white children have no school facilities?

Mr. HENDERSON.—Nearly one hundred and fifty thousand white children are without school privileges, and there are less than forty thousand Indians of school age in the country. There are five times as many white children in the Indian Territory without school privileges as all the Indian children of school age who have these privileges.

Hon. JOHN J. FITZGERALD.—Has the Bureau considered any means by which the whites would contribute proportionately to support a school system for their children in that section?

Mr. HENDERSON.—No, the question has never been submitted to the Bureau.

Mr. FITZGERALD.—Is it not true that so far as the question has been considered the only end in view has been how best to get the Indians to contribute funds to a school system for the support of the white children?

Mr. HENDERSON.—It perhaps may have been before your committee in that shape, but it has not been before the Office. Of course the whites down there, seeing the Indians own all the land, do not like such conditions to continue, and they are very anxious to get the Indians' lands by purchase or otherwise, and are equally anxious, of course, to benefit from the Indians' funds as much as possible.

Mr. FITZGERALD.—And these white people have gone into that Territory against the protest of the owners of the land?

Mr. HENDERSON.—Theoretically that is true with reference to those who have been there for a term of years. But now the Indian Territory is open to all whites with the consent of the nations and the general Government, the town lots are being sold to anybody who will buy, and Congress has said that a man who owns a town lot, no matter how bad his character, cannot be removed from the Indian Territory as being detrimental to the welfare of the Indians. All of the white men down there are not bad; many of them are good, high-minded men who have the Indians' interests at heart, and they are very anxious that the Indians' interests shall be protected as well as the interests of the whites. I believe that the solution of this problem can only be made when both interests are considered and they are so harmonized that both can live in peace.

Miss ALICE M. ROBERTSON.—Mr. Henderson has given a wonderful picture of Indian Territory affairs. It shows what a good Bureau we have, that one of its employees so far away from the Indian Territory knows so much about it. He spoke about insane people. We are almost glad when an insane person commits a crime, because then he can be taken away and taken care of. There is no provision for the insane, either white or Indian, except in the Cherokee nation. Then there are many orphans without any proper care. All our mission churches in the Territory have schools that care for Indians and whites together, and put them in on an equality. One of the most admirable schools I know is a Baptist Indian University, and when I want particularly good help I call up President Scott on the telephone.

Mr. Meserve, Chairman of the Business Committee, read the following resolution, which had been offered by Mr. Benjamin S. Coppock:—

The five hundred thousand white people in the Indian Territory who, outside of towns, are without land holdings, school facilities, voice in government, or legal means of securing these things, are temporarily in a condition of dependence that pleads for assistance. Congress should see that they have the same school facilities which obtain in the States.

Mr. BENJ. S. COPPOCK.—The first and greatest difficulty that I find among the white people outside of towns in the Cherokee nation is that parents cannot read or write; they all ask for schools,

and when schools are put at their door they put the children in the cotton fields. There are in all the towns practically in the Cherokee nation schools supported by taxation, and controlled under the laws of Arkansas, incorporated by the Curtis Act, and made the law of the Territory; and there are some hundreds of children, Cherokee and white, in these schools, many of them admirable graded schools. But the land cannot be taxed outside of the towns; and there are a better class of people—renters—coming in. There are a great many good people in the Indian Territory, and the general laws are good in regard to the catching and punishment of criminals.

I think that Congress ought to do something if they can do it. I think if the people down there would be encouraged to provide school facilities Congress should arrange that in townships they could organize themselves as the towns are organized, and tax their personal property, and contribute as they will by subscription. Men have money down there, and they are giving it to education more than most anything else. Now if Congress should divide the Territory into townships, and permit these people, as they do the towns, to vote themselves into school districts and tax themselves, and give as a stimulus about forty per cent of what the people provide for themselves to add to what they provide, I think temporarily we would be provided for.

We need temporary help; we are among the dependent people; we can't help ourselves. So allow me to close by suggesting that the good people who are very much interested at this time in education are building schools by subscription, maintaining local subscription schools for a few months of the year. They need encouragement and help.

Miss ANNA L. DAWES.—Don't you think that the Indian Territory will be a State pretty soon, and that this matter will be out of our hands?

The CHAIRMAN.—Silence gives assent; Miss Dawes is evidently answered in the affirmative.

NEED OF ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION FOR THE CHOCTAWS AND CHICKSAWS.

BY MR. S. M. BROSIUS.

I wish to call attention to the need of further legislation affecting the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Indian Territory in the appointment of guardians and administrators over Indian estates.

Since the United States has forced these Indians to segregate their lands, it is incumbent upon us to see that no injustice ensues as a result of this enforced breaking up of the tribal relations.

The supplemental agreement executed by the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes of July 1, 1902, provides:—

“SECTION 22. If any person whose name appears upon the rolls, prepared as herein provided, shall have died subsequent to the ratification of this agreement and before receiving his allotment of land, the lands to which such person would have been entitled if living shall be allotted in his name, and shall, together with his proportionate share of other tribal property, descend to his heirs according to the laws of descent and distribution as provided in Chapter XLIX of *Mansfield's Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas*, provided, that the allotment thus to be made shall be selected by a duly appointed administrator or executor. If, however, such administrator or executor be not duly and expeditiously appointed, or fails to act promptly when appointed, or for any other cause such selection be not so made within a reasonable and practicable time, the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes shall designate the lands thus to be allotted.”

Chapter XLIX of *Mansfield's Digest* makes no provision for the sale of the lands, and the United States Courts in Indian Territory have decreed that they have no authority to appoint administrators or guardians of Indian estates.

As will be noticed by the act above quoted, the right to an allotment dates from the ratification of the legislation, which was September 25, 1902. The death rate among the Indians is usually great, and in consequence a large number of members of the tribes have died since the date of the ratification who were entitled to allotments, so that administrators and guardians appointed by the Indian courts are given power to make the selections of lands.

The result of this condition is that persons interested in securing these lands induce the Indian heirs to come into court and agree to the appointment of certain persons to administer these estates. These latter in turn select the lands to which the decedent was entitled, and dispose of the same in their own interest.

These Indian courts seem to be devoid of permanent records of an intelligent character, and by provision of statute will be abolished March 4, 1906, so that no recourse can be had upon these administrators or guardians, who may then come into the United States Courts and ask for confirmation of title to their grantees; after having paid out funds to the tribes, the closing up of the estate will be a formal matter.

I wish to offer the following resolution on the subject:—

“That proper laws be enacted conferring jurisdiction upon United States Courts in the Indian Territory to settle Indian estates, and especially providing for the appointment of administrators and guardians.”

I will turn this over to the proper committee with the hope that they may become interested in this question, and that some action may be taken by this Conference.

ADDRESS BY HON. MERRILL E. GATES, LL.D.

THE INDIAN AND THE ETHNOLOGIST.

It is in the pursuance of the plan laid out by the Committee and against my own protest that I address the Conference again.

The question is often asked, "Why not give us a simple plan for settling the Indian question, and let us within the next four or five years work out the problem and sweep that question off the board?" All who are tempted to look at the matter in the light of that question should realize how deeply rooted in ethnology are the reasons which make it impossible to deal thus summarily with the Indian question.

A member of this Conference whose scholarship along such lines makes him an honor to his State and to our country has expressed the fear that (because we cannot help laughing here when Colonel Pratt lifts his tomahawk over the head of the ethnologist!)—the fear that the impression will go out that these Conferences do not appreciate the studies of the ethnologist. I have felt that my long acquaintance with these Conferences made it right for me to assure him that the Mohonk Conference could laugh heartily at such a sally from Colonel Pratt, without in the slightest degree lessening its sympathy with Colonel Pratt's noble work for the Indians, and without in the slightest degree reflecting upon the importance and the value of the study of ethnology. The whole Indian problem is a problem of ethnology!

In addressing the Carlisle School for Indians on a Commencement day recently, I asked Colonel Pratt, as I arose to speak, how many tribes and languages were represented in the ten or twelve hundred Indian pupils who were present in the audience of two thousand that filled the great gymnasium of the school. After a brief conference with the faculty he answered, "Eighty-two different tribes and dialects." I do not think that there is another roof in the world which covers, day after day, a gathering of people who represent so many different languages and tribes. At a Durbar in India Lord Curzon may face representatives of as large or of a larger number of tribes and languages; but the Durbar is only an occasional gathering. The Carlisle School is assembled morning and evening, every day in the year.

On the list of agencies and subagencies of the Indian Bureau at Washington there are regularly carried the names of not far from three hundred different tribes and fragments of Indian tribes, who speak dialects and languages which for the most part differ very materially each from the other. Without referring explicitly to such extreme estimates as you will find in certain of the encyclopedias which speak of "six to seven hundred languages and dialects of North American Indians," it is at once evident that in the three hundred groups carried upon the books of the Department in Washington (for each of which special obligations are carried, and over each of which groups special supervision must be exercised by

the Department) there are varieties of race and language which must challenge the interest of the ethnologists of the world. These tribes and groups range from the lowest grade of savagery up through Lewis E. Morgan's successive grades of "middle" and "higher savagery," and "lower, middle, and higher barbarism," until with the cultivation of maize and the making of pottery we come to the beginnings of civilization; and above these half-civilized tribes are those polished and liberally educated diplomats, the shrewd leaders and managers of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory; many of them competent to encounter in diplomacy the trained representatives of European powers at our national capital. All the way along this line, from lowest savagery to civilization, the Indian tribes and fragments of tribes have to be legislated for, and in many cases provided with the means of support and of education. It is not a problem of how to deal with one people, but with many peoples.

RACIAL TRAITS AND THE LAND QUESTION.

The Indian problem is further hedged round with difficulties that always connect themselves with the ownership of land as population begins to grow dense. The breaking up of reservations, the sale of surplus Indian land, and the allotment of land in severalty to Indians—all involve questions as to the ownership and the use of land which is nominally owned by tribes of Indians but which has never been settled upon, improved, or in any proper sense "appropriated." There has been much injustice on the part of whites toward Indians in the matter of the tenure of land; but when we speak of whole tribes of Indians as having been "dispossessed of their lands"; when kindly disposed but not overthoughtful people speak of the Indians as having been "cheated out of their right to the continent,"—we should remember the great difference between the individual who is dispossessed of inherited acres upon which his ancestors and he have toiled and the Indian who has simply lost his undivided share in the tribal right to range for game over millions of acres of land from which the game has now disappeared.

The vital question for the Indians is how to bring each individual Indian into such relations with a limited amount of the land of our country that he will make his home upon it, will work the land, and will develop at the same time the land and his own manhood. The tribes of Indians who claim whole States and Territories never owned the land in the way in which a man owns land when he is settled on it and has himself broken it up for agriculture, and farmed and grazed it, or when he has received it from ancestors who have thus owned and tilled the soil. It should always be remembered that for less than two hundred thousand Indians the United States still holds in various Indian reservations more square miles of land than are contained in the whole States of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, and New Jersey. And while much of this land is worthless for

agricultural purposes, the average acreage of land which remains to each Indian, if you divide the whole number of acres in Indian reservations fit for agriculture by the whole number of Indians, is at least from six to ten times the average amount of tillable land per capita for the white citizens of the republic. This land must come under the ownership of individuals, and must be held, grazed, or cultivated by individuals before it can contribute its full share to the development of the resources of our country. And the problem of bringing the individual Indian into close and profitable relations with the individual holding of land is a process which requires education, patience, and some additional safeguarding legislation. But in the main, for the last fifteen years the Government has been making steady progress in this respect, with careful regard for the rights of the Indians. And these last years, notwithstanding the "red-tape" delays and the slow processes of Government bureaus and agency administration, fill me with the hopeful conviction that without prolonged delay we shall reach a solution which will give homes, education, the protection of law, and training in citizenship to all our Indians.

A TABULATED VIEW OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF INDIANS TO
WHOM HOMESTEADS HAVE ALREADY BEEN ALLOTTED.

I have thought that members of the Conference might like to have within reach this little study of the present condition of the Indians who have already received allotments of land. [Here the speaker showed the tabular exhibit which is printed opposite page eighteen in the annual report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the year 1902.] Some of you will remember that in one of his latest valued addresses to this Conference, Senator Dawes turned to the members of the Board of Indian Commissioners who happened to be sitting in a group near him as he spoke and said, "I wish to lay on you, gentlemen of the Board, the especial responsibility of carrying on investigations as to the condition of Indians to whom allotments are made, and as to the work which still needs to be done for these allotted Indians, and the safeguards with which they must still be surrounded." Our Board have not been oblivious of a duty in this respect which they had already before that time attempted in a measure to discharge. The earnest words of Senator Dawes have added to our sense of responsibility in this respect. For several years our Board has collected through its Secretary, by prolonged correspondence with Indian agents and superintendents of schools, statistics with reference to allotted Indians. Some copies of our last annual report are here for free distribution, and I will gladly send a copy to anyone who writes to me for it at Washington.

The table which I show you gives a list of all the Indian agencies, with the number of allotments which have been made, the number of patents received, the number of deaths of Indians since allotment, the number of Indians now living on allotted lands at each

agency, the extent to which they cultivate their lands, the number of leases of allotments or of reservation land, the proportion of each reservation which in the opinion of the agent is adapted to agriculture; suggestions as to cattle raising, sheep herding, etc.; a record of the progress made in the permanent register of allottees and the marking of allotments; a record of the date at which regulations so strenuously urged by our Board as to marriage and family registration went into effect, with the number of licenses issued and the number of marriages returned at each agency since that date; progress made toward completing the register of names and relationships at each agency; the number of Indians at each agency who receive rations of food and clothing and the number who are self-supporting, together with suggestions from agents as to evils remaining in the agency system and possible remedies for these evils. The statistics are necessarily incomplete; and the comments and returns of different agents vary greatly in their value. But so far as we know, this table is the only effort yet made to present a conspectus of the condition of the allotted Indians. And even in its present incomplete form it will be found very convenient and useful for reference.

WHAT WE OUGHT TO DO NEXT FOR THE INDIANS.

I have been further asked to state briefly and pointedly what steps it seems to me, from my point of observation,—near to the center as I am, with official relations to the work, yet free from the mass of detail which is involved in the administrative work of the Indian Bureau,—what measures it seems to me we ought next to advocate looking to the welfare of the Indians.

It seems to me that in his message to Congress a year ago last winter, President Roosevelt set forth clearly the central principles that should govern our action, and indicated lines for true progress. Our object should always be to get at the individual and to build up personality in the individual Indian. The whole history of Christian civilization, the whole history of self-government, teaches us that to secure the strongest personality in the individual you must make much of the family life of the individual. The family group, a father, a mother and their children, when held sacred helps to develop the strongest personality. To this end there must be a homestead, a home on the land, and protection by law for the land, for the home and for the person. The family must be recognized and protected in the administration of the law. In our efforts to get at the individual Indian and to build him up we were met first by that isolation of the Indian which was involved in the reservation system. All but the worst type of whites were kept away from the Indian. He was left to himself in hopelessly isolated barbarism. There was no wholesome family life on the reservation. Allegiance to the tribe took the place of allegiance to the Government. We therefore struck at the reservation in order to bring the individual Indian into wholesome family relations, into relations of in-

dividual proprietorship with a tract of land which should belong to him personally, and into that training in the use of one's own personality which comes from working one's own land. This we felt to be the first step in his training for American citizenship. But no members of the Board of Indian Commissioners are foolish enough to believe that every Indian should inevitably be a farmer and nothing else. For many years most of us have thought and have publicly said that the best way of settling the Indian problem was to draw as many of the children and Indian people as possible away from the tribal life during the years of their education, and wherever it was practicable to put them into touch with the family life of civilized and Christian white people, as is done in the "Carlisle Outing System." We think that the results of this system amply vindicate the wisdom of those who planned it. And we believe that to get as many Indians as possible into self-supporting and self-respecting life among our white people at other centers of life than among their own people results in most helpful progress toward the solution of the Indian problem. We have struck hard at the reservation, and it is rapidly disappearing.

NOW BREAK UP TRIBAL FUNDS INTO INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS.

Precisely as the conservative influence of the tribe killed family life, and as the conservative influence of great masses of tribal land killed individual effort and initiative in making homes and tilling the soil, so the conservative weight of the great tribal funds, held in trust by the Government, tends to keep undeveloped in the Indian the sense of responsibility for the personal management of his own property. It tends to keep him a pauper, whether his income from tribal funds is a pitiful pittance (as in most cases) or a "royal" annual income tending to make each member of the tribe a lazy rich pauper (as in some cases). All such tribal funds should be speedily broken up into individual holdings, and credited to individual Indians by name upon the books of the Department and of the Treasury. And a general law should at once be enacted authorizing the Secretary of the Interior, as fast as he becomes convinced that a particular tribe or an individual Indian in a tribe is competent to receive and care for his own property, to pay over to the individual Indian that divided share of the tribal fund to which the individual is entitled. But so long as the Government holds trust funds for tribes of Indians, and pays out interest upon these funds or installments of the principal fund, these annual payments should be made directly from the Treasury of the United States to each individual Indian recorded upon the books of the Treasury and entitled to receive such payment. In this way these tribal funds might be made to build up personality. At present they break down manhood and destroy all chance of fitting Indians for self-support.

FREE TRADE IS SECURED ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

A year ago we expressed the conviction that it was time for doing away with the system of the privileged trader with exclusive rights at each reservation. Within the year, by the action of Secretary Hitchcock, trade has been opened to all men of good character who apply for licenses to trade on an Indian reservation. The benefit of fair competition is thus to be secured to Indians who are beginning to learn how to use their money and the proceeds of their farming and stock raising in making purchases for themselves. The burdensome, in many cases the outrageous, system of overcharges by a single privileged Indian trader, with exclusive right to take goods to a reservation, is thus done away with. This is one of the many good things done by the Secretary of the Interior within the past year. All who know how difficult it is to secure legislative action which puts an end to special privileges, and how strong is the opposition to executive action which puts an end to abuses by which money is made, should be glad to recognize with gratitude high principle and fearlessness in advocating the public interest, which is shown when public men in high station bring about these needed reforms!

EXPENSES INVOLVED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND THE EXTENSION OF HIGHWAYS, ETC., IN "INDIAN LAND."

I hold in my hand a letter from Commissioner Jones which expresses the hope that the Conference will consider the question of proper provision for punishing offenders and protecting individuals in the Indian Territory and upon Indian reservations. And there is also need of careful attention to these questions in those counties or States where the number of Indians who have received allotments is large. When the question arises, "Shall Indians who have suffered some injustice, or Indians who have themselves been the transgressors, have redress through the courts?" the answer may involve a journey of from one hundred to two hundred or three hundred miles by marshals who travel to make the arrests; transgressors must sometimes be imprisoned for months, and must be prosecuted and defended by counsel. The trial may be expensive. The white settler who is watching the expenditure of money in the local courts—of money which comes exclusively from the white taxpayers, for allotted Indian land is not taxed—says it is not fair to have the machinery of our courts used and bills of expenses to the county incurred in the interest of these Indian allottees whose lands are not taxed. And so allotted Indians sometimes fail to get justice, which is refused them from motives of economy on the part of white taxpayers around them who feel wronged because the "protected title" of the Indian prevents his bearing his share of taxation for the expenses of his locality in the administration of justice and in the extension and improvement of the public highways, the schools, etc. Our Board

have thought for years (and I agree with the presentation of the matter just made by Mr. Henderson) that Congress ought to assume by annual appropriations the duty of paying a fair proportionate share of such expenses, the amount to be equivalent to that which would accrue from the taxation of these protected Indian lands. Protection by the local law is a necessary condition to the development of the family and to training in independence, self-support and true Americanism for the Indian citizens.

God often leads nations to a fresh regard for justice by the infliction of severe penalties through the working of economic and social laws. We have just now listened to an interesting demonstration of this fact from General Wilson. By a remarkable working out of these social interrelations of fellow citizens of different races, we who have for years met here to plead for land and law for Indians find ourselves now pleading for half a million of whites who in poverty, without schools and without the protection of law, are kept out of the rights of citizenship in Indian Territory by the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes, precisely as Indians used to be kept from the rights and privileges of citizenship by the unjust laws which discriminated against the only native Americans, the Indians! For a half million whites in the Indian Territory who need schools and law and homes to which they can acquire a legal right we plead here as we used to plead for Indians! It is impossible to secure justice for one class without also attempting to secure justice for all! And the lesson thus comes home to us, that in national affairs righteousness must be done, just laws must be made and enforced, or both races and the whole nation will suffer!

Hope comes along those lines of effort which reach the individual, set him in true family relations on his own land, and give to him Christian education in the duties of citizenship under the local laws of the State or Territory where he resides!

Rev. Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT.—Before presenting the platform I am instructed to present to you three or four special resolutions with the action which the Business Committee recommend upon them. There have been submitted to us two resolutions on which we do not recommend any formal action at this meeting. They are as follows:—

“*Resolved*: That proper laws be enacted conferring jurisdiction upon United States Courts in Indian Territory.”

The reason your committee do not recommend any action upon that resolution is that it has not been discussed at this Conference. So far as I know there is no objection to it, but we have always been accustomed to base our action upon a free and full discussion of the matter submitted. Personally I have given a little attention to this subject, but I heartily agree with the resolution of the com-

mittee that this resolution be handed to the Business Committee of the next Conference that the subject matter may be discussed at that time.

Voted.

“Resolved: That the five hundred thousand white children without schools in these Territories should be provided with school facilities by the Government at the earliest possible date.”

Referred to the next Conference for discussion, as being too large and too serious a matter to be passed upon without more careful consideration.

The two following resolutions were offered by the Business Committee for action :—

“Resolved: While passing no judgment upon the truth of the charges against certain United States officials in the Indian Territory, we commend the President and the Secretary of the Interior and the Attorney General for instituting a thorough and impartial investigation.”

Voted.

“Resolved: That we reaffirm the resolution adopted last year to the effect that an allotment in severalty of the lands of the New York Indians should be made.”

Mr. Wood moved that the consideration of this resolution be deferred until after Judge Andrews should speak.

Voted.

Dr. Abbott read the following platform of the Conference, which was greeted with applause.

PLATFORM OF THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN.

The Indian problem is approaching its solution, leaving us confronting the larger problem of our duties toward the people who have recently become subject to our Government and dependent on our care. In dealing with the Indians the objects to be accomplished are no longer questioned: they are the abandonment of the reservation system; the discontinuance of Indian agencies; such education of all Indian children as will fit them for self-support and self-government; access to the courts for the protection of their rights; amenability to the law in punishment for their crimes; the same liberty that white men enjoy to own, buy, sell, travel, pay

taxes, and enjoy in good government the benefits enjoyed by other taxed citizens; and by these means a speedy incorporation of all Indians, with all the rights of citizenship, into the American commonwealth.

The best methods to secure these results are not wholly clear, but the experience of the past points to the following conclusions: The agency should be discontinued in all cases where the land is ready for settlement, and the Indians, when necessary, should be temporarily placed under the care of a bonded superintendent with limited powers, and the policy of the Indian Bureau in this direction is strongly commended. Whenever practicable the education of Indian children should be provided for in the schools of the States or Territories, if necessary for untaxed Indians at Federal expense or out of Indian funds; wherever this is not practicable, provision should be made by the Federal Government in Indian schools. The Indians should be encouraged in arts, both in the preservation of their own and in the acquisition of ours; the end should always be their industrial and moral development. The work of the Government, whether National, State, or Territorial, in providing secular education does not lessen the responsibility of the churches for the religious education of the Indians; we regard with interest and hope the recent action of the Secretary of the Interior opening the way for the religious work of the churches in connection with Government schools, and we urge the churches to co-operate with each other and with the Government in this work. The same principle should govern us in all our dealings with other dependent people; their civil rights should be scrupulously safeguarded; liberal provision should be made by Congress for their development and civilization; their industries should be encouraged; and their education should be so provided for that, whatever may be their final political relations to the United States, they may be equipped, at the earliest possible day, for self-support and self-government.

Dr. ABBOTT.—The Business Committee have requested me to speak upon the platform. It does not express all that any one of us would wish to express, but it does express all that all of us are agreed to express. One of the secrets of the power of the Lake Mohonk Conference has been that we have always had a perfectly free discussion of the topics presented here for consideration, but we have never acted except with practical unanimity. We have decided nothing by majorities. When we could not agree to say something we have waited until we could agree—sometimes two or three years. And I think that those who are most familiar with the history of this Conference will agree that patient waiting has proved to be no loss. Captain Pratt handed me to-day his solution of the Indian problem put into a sentence, and I am going to read it, for it is also mine: "To civilize the Indian get him into civilization; to keep him civilized let him stay."

I should like to have had the Conference prepared to go farther than these resolutions go; I should have liked to have the Conference say more than these resolutions say; but I should have been very sorry to have had a majority of the Conference say more than the whole Conference is prepared to say.

I came from home leaving three grandchildren in the nursery, one of them just learning to walk, and having a dialect of his own that nobody understands, the other two fairly able to take care of themselves, but not yet so clearly educated as to the rights of dependent populations as to be able to take care of their younger brother. So when it is rainy and the children are confined in the nursery there is difficulty. If the boys begin an architectural process of erecting houses or bridges, the younger child crawls out upon the floor and knocks them down. So the mother erects a barricade of chairs across the nursery, and within that barricade the dependent peoples stay; beyond that barricade the civilized tribes go on with their work. This reservation system works very well there, because the mother is the agent, and she is not in politics. And I suppose if we could put our dependent peoples behind a barrier, and put over them a mother who was not in politics, and who had authority not only over the dependent peoples within the reservation, but over the other peoples outside the reservation, the agency system would do very well. But after all the only object of a reservation is protection. This is the whole function of the reservation; it is simply the protection of the Indian from the white man or the protection of the white man from the Indian. And it is because I have long believed that protection is the function of the War Department, that what I should like to have had this Conference say this year, and what I am not without hope this Conference will decide to say next year, is that it is time now, now, without any further delay, to abolish all the agencies; to abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs as an independent department of the Government; to set the Indians free; wherever the reservation is abolished and the land is open to severalty to give them such friendly guardianship as may be necessary through a bonded superintendent; and if there are any tribes so barbaric that they cannot be trusted to regard the rights of the natives, or if there are tribes so placed that they need to be protected from the white man, they shall be put in charge of the War Department.

There is one other word. We were told here yesterday that in Porto Rico there are 360,000 children of school age, if my memory for figures serves me right that 50,000 of them are provided with schools and that 310,000 are not provided with schools. What I contend for is this, that it is the function and duty of the Federal Government to see that they are provided with schools. I contend that it is the duty of the Federal Government to see that every people residing in an unorganized territory, not yet able to support its own institutions, not yet ready to organize them—it is the duty of

the Federal Government to see that in all those territories the foundations of a free government are laid. And the foundations of a free government are, first of all, a free religion, and secondly, a free school system. In Porto Rico we have laid the foundations of a free religion; every denomination is free to go in there and work for the religious culture of the people. The other thing we ought to do is to see to it that a public school system is established and maintained in Porto Rico, and not wait until little by little those people are able to carry on the school system. It will be cheaper for us to provide to-day the funds necessary to put in the schooling required for Porto Rico than it will be to wait a quarter of a century for them to do it, and we pay the taxes in one way or another that an ignorant and an incompetent and an uneducated people will inflict upon us.

I thoroughly and heartily move the adoption of this platform because it says a good deal that I want it to say, and does not say anything that I do not want it to say.

Rev. S. J. BARROWS.—I heartily second the motion for the adoption of this platform because it is a truthful platform. There is in it the note of hope and confidence. My friend, Dr. Ganss, said last night that there was a little pessimism in the Congress. Perhaps I had not caught that note myself, but at any rate it is not in the platform. We are looking forward; we see the early solution of the Indian problem, and have so declared it. And it is possible on the basis of the experience of a century now to look forward with confidence to certain methods by which it may be realized.

The United States within this year has published two very important documents. One is a compilation of all the treaties and agreements made with the Indian nations; the other is a compilation of the executive orders and statutes of the United States regarding them. They are full of interest because they show us the pathway by which we have come. There are four hundred and forty-five, I believe, of those treaties, and what do they mean? They mean that the Indian was recognized in every one of them as an independent nation, occupying a territory acknowledged to it by the United States and left there for a process of self-government. And it is not till you get down to the year 1871 that you find in the statutes of the United States a clause which says that no Indian tribe or nation shall hereafter be recognized as an independent nation in the United States with which treaty obligations are to be assumed—not till 1871.

Now that policy represents, I think, a very honorable policy. We speak sometimes of "A Century of Dishonor"; it was not a century of dishonor, but a century of mistake perhaps. Those treaties have been kept, have been recognized, and only one of them in the course of all that time has been abrogated. But they represent a mistaken idea; it was the idea of separation, the idea which

Dr. Abbott says is prevailing in his nursery. There is nothing more interesting, and nothing becomes more monotonous, perhaps, in those Indian treaties, than to see the reiteration of that statement that "hereafter we shall live together in perpetual peace with each other," a peace of separation.

There have been three periods in our Indian policy. One was the idea of extermination and extinction, the idea that the Indian should be killed—that was repudiated by our Government. The other idea was that of benevolent extermination, "Go off by yourselves on the reservation,"—that meant the death of the Indian.

Now we have got to another stage, that of benevolent absorption and assimilation in our life. We say to the Indian: "Join our life, enter into its opportunities and obligations, be one of us and with us." That means a new idea, a new principle which we are endeavoring to carry out, and which is embodied in this platform.

Could anything be more pathetic than the condition of the Indian in this country has been? Truly, he has been "a man without a country"; born in this land, and yet without any rights of citizenship, without anything but his tribal heritage and his inevitable death as a tribe. But now we say to him: "You may die as a tribe, but you shall come into the life of our nation."

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—The request read to us by Dr. Gates from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs seems to me to require some action. He requests this Conference to recommend some form of law for the reservations.

Some twenty years ago the voice of the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, with Governor Long as its Chairman, was a sort of John Baptist voice in the wilderness, asking for law, citizenship and land for the Indians.

Law is the keystone of the whole arch of civilized society. Without it even here in Lake Mohonk, in this reservation with its choice people, there would be no safety either for person or property. Now there is possibly law enough for the Indians; but law without tools is of no value,—it is crippled. There are no courts; there are no judges; there are no prosecuting attorneys; and we were told this morning that those making complaints would have to go to courts possibly hundreds of miles away, and witnesses would be shut up until the case was tried. This is not the kind of law we want. I think that some specific recommendation should be made by this Conference that laws that are operative should be extended over the Indians; that they should get the protection that society has everywhere, and has alone because there is a system of law with all that is required to make it effective.

Such resolution does not need any discussion, because the subject of law for the Indians has been threshed over and over again in this Conference. Now the Commissioner, whom we suppose has control of all Indian affairs, and who we think can do anything he

pleases, comes to this Conference acknowledging the influence of Mohonk, and asks us to recommend some system of law for the Indians. Shall we not do it?

The platform was then unanimously adopted.

NEW YORK INDIANS.

BY HON. CHARLES ANDREWS.

I take it that if any firm conclusion has been reached in the discussions which have been held here for so many years in respect to the Indians, there is a general concurrence in this, that the time has come when in their interest, as well as in the interest of general civilization, there should be a dissolution of the tribal relation.

There was a time when these relations had a significance. By and through them the Indians were enabled to combine the power of the tribe to resist aggressions, and to maintain a rude government adapted to their condition. They exhibited many of the qualities of higher races, many of those virtues which are attractive in the character of civilized nations. They had an invincible courage; they were tenacious of their freedom; they readily submitted to privations and sacrifices for the attainment of the objects of the tribal organization, and they exhibited many of the sturdy virtues which we are accustomed to associate with Christian civilization.

But there is no longer, in my judgment, any significance in the tribal organizations. They are not required for purposes of protection or government; they have become, on the contrary, the means of perpetuating the debasing influences of barbarism and vice, and of corrupting, not only the Indians themselves, but those with whom they may come in contact.

The great and vital point of departure, as referred to by the last speaker, occurred when in 1871 the Government determined to end its dealings with the Indians through treaties, and subjected them to the ordinary operations and to the supreme power of Congressional legislation. Later still, in 1887, the Dawes Bill was passed—the work of a man who illustrated in his private and public life the highest virtues of American character and statesmanship, and whose name can never be mentioned in this presence without reverence and respect. To him was due the final blow which is to result in the disintegration and destruction of the tribal relations of the tribes west of the Mississippi.

The question, if you remember, last year was raised in the very thoughtful address of an English gentleman, Mr. Hobson, when the subject of the incorporation of the Indians into American citizenship was discussed, whether it was possible by reason of racial difficulties that the United States should be able to assimilate

into its citizenship and into harmony with its civilization this body of two hundred and fifty thousand Indians existing upon this continent, and he referred to the fact of the failure of England in its attempt to superimpose Western civilization upon India. We have examples that that difficulty will not meet us in our dealings with our Indian inhabitants.

We have a notable example in the case of the Oneida tribe of the State of New York, who sixty or seventy years ago ceded to the State of New York by treaty all its lands in this State, and in exchange procured a reservation in one of the Northwestern States, to which they, numbering about seventeen hundred, have removed. And I think it is the concurrent testimony of those familiar with the subject that those Indians have become reputable, industrious, excellent citizens of the State in which they reside. They occupy cultivated farms; many of them are persons of means who by their providence have amassed a reasonable fortune. And this is an illustration of the fact that there is nothing so diverse in the Indian character as to prevent, under proper regulations and reasonable encouragement, their incorporation into the great citizenship of this country.

I have said very little about the subject which was assigned to me to speak upon, and that is, "The New York Indians." Indeed, I hesitate to say very much upon that subject, because I am sure those who were here last year were filled to repletion with all the facts bearing upon the general situation.

The general subject of the last year's Conference so far as it related to this question was the consideration of what was known as the "Vreeland" Bill, introduced into Congress for the purpose of securing the allotment of the Indian lands on the Alleghany and Cattaraugus Reservations in this State near to Buffalo, consisting of thirty thousand or thirty-five thousand acres. It was not a simple question with which to deal. There were complications in respect to that question which do not exist in respect to any other of the tribes now within the State of New York.

Suffice it to say that in a controversy, concurrent with the adoption of the Constitution, between the States of New York and Massachusetts, both of which claimed jurisdiction over certain territory embracing the land in the present Alleghany and Cattaraugus Reservations, an agreement was reached which was afterwards approved by Congress, whereby Massachusetts ceded to the State of New York the right of government and jurisdiction over the disputed territory, and New York ceded to Massachusetts the pre-emptive and exclusive right (subject to the Indian occupation) to acquire the fee of the lands or the portion of them to which the compact related, and the right on the part of Massachusetts to convey to other persons as its grantees the rights which the State of Massachusetts under the compact had to the pre-emptive and exclusive power to extinguish the Indian title.

That right passed under the cession of Massachusetts to a com-

pany known as the Ogden Land Company, who, as I understand the law, as the successors of Massachusetts to the title which Massachusetts had, has the sole right to acquire by treaty or compact with the Indians the ultimate fee of the land. While the Ogden Land Company has no right to dispossess the Indians from that territory, it has the right whenever the territorial and tribal relation shall be dissolved to acquire the Indian title, which added to the ultimate fee which they had already under the arrangement with Massachusetts would convert the holding into an absolute title. So that one of the problems connected with the proposed legislation was the extinguishment of this title of the Ogden Land Company, who held it at a price of \$200,000, for which sum they were willing to cede their rights to the Indians, or to the government of the State or the United States. And it was the final judgment, I think is the final judgment of all those who have studied the question, that until this title on the part of the Ogden Land Company is extinguished the final allotment of the lands will be postponed; that it is a necessary condition precedent to any allotment in severalty, with the right of alienation, that the Ogden title should be extinguished.

The bill which was under consideration last year provided for its extinguishment by an appropriation out of a fund of two million dollars belonging to the Seneca Indians sufficient to extinguish that title, so that there might subsequently be an allotment in severalty and in fee under proper limitations as to alienation to the individuals of that tribe.

The House of Representatives, as I understand, passed this measure, but it was arrested in the Senate Committee, and it never reached the Senate. I am glad to hear that the Senate Committee appointed a sub-committee to visit the reservation for the purpose of personal consideration and examination of the question.

I trust that some solution will be reached, because until it is reached it bars the way, as I say, to the new policy to which the friends of the Indians have committed themselves; that it is essential in their interest that the lands shall be allotted in severalty and the tribal relation discontinued.

I desire to say a few words about the Onondaga Reservation within the county of my own residence. It comprises about seven thousand acres of land in the very heart of one of the best agricultural regions in the State. There are upon it about four hundred and fifty Indians in the lowest state of degradation. In the main they are divided into two parties,—pagans and Christians; the pagan party being in the majority, holding the official relations to the tribe, that of chiefs, receiving the tribal money, exercising the meager governmental powers which belong to the tribe, and who are opposed to any allotment of the lands, to any distribution of their tribal moneys, and who resist the attempt to introduce schools in their midst. And although there are two missions, one of the Methodist and one of the Protestant Episcopal Church, they are so

hampered by the surroundings that comparatively little impression is made. They will never consent to the allotment of their lands, and if they are to be allotted it must be by the action of the Government of the United States acting under its authority as the guardian and protector of the Indian tribes to enforce an allotment in the interest of the Indians themselves.

We have always dealt in this State with the Indian tribes by treaties; we have never taken their lands except by consent, but the time has come—if allotments are to be made and tribes are to be disintegrated—that the United States in behalf of the Indians must exercise the consent which an intelligent people would exercise for themselves.

Of course I fully agree with what Dr. Gates suggested, that in dealing with the Indians only the highest justice and equity should be regarded, but I do insist that a band of Indians in the midst of an intelligent Christian population shall not be permitted to destroy all the safeguards of morality and propriety among their own people for the sentimental reason that they do not in fact consent to a change of their condition.

The tribal system as it exists upon the Onondaga Reservation destroys every incentive to industry; it promotes laziness; it encourages ignorance; and it so fosters the relation between the sexes that it excludes all the sanctities of domestic life. And we insist, as people living in that vicinity, not only in the interest of the Indians but in the interest of civilization itself, that a stop shall be put to this condition of things. While it lasts they are enshrouded in a darkness which has no dawn. Let us destroy this tribal relation; let us allot these lands in severalty, and it will be but a short time before the major part of these people will become reputable citizens of our republic.

The resolution previously moved by Dr. Abbott relating to the New York Indians was then unanimously adopted.

Dr. GATES.—Our Board at its annual meeting arranged for a meeting with the Senate Committee, that we might advocate the passage of this (the Vreeland) Bill. It passed the House. It failed in the Senate. A Senate sub-committee was appointed to visit this reservation and others last session. I have seen the Chairman of that Committee within the last few days (Senator Stewart), and he said that he found it impossible to go, or to get any of his Committee to go, last summer; and in view of the date of the extra session, there is no probability that they will go this fall.

Within the last few days there has been a formal motion made to get the State courts of New York to test the legality of the Ogden Land Company's claim in the courts. But we think that the last thing the tribal politicians and their lawyers wish to do is to get this Ogden Land Company's claim tested and settled in court. Nothing has been done in pressing that suit for a year. They seem to cherish the cloud on their title as an obstacle to allotment.

I think that a bill to allot these Indians should be passed this winter. A recent letter from Congressman Vreeland says that he intends to introduce a bill, with the provision that the land be condemned by right of eminent domain, and the title acquired for the Indians to make allotment practicable.

Mr. SMILEY.—I would like to say for the benefit of those who were not here that last year we invited all the prominent persons connected with this controversy. Those in favor of the Vreeland Bill, including Mr. Vreeland and Judge Andrews, were here, and the other side was also strongly represented. After the question had been discussed for a full session the general opinion was very strong in favor of the Vreeland Bill. So we want to reassert our opinion in regard to that bill.

Mr. GARRETT.—I heartily endorse Judge Andrews' remarks.

The Chairman read the following telegram, which he had received from General Whittlesey in reply to that sent him by the Conference:—

“WASHINGTON, D. C., October 23, 1903.

“JOHN D. LONG, Lake Mohonk House:—

“Convey to Mohonk Conference my thanks for kind message received.

E. WHITTLESEY.”

Hon. DARWIN R. JAMES.—The Business Committee took into consideration the condition of the Pima Indians, and were very much stirred by what they heard; and many who listened to Dr. Spining when the subject was up for a few moments on the first day of the session desired that we might hear further from him. The Business Committee directed that I present a resolution which will be attached to the other resolutions which have been adopted and which will be added to the platform, and I therefore now present the following resolution:—

“The Mohonk Conference understands that the Secretary of the Interior has matured a plan for temporarily relieving the starving Pima Indians, who have been deprived of those rights to water from the Gila and Salt Rivers which by the customs and laws of the Southwest have belonged to these Indians as peaceful agriculturists for hundreds of years. The Conference gratefully recognizes this action of the Secretary, and respectfully urges that in the construction of the great Tonto Basin dam these early rights of the Pimas be carefully recognized and guarded.”

I move the adoption of this resolution, and desire to yield my time to Dr. Spining, who has recently returned from a conference with the Secretary, and who has given for many years great attention to the subject of the condition of the Pimas and their betterment.

Rev. GEORGE L. SPINING.—I feel very grateful for the privilege of speaking a few moments again to this Conference. The Mohonk Conference is, it seems to me, like a great open court of the world where the voice of the weak, the far cry for help, meets with a sympathetic hearing.

You remember that before our war with Spain she was at war with insurgents in the island of Cuba, and that the policy she adopted there was so cruel as to astonish the civilized world. When this great nation looked down upon that island and saw scores of thousands of women and children gathered into stockades as reconcentrados our hearts were touched, and our sainted President with his gentle heart rose up and said: "This condition of things is simply intolerable." And the American people rose in their might and put a stop to it.

At that same time, far out on the plains of Arizona, under the stars and stripes, there was a condition that afforded a deadly parallel. And I wrote about that time a circular which was placed in the hands, or on the desks, of every member of both Houses of Congress, entitled, "Our Red Reconcentrados." There were others at work in behalf of these people; legislation was commenced; I, with others, appeared before the Senate Committee; our witnesses were brought on from far away Arizona; maps were drawn and laid before the proper committees; the position of these people actually described by those who had lived among them for over thirty years. We won our battle before the Senate Committee and on the floor, and we won the recognition of the Government to the priority of right on the part of these Indians for water from the Gila River.

They had lived for centuries under the shadow of Casagrande; there they had cultivated the ground and raised two and three crops a year, and were getting along well in every sense. Missionaries had been sent to them; one had been among them for over thirty years, and to-day, as the result of his labors, there are twelve hundred of them members of his churches; other communions have been at work among them. Probably two fifths of the entire five thousand immediately residing there are in connection with churches; the most of the children are in the schools. In 1889 had you been going through that country you would have seen whole train loads of wheat at the station of Casagrande on the Southern Pacific being drawn out to the markets; you might have gone into their homes and seen how well advanced they were toward civilization.

And who are these people, and what are and have been their relations to us? Have they ever done us any harm? No; they have been a peaceable, law-abiding, agricultural people, never drawing any money from the Government, lying on the track of the early pioneers across this continent and known for their hospitality to wayfaring wanderers, and ever lending a helping hand over and over and over again to the perishing California emigrant.

These are the people who, when Geronimo and his Apaches in

that country endeavored to seduce them to join him, would have been worth everything to him had they ceased from their allegiance to our Government. But they stood like a wall against him, and became the scouts for our armies; and it was to their agency more than that of any other (except the United States Army) that we owe the defeat of Geronimo and the capture of the Apaches. These are the people who saved our Government millions of dollars by their loyalty to us in a time of need; and had it not been for their steadfast loyalty the bones of hundreds more of our brave soldiers would be bleaching on the plains of Arizona.

This far cry for water has been going up for seven years, but legislation is very, very slow, and in the meantime these people have been suffering; some, indeed, have starved to death.

After we had held them and their pitiful condition up to the eyes of the world for all these years, and finally succeeded in getting legislation, securing a great reservoir for the irrigation of that country, then two great factions arose—land speculators and land grabbers,—and it has been decided to build this reservoir at the mouth of the Tonto Creek, where it runs into the Salt River. It does seem singular that when both sides in that country have been using the pitiful condition of these five to seven thousand Indians as an appeal to create action on the part of the Government, now when the appropriation has been made for the building of a large dam we are not as sure as we want to be that we are going to get the water for these Indians. There is an eternal question of equity lying back of this, and it is like Banquo's ghost, it will not down. These Indians have the first right to water; others should come in second.

Now what is being done? The Interior Department informs us that there is \$150,000 upon which that Department may draw, that they are buying pumping machinery, and part of it is on the ground, and it is to be constructed as rapidly as possible, with a view to the irrigation of a certain part of that reservation. Now whether this pumping station will irrigate enough land for the Indians is a question. There is this to say in its favor: right north of the Sacaton Reservation a company from Rochester, N. Y., has succeeded by pumping in getting all the water it wants, and it has turned that part of the desert into a beautiful garden. I hope that this pumping plant may result in the same thing for our Indians there.

Furthermore, by this system, if it is a success, our Indians are going to get water almost immediately over a limited area of ground which they may cultivate, whereas if they had to wait for the building of the dam they might have to wait for years before they got any water. In the meantime it is our duty to see that there is no delay in giving this experiment an ample trial. If it is a failure, legal redress should be sought, and suit brought against all who are using the water to which these Indians have a legal claim.

Their prior right to an adequate amount of the waters of the

Gila River and its tributaries still remains, and it is the opinion of the United States Attorney at Tucson, Ariz., that that right can be successfully vindicated.

Mr. JAMES WOOD.—These Pima Indians especially appeal to us because they and their neighboring tribe, the Maricopas, can say truthfully, “We have never taken the life of a white man.” A few years ago it became my duty to investigate the work of the Arizona Improvement Company in taking the water. I found that the Arizona Improvement Company were required to give a given number of inches of water continually to the Pima Indians, but it limited their use of water for irrigation to the work they were then doing, and the Indians could not use another inch of water for the purpose of irrigating additional land. Their wheat fields were then very prosperous, but they have not been able to irrigate another acre. That was not all, as the lands further up the valley were irrigated, and water continually flowed over them; the seepage from that water worked down to the lands of the Pimas and made their best lands worthless marshes, and the alkali came down and made their land worthless. There they were, limited to a petty number of inches of water, and in using that water limited to a portion of their land which had been made absolutely worthless.

Mr. SMILEY.—About ten years ago General Whittlesey and his wife and my wife and myself went all over that Pima Reservation, and it is one of the most prosperous Indian reservations I have ever seen. The lands lie along the Gila River, and were watered by ditches made probably before a white man ever set foot on this continent. The rule of the West is that the first users of water have the prior right; it is recognized all through the West, and there is no question about the prior right of the Pima Indians. If the Pima Indians have used say only forty inches of water, and have never used any more, that is all the water they have a right to use according to the laws universal in the West.

Gen. C. H. HOWARD.—I would be very sorry to have this matter left simply with the passage of a resolution. It was up two years ago when I was here, and I was interested in it at that time. We need the intelligent co-operation of the members of this Conference, and we need their hearts with us in regard to this matter. I would like to take it up at just the point where Mr. Smiley has left it. The Pimas had a good year this year (I just had a letter from the Rev. Mr. Cook, missionary to the Pimas). They have had more rain than for many years, but they were able to raise only one eighth of the amount that they used to raise, only one million pounds (that is the way they measure the wheat there) of wheat this year, whereas in old times they raised eight million pounds. It is the want of water which is crowding back these people into barbarism. Mr. Cook writes me that for want of this water the sage brush and mesquite are growing up where they had wheat.

Shall we let this matter rest, only passing a resolution? Cannot we take interest enough in it to write to our Congressmen about it after we leave here, and see if something cannot be done? There are forty-five hundred souls there, and why not let them support themselves and hold up their heads in manhood? Why not sustain them, and crowd back these white men who have been robbing them? That is the point I want to make, that we should not leave it with a mere resolution.

Rev. Dr. C. L. THOMPSON.—The resolution is very good, perhaps, as far as it goes. In my judgment it is not strong enough. Digging wells upon the Sacaton Reservation is not going to irrigate that desert. The water of the Gila River belongs to the Pima Indians; white people have taken it away. That dam should have been built upon the Gila River and so give the Indians plenty of water.

The Phoenix influence has induced the Government—after we had received the impression that the San Carlos dam would be built for the relief of the Indians—to build the Salt River dam. Nobody is suffering there. I do not believe that the water from the Tonto basin will be carried over to the Pima Indians. It seems to me what we should say to the Government is: “We want the San Carlos dam built that the Pimas and Papagoes may have water upon their desert.”

I do not like to make an amendment to any paper that is presented by Mr. James and Dr. Spining, but instead of thanking the Government for digging wells, I should like to have a definite expression that we want water directly for the Indians through the San Carlos dam.

On motion of Mr. Garrett, Dr. Thompson and Mr. James were appointed a committee to report on the matter of this resolution to the Conference at the evening session.

Dr. JACKSON.—The friends of the Pima Indians went to Congress, and brought the influence of the country to bear upon Congress to establish the Gila dam, and politicians influenced white men in Phoenix and vicinity,—because they are voters and the Pima Indians are not voters,—who got the money (that was originally voted by Congress with the intention of building the Gila River dam, which would help the Pima Indians) transferred to another river system, which will help the white men; and the Pima Indians have starved these seven years, and are bound to starve unless the Government rations them and keeps them from starvation.

Dr. Thompson asked that Dr. Spining be added to his Committee, and that was accordingly done.

Mr. JAMES.—I want to hear a few words from Secretary Gates. He has had conversation with the authorities in Washington upon this subject, and he has the facts.

Dr. GATES.—The first bill introduced three years ago for the San Carlos dam I helped to draft, with Mr. Newell, Superintendent

of Hydrography, and one or two engineers. We spent day after day with the Rev. Mr. Cook when he was in Washington advocating that measure for the Indians. When Dr. Spining and Dr. Jackson reinforced us before committees we were very grateful. The San Carlos Bill contained every needed provision for guarding the interests of the Indians; that bill failed. One of the best friends of the Indians, Senator Platt of Connecticut, told our Board that he feared it would be an entering wedge for a "general irrigation scheme." It has been a question since that time whether the Tonto dam or the San Carlos dam should be built; it is not probable that appropriations can be had now for both dams. I do not think that the rights of the Indians are safeguarded in the proposed plan for the Tonto dam. That dam ought not to be constructed without guarding the prior rights of the earliest irrigators,—the Indians.

Mr. Smiley is of course correct in what he says about irrigation laws. Those who first used the water for agriculture have perpetual water rights, which take precedence of all other rights to the use of water from that stream. The subsequent use of the water from the stream must be limited by the prior right of the earlier irrigators to the number of "miner's inches" of water which each such irrigator has for a term of years used for purposes of agriculture. The earlier irrigator has a right which nobody else can take away from him, and all later users of the water of a stream are in equity and in law conditioned by this earlier right of the first irrigators. The Pima Indians unquestionably have such prior rights to a good supply of water from the Gila River and also from the Salt River.

I see nothing which we as a Conference can do beyond the adopting of this resolution, except to ask that a committee be named to go to Washington this winter to advocate before Congress, and with the Secretary of the Interior, the protection of the irrigation rights of these peaceful agriculturists,—the Pima Indians. I very much wish that the President of this Conference would serve as a member of such a committee.

Dr. SPINING.—While at Washington Dr. Gates and I went to the Bureau of Geological Survey, and there the Chief Clerk, Mr. F. H. Newell, who has official knowledge of everything in that country in connection with the San Carlos dam and the Tonto dam, showed us drawings concerning the water coming from the Salt River to the Pimas. And we shook hands on it that whatever general scheme of irrigation was recommended to the Secretary of the Interior, whether the dam was built at Tonto or on the Gila River, would recognize the rights and provide for the needs of these Indians. The question was raised as to whether the water could be brought over from the Salt River and be made to minister to the Sacaton Reservation, and he said it could, and showed us drawings and traces of ancient canals to prove it.

The Conference adjourned at 1 P. M.

Sixth Session.

Friday Evening, October 23, 1903.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at eight o'clock. Mr. Meserve, for the Business Committee, moved the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved: Congress should at the earliest possible moment provide courts and the necessary machinery for the enforcement in the Indian reservations of existing laws operative there for the punishment of crime and the protection of property.

Hon. John J. Fitzgerald, member of Congress from Brooklyn, and member of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, who was to speak upon the obstacles in the way of legislation for the Indians, was then introduced by the Chairman.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE AND SOME OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF LEG- ISLATION FOR THE INDIANS.

BY HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD.

It has often been said that the only good Indian is a dead one. The same opinion seems to be quite popular, apparently, with regard to politicians. The late Speaker Reed defined a statesman to be a dead politician; and if it were not for that eminent authority I would say that the most distinguished, the most eminent, the most practical, and the most successful politician attending this Conference was the distinguished Chairman of the meeting. I wish to emphasize the fact that this pre-eminently qualified man for public service, a man of affairs, a man whose name is a household word from one ocean to another, is essentially a politician. Now, I wish to impress upon the members of this Conference the injustice of attributing evil to any one class, whatever it may be. It was undecided until after Mr. Smiley's eulogy of the Governor, whether a politician, an Indian agent, or an ethnologist was the most wicked man upon the face of the earth.

It was charming to me, accustomed to frankness and a freedom of expression in debate, to find a liberality of spirit and a freedom of expression in this discussion; to find an absence of narrowness; to find men of every creed and of every profession and from every walk in life standing up and speaking right out in meeting.

Much of the good that has been accomplished by these Mohonk Conferences has resulted from that very thing. Nobody is sensitive that somebody else's corns will be trodden upon. You cannot accomplish anything in conferences by being afraid of offending somebody. There is the impression, the great and deep impression, that comes to the stranger coming to this Conference seeking light and truth and information, that intelligent, practical men and women, and perhaps some idealists (I would not like to particularize in that regard), have the courage to speak out their convictions. And this is the way so much good has come from the Lake Mohonk Conference.

Let me relate how valuable the Conference has been to me in my work in Congress, particularly on one occasion. You may know, those of you who have followed the proceedings of Congress, that there is a growing sentiment in opposition to the enlargement or spread of the non-reservation boarding school; the conviction is quite firm that they have attained as great a growth as they should. They were very violently attacked in the House one day, and the chairman of the Committee, compelled to defend his bill, picked up the Commissioner's report and read a most glowing account of the work of the non-reservation boarding schools. I being on the other side of the House got the floor immediately after him, and opened the Commissioner's report at the beginning, and asked the members of the House to take the report and follow it, that I was going to read from the Commissioner's speech at the Lake Mohonk Conference. Those two statements were as contrary as it was possible for statements to be, and I stated to the House that it was merely a question as to which part of the report had been written by the Commissioner; and I assumed that he had at least written the speech that was delivered here, and those were his sentiments whoever might be credited with the views expressed by the chairman of the Committee. That was one instance when the reports of the Conference were very valuable to me.

The work of this Conference is known throughout the land. I had some peculiar ideas regarding it when I first heard of it. I thought a number of peculiar people came together at Lake Mohonk, and without knowing anything practical whatever indulged in theories. But I find here the men and the women who are engaged in the active work of civilizing the Indians; men of the highest and brightest intellects who give their valuable time and thought to the many problems affecting the Indians. And I know of no gathering where better results can be obtained than when you get the men who do the practical work and the men who do the thinking, having the ability to apply the knowledge they have to the difficult problems of a question in order to work out true solutions.

Now, I imagine this Conference is interested in knowing why Congress does not legislate all the evils of the Indian problem out of existence. Well, it is a simple matter. For instance, I am on the Committee on Indian Affairs; I represent a district of the

State of New York which has about two hundred thousand people in it, and outside of Mr. James (who has left my district, I am sorry to say, or I have left him), and Mr. Arbuckle and about half a dozen other persons residing within that district, the vast majority of those persons know nothing and care less about the Indians of the country. Why, they have other interests in Congress; they are interested in tariff, in finance, in pensions, in obtaining discharges from the navy, building ships, in the navy yards, labor legislation, and in a thousand other things that are entirely foreign to Indians and Indian affairs. And when I am in the middle of some of these things some gentleman comes up and says, "I am sure if you will just read this little treatise you will be convinced that some Indians should be given a million or two million dollars to elevate them." I remember distinctly Dr. Sheldon Jackson coming to the Indian Committee and giving twenty minutes to describe the condition of the Indians in Alaska, and he was listened to very patiently. When he finished the universal opinion was that something really should be done for those Indians in Alaska, but nobody had time just at that moment to suggest just what should be done.

There are some other politicians, however, connected with this Conference, and some of the cleverest that I have ever met. Our distinguished presiding officer is not the only politician that graces this Conference with his presence. When they start to get legislation they go after it in the practical, common-sense way, and they usually succeed. Dr. Gates, half a dozen times during the session, comes down to the House, hands you a bill affecting such and such Indians: "Here is a short, comprehensive statement; I wish you would look it over during now and Thursday and be present at the hearing, when I hope to be heard." "Doctor, I hardly think this is proper legislation." "Now, Mr. Fitzgerald, we rely upon you." And he does that to a majority of the Committee, and if we do not support his bill we are put among the land-grabbers and money-grabbers, unconsciously. And Dr. Gates gets the legislation he seeks. If you want legislation be practical.

Mr. Garrett expressed an opinion that a great many people believe in,—that the Indian agents on and after to-day shall be abolished. Well, what are you going to put in the place of them? Members of Congress have not time, if they have the inclination, to think of some substitute for Indian agents. If you want to get rid of them come down to some practical plan and present it to the Committee—but (this is confidential) don't do it. I have had some experience,—four years of service on the Indian Committee,—and to my knowledge never one Indian agency omitted from the Indian Appropriation Bill. The bill is reported to the Committee with half a dozen agencies left out, and then Mr. So and So says, "I move to restore such and such an agency." The Commissioner is called before the Committee; the agency is absolutely useless; it is an unnecessary expense; it has been the source of trouble and

scandal; we ought to get rid of it—and it stays out. And he goes over to his Senator and it goes back. And then the bill goes into conference, and it is a question whether an appropriation bill of eight million dollars shall fail, and an extra session of Congress be necessary, merely because two or three fifteen hundred dollar agencies have been incorporated into the bill—and they stay there, and the bill passes. The Indian agents are not the contemptible scoundrels that you picture them and the politicians to be.

There are other reasons why you don't get legislation. Congress appropriates between five and six hundred million dollars a year for the affairs of the Government; we legislate for some seventy-seven millions of white people in this country, negroes included, I think twelve or fifteen million Filipinos, two or three million Porto Ricans, and recently for a number of Cubans. And two hundred and fifty thousand Indians, in the opinion of a great many people, should occupy the attention of Congress to the exclusion of everybody else. You see how impossible it is! The Indians are off on a reservation—and that is just about how Congress looks at them. "How quickly can we get rid of this Indian appropriation bill?" You must have legislation not only in such shape that there will be no single objection to it, but it must be sufficiently imperative to command the attention of the Speaker and get his sanction to its consideration.

I will tell you an amusing incident regarding my first service on the Indian Committee. I sat in the Committee on Indian Affairs when the Indian Appropriation Bill was returned to the full Committee, and they took it up and they read: "For the support of the Shoshones under such a treaty, so many thousand dollars," etc., and once in a while somebody would say, "Mr. Chairman, that was so much last year; why was it cut down?" "Well, they are earning so much money this year." Then it came to schools, and I sat there and I might just as well have been at a performance in a Chinese theatre. And finally they came up to this item, "For the Board of Indian Commissioners, \$4,000," and I said, "Mr. Chairman, I move to strike that item out." The Chairman said: "Mr. Fitzgerald, are you acquainted with Mr. James?" I said, "No, sir." He said, "Take my advice and make his acquaintance." He said, "I believe he resides in your district, and he is President of that Commission; and if you don't want the worst hornets' nest that you ever heard of about your ears, withdraw that amendment." I said, "Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my objection." I have been fighting for the Commission ever since.

These are simply some of the practical things that we find. Members of Congress, whatever committees they are on, are very busy men; they have their ambitions, they want to go back as a rule, and they want to serve the people who sent them there and who are interested in them. They have not much time to study matters; they must act quickly.

Take the Vreeland Bill: Dr. Gates is familiar with the hearings

on that; they lasted I think a month, every day. They had good Indians and bad Indians, they had whites for the Bill and whites against the Bill, and notwithstanding our distinguished Chief Justice, the lawyers there could quote law just as the Devil could quote Scripture, to suit their side of the case.

Take in regard to the Pima Indians. Gentlemen come there and say: "Here are five to seven thousand Pima Indians; give us a million dollars and a quarter and we can build a dam." And some engineer comes and says, "If you build that San Carlos dam it won't hold water."

I do not believe the end of the Indian question is in sight, but I know much good is being done. I know places on this continent where the Indians are in as savage and as barbarous a state as they were when Columbus discovered America. You cannot solve this problem with one piece of legislation; you must be patient; you must persevere; you must have faith; you must agitate.

I am delighted to have been here. I shall carry away with me very pleasant memories. I have acquired much information that will be of value. It is impossible for me to say whether in this coming Congress I shall be assigned to the Indian Committee or not, but wherever I may be assigned my interest in the Indian work will not cease. My desire to help uplift and civilize the Indians will be stimulated by the fact that an earnest body of sincere, practical, enlightened, intelligent people devote their time and their efforts to one of the greatest problems that this country is unfortunately afflicted with.

Mr. James read the report of the Committee to which the resolution in regard to the Pima Indians was referred, and on behalf of that Committee submitted the following in place of the resolution which was referred back:—

WHEREAS the Mohonk Conference understands that the Secretary of the Interior has matured a plan for temporarily relieving the starving Pima Indians, who have been deprived of those rights of water from the Gila and Salt Rivers which, by the customs and laws of the Southwest, have belonged to these Indians as peaceful agriculturists for hundreds of years; and,

WHEREAS this Conference has the conviction that justice demands that the prior water rights should be returned to these Indians, we earnestly ask the Government, either by the construction of the San Carlos dam or by some other adequate and sufficient method, to furnish the water to give permanent relief. The Conference gratefully recognizes the purpose of the Department to give this relief as soon as possible, and begs that whatever location may be decided upon, whether the San Carlos or Tonto Basin dam, the irrigation plan be so extended as to supply water to the Indians of the Sacaton Reservation.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Meserve moved the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

“ We further recommend that a standing committee of five be appointed, of which the President of this Conference shall be chairman, to watch legislation at Washington and guard the interests of these Indians.”

The Chairman later announced the appointment of the following Committee in accordance with the provision of the foregoing resolution: John D. Long, Chairman, by vote of the Conference; five additional members appointed by the Chair, Darwin E. James, Geo. L. Spining, D.D., Merrill E. Gates, LL.D., James Wood, Gen. Chas. H. Howard.

THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CHURCH AND THE SCHOOL.

BY MISS ANNIE BEECHER SCOVILLE.

I am told that to-night is an experience meeting, and I am to tell why I feel so deeply the need of co-operation between school and church. I have been a teacher for a good many years, and have learned many things through this school life, and the first thing that I learned was an ethnological fact,—I learned that the wild man always seeks two things: one, the preservation of the body, food, happiness, life, and the other, God.

To such people we came, and we held forth two things. There was that which we had learned of the preservation of the body—to work to gain food, to give our minds to perpetuating life; and on the other hand we had lived through the Book of Job,—we had experienced the suffering, and claimed through faith the belief that the Power was loving that lay back of all pain, and that God answered Job, “ It is not only the suffering you do not understand, but the glory of the day that you do not understand.” Which shall we give to the Indian, our material or spiritual experience, and which shall we give first? Shall we give him the learning and the industry, or shall we give him God? Which does he want first? For where the child stands is the point of contact for the teacher, and the teacher must go down to the child's level to help him up.

I remember a crowd of young men standing laughing and arguing that they were sorry Columbus ever came here, for that if he had not come they would have worked out a civilization of their own; they would not have been a dependent race. One man stood silent, and I said to him, “ Don't you agree with the rest about Columbus?” And he turned to me with bitterness and said: “ Oh, no; what good would it have been if we had won our

civilization but had had no knowledge of the true God! I believe that we will go to heaven; I believe that we may be saved, but I do not feel as if God ever laid his hand upon us." I learned then a lesson of the bitterness of paganism; of what it meant to be a race which knew not God.

I went to the old people, because back of the life of the book, back of the life that I was trying to give to the young people, was that life that the mother had given them and the father and the camp. There I saw the work of one whom you all know; the work of one who went into one of those camps full of suffering and of pain and of the wild dance and the brutality, and said, "Let me help you about the children." And she won their love and their confidence. And I went there and I saw what it was to take a dying child in my arms, and have no help to give, and I worshiped at the shrine of industry, and I said, "Let us have cows; let us get to the people through food." But I learned of the final triumph of faith over food, when a mother who had buried all and had a little child born, and learned how to care for it, and became a Christian, and was happy in that child. And the child died, and she said: "I have buried all my children with great grief and mourning, and to-day this is the last, and I am happy; for every time before when I have buried a child I have not known what was beyond, but to-day I know there is a hope, and I know that the child is happy. "It is not by bread alone"—the Indian can die and care not if there is a hope in the future. A race lives only in hope; from the merely physical view hope is necessary for life, and the love of God is necessary for the life of the race.

Then would I turn aside from the teaching? I am a teacher; I am proud of the schools our Government has placed in every reservation; but I have thought of the wild people as perhaps many of you have not. I have known what it was to be alone among the Indians miles and miles and miles from anyone of my own color, of my own experiences in life. Do you think what it means when you plant schools in those reservations—alone; what it is to be alone day after day, facing paganism and ignorance and suffering and all that makes life hard, and have no help of your church, no sympathy of your brother Christian! You say, "civil service!" Because a man has passed an examination, is it possible that he can stand alone in a camp of pagans and lift them, give them hope, give them help? It is not in blame, but in profound sympathy, that my heart goes out to the schools of my country.

I know one school on the edge of the Bad Lands where there is a man whom we could not conquer because he carried the Sioux into the Bad Lands where we could not reach them, and he is as able and practical a man as, shall I say, any man in this audience? They wanted his children in school. They sent a teacher out there and the teacher tried to take a boy from the father, and the boy placed a gun in his mouth and blew his head off; and the father said: "I have a very brave son!" The teacher in that camp needs help.

Go on up to the edge of the reservation, in a village where an Indian lives who says, "I fasted there until all the animals of the earth came up and passed over me, and gave me their power; and I have power"; and he said it with all the confidence that any church and any minister of God could say, "I have power to cast out evil spirits; I have power to cure; I can help you." And there we put a man and his wife; a man who is a very interesting ethnologist and a good teacher and a fine man; but he is being drawn more by that man who speaks with authority to him of the wild desert than he is drawing that man.

Thus alone in the wilderness, without a church, a hundred miles from all civilization, we are saving those people with the spelling book and the hoe, and they are crying out for God.

Which will you give them first? It has been my experience that wherever the love of God has been brought first into the field there the learning has prospered, the fields have brought forth and the people have lived. Wherever we have planted a school or tried to teach an industry without the spirit back of it it has languished and somebody failed. "It takes a soul to move the body; it takes the spirit to move the masses even to a cleaner way of living," I think are Mrs. Browning's words; and that spirit must be the power that we use in our schools, and the church must uphold this work or all our schools are wasted.

Mrs. AMELIA S. QUINTON.—This morning many were disappointed at seeing the clouds outside, but the clouds made no difference indoors, and just so it is in the great family of God, in the one great church made up of all God's loving, loyal children. There is ever sunshine there. If "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," the God above the stars is ever with his people in all that pertains to the redemption of the human race. Our purpose should therefore surely be to seize upon those plans that will best and soonest do the work. If one goes out to capture a foreign power, he plans to seize upon the strongest point—to take the citadel if that is possible. There is no end of human testimony here and everywhere regarding one means, which is always successful when faithfully tried, and which does the work in the shortest possible way. History is full of illustrations of the fact that loyalty to a person has done some of the grandest things in this world. Men have gladly died out of fellowship, loyalty, and love to a human leader. Now, if it were possible to introduce to these souls in whom we are interested one who could fascinate them, one whose influence would be in the right direction every time; if such intimate friendship, loyalty, devotion, could lay hold of all their powers, they would be saved. We know of many Indians who have been lifted out of most abject conditions simply by love of a human leader, some one interested in them. Now, if the citadel of all these hearts can be taken by the divine leader, our only king in human form, we realize that that will be the surest

way and the shortest to save them out of evil into good. We have seen that process a success over and over again in work in these Indian tribes.

The Association which I represent has had the joy of giving Christian teaching to fifty tribes and separate parts of tribes, and there have been some wonderful stories in connection with that work. We have seen a whole tribe lifted rapidly by the work of one or two godly men or women, including the converting, by God's grace, of Indian leaders of the tribe. The upward path has thus been taken at various stations. Such tribes call this change "walking the Jesus road." I remember a striking instance in work done in Alaska by the wife of Dr. Wilbur, a medical missionary of the Presbyterian Board. Our Association had built through our Home Building and Loan Department eight cottages for Indians, and the families in them soon began the upward path. As the work went on five more cottages were built by the Indians themselves. They called this group "the model settlement," and went forward in industry. Then they built a social hall, for religious meetings, gatherings for business, and for innocent amusements. Next, they organized a business league. They built boats, did excellent work, and their progress was astonishing. On one occasion some of them went up the coast, but were told that no Indians would be employed in the fish cannery. They approached, but the officer on shore said: "Don't land here; we employ no Indians." "But," said they, "we are Christian Indians." He inquired, "Who made those boats?" and they replied, "We made them." The end was that they went away with contracts to build more boats, and a contract to sell fish there through the summer. Presently these Indians at Sitka said to the missionary: "You have carried us long enough. Teach us how and we will help our people ourselves." They added improvements constantly to their homes; a piazza, or a bay window, and they adopted refined ways of living. The little children are well cared for and are neatly dressed. This was the work of only a few years. Why? Because the heart was taken; the heart was filled by the King; the citadel of the soul was his.

What a contrast is their life now to the old one in one room having an earth floor, without furniture, in which thirty or forty persons of all ages and conditions, and of both sexes, lived without sanitation or morals!

We represent in this Conference all sorts of religious views, but in one thing we all agree, and that is that to bring a people to the highest state of living it is necessary to bring them to God, to teach them of him,—our Father in heaven; and we all agree that to take his Son as our leader is the first step to take. This step taken, industries, schools, business and social relations are all included. And I can assure you that in the Association which I represent the joy of the work has been this missionary work. The society has done a great variety of other work, but the crowning joy has been in the missions, which will hereafter no doubt be the chief work of the Association.

The Industries Department, and the charming chairman of that department you heard here last year, Mrs. Doubleday, secured the co-operation of friends in New York and elsewhere, and eighteen thousand dollars worth of work of Indian women and girls was disposed of in two years. That work is assured, and we need not give ourselves laborious effort farther on that line. The Loan Department, of which Miss Scoville whom you have just heard is chairman, is not very much called upon these days, because Indian young men have learned that they can build their own homes.

Here is the one fact that we are all most anxious to leave in your remembrance. There are still at least thirty tribes and separated parts of tribes who need the blessed evangel of God's love. Some of these are among the brightest Indians of the Northwest. In the Middle West and in the Southwest there are large tribes still unevangelized. Our Association never does any denominational work; it does only the foundation work of Christian faith. It seems incredible that thirty mission stations for our native tribes should still be needed; that we still have actual heathen tribes among us. Please take these into your prayers and help the work among them. The Government has given us help in various ways,—granting the use of buildings not now needed by it, and co-operating in other ways.

Dr. AUSTIN SCOTT, President of Rutgers College.—We have heard and we believe that there are good things and great possibilities in the Indian. The comparison made here by Dr. Abbott and others of the child and the savage is apt and just, and the thought expressed by Dr. Gates is true, that with the Indian, as with the child of our race, the training of the individual is the vital thing. You cannot properly educate men massed in a crowd; you cannot instill civilization into a mob. The spirit of men in herds is very different to the spirit of the individual man.

In the training of our youth in school or college I have found self-government, conceded so far as circumstances will allow, to be a good method of moral and mental development. Responsibility educates. The best way to help a man is to help him to help himself, and it is a gratifying matter that that principle has been recognized in the work of this Conference. It must have value whatever be the special means adopted for placing the savage Indian upon his own feet and inducing his self-respect. The late Bishop Brooks enforced this thought in a sermon from the text, "Son of man, stand upon thy feet and I will speak to thee." The lazy Indian, the little Indian, the drunken Indian, when coaxed or helped upon his own feet is already in the way of learning self-respect and the highest things that we prize.

I assume that the reason that I have been asked to say a few words to-night is because I am a kind of "bonded agent," having charge of those yet in training, or because I am one of that half of the Conference who are new members; and no doubt Mr. Smiley

would like to know what prospect of growth there is in the new ground for the good seed here sown. I venture then, as a new member, to make mention of two or three impressions among others that have been left upon my mind. I recognize, and, as an American citizen, gratefully, that those who have done the work of this Conference and are doing it, and sharing in its purposes, are meeting in an excellent way the threefold requirement "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God," and they are meeting it with great courage. Much has been done; so much is yet to be done for which this Conference and its successors must have courage, while walking humbly with God and holding fast the patience that he gives.

A woman of my acquaintance, of philanthropic purpose, was once devising a charity for a Connecticut village, her summer home. When she heard the story of the village needs from some of the natives, she exclaimed, "Doesn't it give one courage; there is so much to be done!" These words and her tone flashed a great light upon me. It was the secret of Christ, the first measure of whose courage was not the promise of success, but the amount of work to be done; and this, I believe, has been and is the spirit of the workers here gathered in the cause of civilization. The lesson I take to myself from the impression here received is, to be "not a hearer only, but a doer," and for one thing, to plead with two at least of our New Jersey Congressmen on behalf of the Pima Indians.

The second impression that I have received is that the wide differences of opinion apparent here are parts of one whole. Hegel speaks of the "identity of contradictories." This metaphysical conception is here a reality. Colonel Pratt and his correspondent on the one side, and the basket weavers and ethnologists on the other, are workers together. We want the whole Indian. We want his heart; we want his head; we want his mind. We want the ploughman, the man who can lay a stone wall; and we want the man or the woman who can weave the basket or shape the potter's vessel.

As a third reflection from what I have heard here, it strikes me that a national system of schools for Indians and other wards of the nation would but follow on in the wake of previous legislation. A federal system can be devised, carrying out the purpose of the clause in the Northwestern Ordinance, reserving land in the interest of religion and education; a system that shall do no violence to the Constitution, but similar in its constitutional relations to that devised by the late Senator Morrill, of Vermont, in the interest of agriculture and the mechanic arts.

Five years ago this month, just after Governor Long had done his great work as Secretary of the Navy during the Spanish War, I went to Washington to ask him to come to the college which I have the honor to serve, and help us dedicate a tablet to a graduate, who was the first American officer to meet his death on Spanish

soil. Those were busy days for the Secretary, but with that courtesy of which he is so perfect a past-master, he took me over to the steps of the White House, where President McKinley, with members of his cabinet and other men of distinction stood, while the Tenth United States Cavalry passed in review under the portico. The regiment, as all know, is made up of colored men. To that regiment was largely due the success of the fight at San Juan Hill. The elastic tread of these soldiers, their erect bearing, the flash of their eyes gave perfect assurance that color of skin or race or previous condition of servitude or savagery need not debase men who trust themselves because their country has trusted them.

REV. FRANK H. WRIGHT.—My mother came from Connecticut; my father was a Choctaw chief. I was called to be superintendent of missions for the Dutch Reformed Church, and I went out under those auspices. I have been working eight years on the plains of Oklahoma. I have come to this Conference for the third time, and it has been an inspiration to me.

Less than three Sundays ago I was out on the plains living in a tent among the Comanches and Apaches. You are working on one end of the problem, and I am down there with others wrestling with the other end of the problem. Being an Indian myself, I seem to have the instinct for the work. One delusion I have lost. You can legislate about the Indian, but if the Indian does not want religion what can you do? Love and patience and faith win with an Indian.

It is glorious to work in the midst of difficulties, and I know that you will solve this problem at last. My experience as a missionary is that if you just keep at it it will come. I have been working eight years to get a hold on the Comanches, and I have baptized twelve. I worked with those Apaches, Geronimo's band, and it seemed useless for a year, but at last they came asking to be baptized and received into the church, and it seemed as though all the chief men were going to come at once. By persistent effort and faith and love we are going to win.

We take hold of those students who go back. They have no moral support there, and the missionary comes and holds them up, and puts them on their feet, and tries to keep them there.

The reservation school is a good thing; and the missionary school is, I believe, the best thing on earth. The non-reservation school is a good thing, but I believe that the outing system is the system. Just take those children and send them to school. When the Choctaws were first trying to send children to school they got eight boys, and among them was my father. He went to Delaware College and to the Union Theological Seminary, and graduated in the class of '55. My friends, I can boast of him; he was a true man. It only shows what can be done with an Indian. If you send him to school he will go through the college and the seminary, and he will be an honor to God and man. That is what you can do with a Choctaw.

Break down the barriers between the white man and the Indian. Every scheme of the reservation, every trick of any school to keep the Indian and the white man separated, is bad.

The important thing is to get the Indians where they will take their place among American citizens, and stand up among them and get their living. And so try to break down the barriers that keep them apart. If I had my way I would devote part of our money to building schools where the white children would come; then the Indians and the whites would be good friends.

One thing more, don't think that everything is going fine down there in an industrial way. Where I am the farming business is now a farce, but we are working at the question and it will come out all right.

If we keep striking; if we keep praying; if we keep strong in our faith and our courage, we will win and the problem will be solved.

The closing part of the session was devoted to brief addresses. Rev. Dr. Edward D. Eaton spoke of the pathos of the condition of the Indian. He was gratified by the sense of the importance of Christian work among them that pervaded the Conference. "What is there of any permanent value without it?" he asked. "We try to put a little veneer of civilization upon them; we exchange their beautiful baskets for the tin pans that rust in the corner; we exchange their solemn chants for the ragtime and the coon songs that float throughout these frontier communities; the dignity of their language for the oaths of the frontiers. What a miserable botch it all is, except as there comes in with all this tinsel the true gold of Christian love! The Indian can no more cope with modern civilization than a man can swim in Niagara; he is swept down and swept away, and no wonder. We dread to see even the agency abolished and the Indian set loose. But if there be a strong Christian arm under him he will learn to swim in that tide and take his place in the world."

The following resolutions offered by S. J. Barrows were seconded by Dr. Conant and unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the thanks of the Mohonk Indian Conference are herewith extended to our hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, to whose generous interest in the welfare of the Indian its organization and maintenance are due. On this the twenty-first year of the gathering of the Conference, an anniversary so suggestive of the responsibilities of manhood in the life of the individual, we congratulate them upon the progress that has been made in preparing the Indian for the enjoyment of those responsibilities and opportunities which belong to the manhood of the race. We rejoice to share with our hosts their interest and sympathy with the Indian and for all the dependent races of our country, and their hope and

faith in the ultimate fitness of these races for the duties and opportunities of American citizenship. We thank Mr. and Mrs. Smiley for the pleasure and the inspiration which come from bringing together, in this unique and delightful place, men and women of different creeds and parties, and representing all sections of our country, to establish kindly relations of fellowship, and to work together by word and deed for the realization of the noblest aims of human brotherhood. We convey our greetings to Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, and regret her necessary absence from the Conference.

We convey our thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley for their gracious courtesy and their untiring efforts to promote acquaintance-ship and enjoyment.

We return thanks likewise to all the assistants and members of the household for their continual efforts for our comfort and convenience.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Conference are hereby conveyed to the Hon. John D. Long, its President, and to Mr. James Wood, Vice President, for the ability and felicity with which they have carried out the program and fulfilled the wishes of the Conference.

MR. SMILEY.—I want to thank you most heartily for the resolutions just passed and the kind words that have been spoken. I have asked many times that you would not pass such resolutions because it rather makes me shrink a little.

I want to express my delight upon the success of this Conference. I suppose it is natural for us to say that the last Conference is the best. That seems to me true every time when I see so many earnest people speaking upon questions that are vital to the cause of the Indian.

I believe that we are nearing the solution of the Indian question, and I hope to live long enough to see all of the Indians made self-supporting citizens, enjoying all the blessings of civilized life that we enjoy. I believe that many Indians will become prominent citizens of the United States. I have mingled with the Indians largely, and have learned to love and respect them, and I hope the time will soon come when they will all be with us as a part of our people.

Although we have decided not to pass any resolutions about persons who have passed from this world to the world above, there is one man who has done more for the Indian than any other man in this country, a man of the purest heart, noblest purpose, who made his life interest the elevation of the Indian, and who gained the love and respect of the whole country as scarcely any other man has ever done; he never enriched his fortune by any doubtful process; as honest as the hills and as faithful to the Indian as any missionary. Such a man in Congress, and for so many years Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate, deserves more than passing notice. I refer of course to the late Senator Dawes. It is

not necessary to pass any resolution, for I know we all feel what a great loss his death is to us as a Conference and to the country at large.

At the suggestion of the President the Conference rose in honor of the memory of Senator Dawes.

The last address of the evening was by Hon. John D. Long.

Hon. JOHN D. LONG.—As your work for the Indian, which has been so loyal and so efficient, nears its end, I trust you will begin, as suggested during the Conference, to look for other fields and for other dependent peoples to help, such as the inhabitants of the islands of the sea. Indeed during the last half hour it has occurred to me that your charity might be extended to still another dependent who seems to be in dire necessity, and that is the President of this Conference.

I am told that it is proper, inasmuch as reference was made to the presiding officer in the resolution which has just been adopted, that I should make my acknowledgments. But it is more blessed to give than to receive, and rather than to be merely a recipient of your great courtesy, much as I value and appreciate it, I desire to join with you in the better half of your resolution, that half that pays the tribute of your respect and love to Mr. Smiley, as well as to his brother, Daniel Smiley and his wife, for they all have contributed, not only to our pleasure, which is comparatively a small thing, but to the success, the value, the worth of this Conference. No monument of stone, no inscription, no resolution can bring you, sir [turning to Mr. Smiley], the gratification, I am sure, which is brought to you by the thought in your own breast of what you have been able to do in establishing this Conference, and through it in working out such a fruition of beneficence for the poor Indian.

When Chief Justice Andrews was speaking this morning of some of the nobler qualities of the Indian, his fortitude, his courage, his fidelity under some circumstances, it seemed to me that he had in mind another citizen of New York who should never be forgotten at an Indian conference, and that is the great novelist, Fenimore Cooper, who years and years ago gave us the impression so strong upon us in our boyish days, and lasting even to this day, of the noble qualities which may be developed in the Indian as well as under a white skin.

You have asked for my impressions; they are the same as your own. The main impression is that of a great assembly of men and women representing the very highest types of Christian purpose and also of intellectual ability and power, gathered together in a body which, if it is equaled, is not surpassed anywhere on the face of the earth for the genuineness of its motives, for the directness and eloquence of its statement, for the force of its presentations, and, better than all else, for the utter absence of any-

thing like impracticability. That, it seems to me, is the secret of your achievement,—the utter absence of anything like impracticability. You have seen the evil, you have met it patiently, steadily, straightforwardly. You have differed with one another, but, as Dr. Abbott said so pertinently this morning, your differences have never interfered with the achievement of your purpose. You have acted only when you could act with the impulsion of substantial unanimity, taking one step at a time and making that step sure. The result is that your mission is to a large extent accomplished. The Indian lands are allotted; the Indian is an American citizen; he has his rights, he has his courts, he has his individual land, and he soon will be one of the body of the whole people. As was so well said by Colonel Pratt quoted in the little statement which Dr. Abbott made, the Indian finds his destiny in being absorbed into our civilization, and staying there.

I only linger one moment more to speak of the charming personal relations that exist here; the interchange of courtesies, the sitting and gathering together, the walks over these beautiful fields and through these autumn woods, the lingering by the water side, the coming, the meeting, the greeting, and to-morrow the regret at parting.

Mr. Smiley, in the name of the Conference, thanked the various officers of the Conference.

The Conference sang together the hymn, "God be with you till we meet again," Archbishop Ryan pronounced the benediction, and the Conference adjourned at 11.15 P. M. *sine die*.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- ABBOTT, REV. DR. EDWARD and MRS., President Indian Industries League, 11 Dana St., Cambridge, Mass.
- ABBOTT, REV. DR. LYMAN and MRS., Editor *The Outlook*, 287 Fourth Ave., New York City.
- ALLEN, MR. WALTER and MRS., on editorial staff *Boston Herald*, Boston, Mass.
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-
SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

LAKE MOHONK
CONFERENCE

Of FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN
and OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

1904

REPORTED BY
WM. J. ROSE



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NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FOUR

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PREFACE.

The Twenty-Second Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian met in October, 1904, on the invitation of Mr. Albert K. Smiley. About one hundred and seventy members were in attendance.

In view of the fact that some reforms in the Indian service which had absorbed much attention at past conferences were on a fair way to realization, it was deemed an auspicious time to effect a proposed extension of the scope of the Conference to include discussion of questions, except those having a purely political bearing, affecting the welfare of the peoples of the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii. Accordingly, conditions in each of these dependencies were ably presented, adding greatly to the interest of the Conference.

To meet this broadening of scope, the Conference, by resolution, approved changing its name to the "Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples," under which name the present volume is issued.

Copies of this report are sent to members of the Conference, and a limited number is available for distribution to interested parties. Applications for reports should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

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**PLATFORM OF THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS
OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER
DEPENDENT PEOPLES.**

The Twenty-second Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples rejoices that so much has been accomplished, under the wise action of the National Government, in bringing the descendants of the aborigines of our land to the enjoyment of education, justice and equity and to some of the benefits of our civilization, while the dependent peoples, who have recently come under our care, have been provided with nearly everything that has thus far been possible to improve their condition and to prepare them for the privileges and responsibilities of their new relations. We are encouraged to hope that nearly all the difficult problems with which these various wards of the Nation have been surrounded will ultimately, and perhaps speedily, meet with satisfactory solutions. For the Indians, we feel that our paternal care must be continued for some time to come, while to prolong it unduly will result, as such care always does, in weakness and permanent injury; while for the people of our insular possessions we must guard against the dangers of too much regulation on the one hand and of indifference and neglect on the other. The experience of our people in Alaska shows how easy it is for our Congress to fail to act upon important interests that happen to be remote.

We desire to reaffirm the statement made last year that "in dealing with the Indians the objects to be accomplished are no longer questioned; they are the abandonment of the reservation system; the discontinuance of Indian agencies; such education of all Indian children as will fit them for self-support and self-government; access to the Courts for the protection of their rights; amenability to the law in punishment for their crimes; the same liberty that white men enjoy to own, buy, sell, travel, pay taxes, and enjoy in good government the benefits enjoyed by other taxed citizens; and by these means the speedy incorporation of all Indians, with all the rights of citizenship, into the American Commonwealth."

In continuation of the foregoing, it is the sense of this Conference that the initial steps should early be taken by Congress looking to the closing up of the business of the Indian Bureau, so soon as it may safely be done, leaving to the operation of the laws of the Nation and of the several States and Territories

the protection of the Indians in their rights of person and property, the education of their children, and in securing to them the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.

The different conditions found in different localities should be carefully considered in whatever action may be taken in the interests of education and in the regulations of property. In all situations the common schools for both white and Indian children should be extended and safe-guarded so as to provide for the education of all children to prepare them for good neighborly citizenship, while the evils of race prejudice are, so far as possible, avoided. Where the local authorities of State and county are unable to provide these the general Government should make adequate provision for the proper education of the citizens. Day schools for Indians, where such are necessary, should be extended. Reservation Schools and Indian Boarding Schools must be continued for some time to come, but we believe they should not be enlarged nor increased in number, nor should heavy appropriations be made for permanent improvements. The policy of education, whatever its details may be, should ever have in view the strengthening of family ties and the developing of the sacred relations of the home. This fundamental unit of American civilization should be fostered among the Indians as well as among ourselves.

Indian industries should be encouraged by every practicable means. Instruction in agriculture and the useful arts should be liberally given them, especially should such of their native industries be encouraged as illustrate their distinctive abilities.

OUR ISLAND POSSESSIONS.

The Conference is gratified with the progress that has so far been made in the education and development of a portion of the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago. We especially commend the wise system of education that has been put into successful operation there. We would urgently recommend the extension of this system until the people shall all receive the inestimable advantages that will result from it. By these they will be prepared for the important career that awaits them, both in their own government and in their relations to the Nation.

We ask our Government to give especial attention to the industrial development of these islands, and, as being of the greatest importance to them, to speedily provide for the unrestricted entry of their products to the markets of the Nation.

We commend the wise action of the Government in the revision of the laws of Porto Rico, and in establishing an admirable system of education there. We are unable to suggest any improvement in this system, but we strongly urge the expenditure by

our Government of whatever sums may be necessary to secure the advantages of education to all the children of the island. At the present time but one in five of the children of school age receive educational advantages. We are fully aware of the seriousness of this undertaking, but we are convinced that the end will fully justify the means.

The conditions in Hawaii are so different from our other islands that quite distinct problems are there to be met. The large Asiatic population already there places upon the Government a serious responsibility for such an education of their children as will prepare them for the duties of citizenship. Laws should be speedily enacted and efficiently enforced that will conserve virtue and restrain vice.

We recommend to Congress such action as may be necessary to secure the use of the English language in legislation as will comply with the conditions already stipulated.

In all our island possessions we are glad to find that we can unhesitatingly congratulate the country upon the fact that our Government has sent to them so many earnest, zealous, highly trained and capable young men to meet and solve the difficult problems that have confronted them. This gives a hopeful evidence that our connection with these peoples will result to their great advantage and to our own. We feel that it is our duty to develop in all our dependent peoples whatever is strong and good in them, instead of endeavoring to cast them into the mould of our own racial characteristics, believing that thereby they may contribute to mankind something of permanent value.

The real duty before us with all dependent peoples is the up-building of character. This must be accomplished by the combined influences of religion and education. Our Government can provide for the latter, but it devolves upon the Christian people of our land to see that the vast interests of religion are not neglected.

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

OF

FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN *and* OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES.

First Session.

Wednesday, October 19, 1904.

The Conference was called to order at 10 A.M. by Mr. Smiley, who said:

It is now time to call to order the twenty-second meeting of the annual gathering of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples. It always gives me very great pleasure to see so many people interested in a good cause gathered together, and this year I think we have an unusually fine Conference. Sometimes before we meet we feel uncertain as to whether there will be a good attendance, but they always come, and this year in view of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopalian Conventions which are now going on in different parts of the country, and drawing away some who would otherwise be with us, I am encouraged to find so many leading men and women here. And I am glad that we have with us an unusually large number of persons representing the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii.

The Indian question today is a very different question from what it was twenty-one years ago. Then only \$40,000 was spent annually by the Government for Indian education; now more than \$1,000,000 is spent every year on education. The whole policy of the Government is changed, and the Indians are receiving more and more their rights and proper protection and care.

We don't meet here to scold the Government, by any means. Our object is to discuss conditions in a candid way and to see if we cannot do something to better them. We hope the time will soon come when there will be no need of such a Conference as this on the Indian question, and then we shall give our time to other dependent races—the Hawaiians and the Filipinos and the Porto Ricans, and any others that we may gather in. However, I hope there won't be any more.

I think it is the general feeling that we should give a prominent share of our attention at this Conference to our new dependent races, so as to make way for the time when the Indian shall be an American citizen, taking care of himself. I wish that day might come in my own lifetime.

In these Conferences we invite discussion by people who hold differing views. The only way to get at the truth is for both sides to be heard fairly, only in a temperate and kind spirit. If once in a while a little warlike spirit breaks out, it generally gets calmed down before the Conference closes.

I have always taken it upon myself to arrange for someone to preside at our Conferences, and I have been very fortunate this year. We have for that office a man who is a member of our Board of Indian Commissioners; a man of great legal ability, interested in all good works; a scholarly man, one of high personal character, and possessing the confidence of the whole community. I now present to you Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte of Baltimore.

Mr. Bonaparte took the chair amid applause, and the Conference proceeded to complete its organization by the election of the following officers and committees of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, and Other Dependent Peoples, 1904:—

Secretary.—J. W. Davis.

Corresponding Secretary.—H. C. Phillips.

Treasurer.—Frank Wood.

Business Committee.—Rev. Dr. Addison P. Foster, Dr. Fred W. Atkinson, Hon. Merrill E. Gates, Prof. Frank A. Hosmer, Hon. Darwin R. James, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, L. A. Maynard, Dr. Charles Francis Meserve, Hon. James Sherman, Daniel Smiley, James Wood.

Publication Committee.—Frank Wood, Chairman, J. W. Davis, Daniel Smiley.

Press Committee.—L. A. Maynard, Chairman, W. L. Brown, Rev. Dr. John B. Devins, Henry R. Elliot.

The CHAIRMAN.—I deferred, ladies and gentlemen, returning thanks for the honor conferred upon me by the selection of my very unworthy self to preside over this Conference, until I should be able to return thanks for all the elected officers at the same time, which I am now very happy to do on behalf of all of them for the honors conferred justly on others and unjustly on me.

I may say with all modesty, real or affected, apart, and speaking for perhaps the first and last time during the Conference quite truthfully, I was in no small measure concerned to learn of the duty which our excellent friend Mr. Smiley proposed to

entrust to me, not merely because I had every reason to fear the comparison with the very accomplished and eminent statesman who presided over the last meeting, and who, I believe, it was hoped would preside over this one, but also because my own experience with the Indian problem is not only limited, but not altogether—in one respect, at least—fortunate. What I shall have to say to the Conference during the few minutes that I will trouble them to listen to me before listening to those more worthy to be heard, will be in a measure the fruit of a somewhat partial point of view, and not perhaps as encouraging as it could be desired in view of the promise held out to us in Mr. Smiley's opening remarks—that we should soon become superfluous as an agency to look after Indians, and would have to seek other objects of solicitude. It occurred to me that I might perhaps name white people as one of those peoples to whom we might then devote our attention. I fear, however, that so far as the few words I say may cause anyone to think differently on the subject, their tendency will be to lead the audience to think that that time will have to be a little deferred. I am happy to learn that any pessimism that may result from this will be promptly corrected by what you will hear from others better informed, and therefore better qualified to inform you. I hope most earnestly that our friend Mr. Smiley will live to see the end of the Indian question, but I don't expect to see that day myself.

Mr. Bonaparte then read the following paper:—

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The American Nation owes its Indian wards, first of all and beyond aught else,—justice; and justice is what they have least frequently and least readily obtained. We have been, in a sense, profusely generous to them; if all the public money expended and in great part wasted (indeed too often worse than wasted) avowedly for their benefit were now invested for their use, the mere income would render what are left of them the richest community in the world. We have poured out on them oceans of emotional sympathy, partly humanitarian, partly artistic; common sense and a fair regard for their own welfare, as well as ours, have been more than once in grave danger of drowning under floods of sentiment. But the one thing it has always been and is now hard to get for them is justice; we seem well nigh unable to have their rights first impartially ascertained, then clearly defined, and finally sacredly respected.

We fail to solve this problem, less by reason of its real difficulty (although its difficulty must not be underestimated) than because of certain prevalent fallacies respecting the rights of

Indians. Of these the most obvious is that they simply have none, or, at least, none which a white man is bound to respect. In saying this, I have in mind not so much the primitive reasoning of those who hold the only good Indian a dead Indian, as the less crude, but not less mischievous, views of those who consider them a sort of human game belonging to the Nation in much the same sense as the wild animals now sheltered in our Yellowstone Park; having the same claim which these animals have to protection from cruelty or wanton destruction and furnishing a subject matter for ethnological studies or experiments in education or sociology just as these are interesting to naturalists, and may offer hope of useful hybrids; but as fully and rightfully subject to our arbitrary discretion as if they were elk or grizzly bears.

It is a yet more inexcusable error to hold that, if an Indian have any rights, he must have the same rights as a white man. This theory is one phase of a social and political heresy which has embarrassed us in all dealings with alien races; some people find it hard to understand, or, at least, to admit, that, while all men should be always and everywhere treated with justice and humanity, what is justice, and what are the dictates of humanity, must and will differ, and differ very widely, as we deal with men of different conditions and capabilities; that what to one may be meat to another may be poison; that identity of treatment may involve beneficence to one class and the most cruel neglect or oppression to another. Our popular idea of justice is essentially to give everyone a fair field but no favor; to throw all into the same pool together, and let each one float or sink according to his ability to swim. This is justice for white men living and contending with other white men; it is grave injustice for Indians, especially when these are forced to live and contend with white men. A practical illustration of this injustice is afforded, I think, by the experience of the Dawes Commission in the allotment of lands belonging to the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory. In an official report on this subject submitted to the Secretary of the Interior last March it is said:

"The principle of 'first come, first served,' adopted by the Commission in permitting the selection of lands, which would have been fair enough if applied to white men, was and is essentially unjust as applied to Indians, the priority thus gained inuring usually to the advantage, not of those most deserving among the Indians, but of white speculators and corporations. The latter, for their own profit, induce Indians—usually the most shiftless and improvident of their race—to file at the earliest possible moment so as to obtain choice lands, to be subsequently enjoyed by the speculators themselves."

These words express, of course, only the opinion of the two

individuals signing the report, but, as I happen to have been one of them, I may say further that, to my mind, it would have been quite impossible for any impartial and reasonable person to reach a different conclusion from the facts brought to our knowledge.

The results, as I see them, results in part already attained, in part clearly foreshadowed, of a failure to recognize the vital unlikeness of red men to white men, disclosed in the course of the allotment in severalty of Indian lands now in progress in the Territory, are thus stated in the same report:

"More than four-fifths of the inhabitants of the Territory have no connection whatever with any of the tribes recently owning the soil; they are white men with a small percentage of negroes, attracted from various states of the Union by hopes of cheap land or of remunerative employment, and for whom the rights of the Indian are merely an impediment to the development of the country. At least three-fourths of the remainder are Indians in little more than name, with from 75 to 99 per cent of white blood, and, in great majority, altogether indistinguishable in appearance, language and manners from white people, or else negroes, former slaves or descendants of former slaves of the Indians, freed by the results of the Civil War, with, in some cases, a certain admixture of Indian blood, but, in the main, identical, physically, mentally and morally, with the colored population of our Southern States.

"The few remaining inhabitants, scarcely one-twentieth of the whole—the real Indians who have remained Indians—are rapidly decreasing in numbers, dying, not, in most cases, from disease or vice, but, in the striking and pathetic words of one of them who testified before us, 'for want of hope'; or, in other words, because their present environment is so unsympathetic, and the impossibility for them to hold their own in the competition to which they are already exposed, and which will grow more severe every day hereafter, is so manifest that the future holds out to them no prospect which makes life worth living."

Our report says further:

"To appreciate this situation one must remember the obligations of the Government to the so-called Five Civilized Tribes. These tribes consented to give up their habitations in other parts of the United States and remove to the Territory in return for certain solemn and explicit pledges made to them by the United States, embodied in treaties ratified with all needful constitutional formalities, and further evidenced by numerous official documents of the highest authority. The removal of these Indians to their new homes was desired and effected by our Government to serve grave ends of public policy, and their consent to it constituted an ample consideration for the promises

made them in return. If these promises are not binding on the United States, then our Government and people can be bound by no treaty. If we do not scrupulously respect the rights flowing from these treaties no one can reasonably place confidence in our national honor. It is true that from time to time the provisions of the original treaties have been modified by new agreements, to which the consent of the tribes has always been, at least formally, obtained; but it is obvious that the principle of equity and good conscience which forbids a guardian to derive a benefit from dealings with his ward, and avoids any agreement between them which cannot be proved by the guardian to be fair, reasonable and advantageous to the ward, applies with especial force to transactions between our Government and these helpless and dependent communities. It must be clear that, in so far as their situation may change by any agreement we make with them, it changes to their betterment before we can rely upon the agreement as justifying the change.

"A part of the consideration inuring to the Indians for the abandonment of their former homes was the grant to them absolutely and in perpetuity of the land constituting their respective shares of the present Indian Territory."

It seems clear that in dealing with these lands the Government was, and is still, bound in honor and conscience to consider, first of all and beyond all, the interest of the Indians; that it had, and has now, no right to subordinate this interest to any other end, however desirable in itself; and that the welfare of white settlers, however numerous or deserving, the development of the resources of the country, and other public benefits can be properly regarded in disposing of them only if, and in so far as, the safety and happiness of the rightful owners of these lands will be thereby advanced.

The "safety and happiness" of these "rightful owners" are in our keeping as a Nation; they cannot protect themselves; we have most solemnly promised to protect them. Moreover, we, not they, are responsible for the dangers immediately threatening their safety and happiness; in the words of an Indian witness given in this report:

"This change is not of our creating, it is the Government's; if we err, it is the Government's duty to guide us."

He added on the same subject:

"If we had our own way we would be living with lands in common, and we would have these prairies all open, and our little bunches of cattle, and would have bands of deer that would jump up from the heads of every hollow, and flocks of turkeys running up every hillside, and every stream would be full of sunperch. Those things were what we were used to in our early life; that is what we would have, and, I think, most of the people would

have, and not so much corn and wheat growing and things of that kind; but we have come up against it; this civilization came up against us and we had no place to go."

I venture, in closing what I have to say on this painful subject, to quote once more from our report:

"In view of these facts it is not surprising that profound discouragement and a feeling akin to despair should be widely prevalent among the genuine Indians. Comparatively few complaints are heard from this part of the population; usually they grieve and pine in silence; but we believe there is grave danger lest, within the space of a generation, all that will remain of the Indians to whom the United States solemnly guaranteed the perpetual enjoyment of their lands, as well as protection 'from domestic strife, from hostile invasion, and from aggression by other Indians and white persons in opposition to their jurisdiction and laws, may be a few thousand hopeless and degraded paupers and vagrants, objects of contemptuous charity in the country thus assured to their ancestors forever."

It is the duty of this Conference, Ladies and Gentlemen, to enlighten, arouse and guide public opinion, first, as to the existence and gravity of the dangers to be met; secondly, in the search for a remedy. I venture to offer it two words of caution. The first is suggested to my mind by the remark of a naval officer who said "the Service would never be worth a ——" (I fear he used here a bad word) "until all the well-meaning people in it had been hanged." There is no field in which zeal needs more urgently to be coupled with knowledge and tempered with discretion than in criticism of Indian affairs. Dependent and helpless people are, by a law of nature, at once credulous and suspicious: talk on the part of those stronger than themselves, which might otherwise be merely untimely or injudicious, when overheard by them, may readily become harmful and even dangerous.

And this is the more likely to happen if, as is too often the case, the talk in question is more or less fiercely denunciatory of those in positions of responsibility. I have no wish to shield anyone, however high-placed or low-placed, from just censure; by all means "let no guilty man escape" our just blame; but, before we blame him, let us be sure he is guilty and, moreover, let us proportion our comment to the measure of his fault. I do not think I am over-charitable to official sins, but the investigation I conducted last winter has left me convinced that our President and our Secretary of the Interior are earnest and unselfish friends of the Indian, and, on the whole, I found few public servants to condemn and comparatively venial faults to lay to the charge of the most among these. Individual delinquencies undoubtedly exist and add to the evils flowing from more general causes; but

I believe that we shall better serve the interest of the Indian if we try to see ourselves and have the people see and, having seen, remove the latter, than if we give overmuch of our time and thought to the former. There will be work for the Friends of the Indian after the end of this administration and of all among its successors which any of us shall know; as long, in fact, as there are any Indians to work for or to have friends.

The CHAIRMAN.—The next business in order will be the résumé of the year's work by General Whittlesey.

General E. WHITTLESEY.—I claim no originality for this paper; it is furnished by the Indian Office, and prepared by Miss —, you all know whom.

RESUME OF THE YEAR'S WORK AMONG INDIANS.

Beginning with Land Matters:—

Allotments.—The number of allotments approved during the year is 484, and 796 patents have been delivered to Indians. Allotment work is still in progress on the Cheyenne River, Crow, Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Shoshoni and Uintah reservations, but Shoshoni allotments must await the development of irrigation.

Leases.—The leasing of allotments and of tribal lands gathers volume each year. Leases have been made for nearly 2,000,000 acres of tribal lands at from three cents to three dollars an acre, and permits have been given for grazing thousands of cattle and sheep upon Indian lands—usually at one dollar a head a year. Lease money payments are thus fast taking the place of the deplored annuity payments which also fostered an idle life. Nearly 4,500 leases of allotments have been made within the year, but no able-bodied adult is allowed to lease his entire allotment unless he is making a livelihood by some other occupation; a 40-acre homestead must be reserved from lease. Also some of the rentals may be retained until the expiration of the lease in the discretion of the agent. If the lease is for more than one year the lessee must put some permanent improvement on the land as part of the rental price.

Sale of Inherited Lands.—Under the law of May 27, 1902, authorizing the sale of inherited lands, the Indian is parting with his inherited estate at the rate of 8,000 acres a month. In the sixteen months ended on the 30th of last June 122,222 acres had been disposed of for \$2,814,000, an average of nearly seventeen dollars an acre. The lands are bought by speculators rather than by those seeking homes; and as for the Indian himself,

although by sale on sealed bids the prices secured are reasonable, the purchase money by one wile or another is rapidly transferred to the white man's pockets and more often than any other way by the route of dissipation. The per cent. of the proceeds applied to the improvement of the home is hardly appreciable. To check such demoralization, which affects not only the Indian but also his white neighbor, a ruling has just been made that the Indian heir who petitions for the sale of inherited lands shall agree that the proceeds shall be placed in a near-by United States depository and be subject to the check of the Indian owner, but to the extent of not more than ten dollars per month, and only with the approval of the agent endorsed on the check; or if for more than ten dollars per month with the specific approval of the Indian Office.

Puyallup Lands.—The Puyallup Commission has been discontinued and the work of selling Puyallup lands, collecting deferred payments and appointing administrators of estates of deceased allottees now devolves upon the Puyallup school superintendent. Of the 17,000 acres of allotted lands over 40 per cent has already been sold, and of the "agency tract" which has been made an addition to the City of Tacoma, Washington, ninety per cent of the 3,500 lots into which it was plotted have been sold. The prices realized have aggregated nearly \$614,000, a tidy sum of over \$1,000 per head, with which 500 Indians may easily impoverish themselves!

Irrigation.—For irrigation \$91,000 have been already authorized to be expended principally in the Pima, Yakima, Crow, Zuni, Klamath and Pala reservations. Navaho, Shoshoni and Tongue River are to have attention during the coming year.

At least a beginning has been made toward furnishing some permanent relief for the unfortunate Pimas. At the Pima School the experiment of a well and a steam pumping plant has succeeded, and has developed a supply of water from an underground flow sufficient to irrigate 600 acres. It is proposed to establish other irrigation plants of similar sort elsewhere on the reservation, although it is a very expensive kind of irrigation both to install and to maintain, and sufficient funds are not yet available. The latest proposition is to provide a central power plant large enough to cover more reservation lands than the Indians need, and to defray the cost by selling the surplus land thus brought under irrigation.

As is well known the Pimas of recent years have been reduced from self-supporting farmers to hungry paupers through the appropriation of their old-time water supply by white settlements along the Gila River above the reservation. As far back as 1886 the Indian Office undertook through the Department of Justice to protect the prior water rights of the Pima Indians.

Year after year the matter was taken up without any effect until by 1895 the diminishing Pima grain fields had become barren deserts. Last June the District Attorney finally decided that although a decree in favor of the Pima water rights would doubtless be rendered by the Courts, yet the suit would cost from \$20,000 to \$30,000, and in the end the Court would be unable to enforce its decree because of the varied interests involved. For 960 white people are using the Gila River water as far up as 200 miles above the point of diversion by the Indians. The Indian Office, therefore, after 18 years of fruitless effort, abandoned the hope of bettering the condition of the Pima Indians through judicial proceedings. All sorts of other methods have been proposed and investigated, and have thus far failed owing to impracticability or expense, notably the \$1,000,000 San Carlos dam and reservoir. Wells and pumps are now to be tried so far and as fast as funds will permit.

Two small settlements of Indians have an assured water supply; those at Gila Crossing can irrigate 4,000 acres from Gila River seepage, and a recent court decision has given those at Maricopa enough water from the Salt River to irrigate 1,000 acres.

Education.—The enrolment of Indians in all schools has been brought up to 29,478, an increase of 1,067 pupils over last year. The average attendance is 25,104, an increase of 722 over last year. The increase is all in boarding schools and mainly in Government schools off reservations. The day schools show a slight falling off.

In detail the statistics are as follows:—

	Pupils Enrolled
Government schools	25,248
26 non-reservation boarding	9,300
91 reservation boarding	11,514
140 day	4,434
Mission schools	4,012
46 boarding	3,716
3 day	296
Hampton	121
7 public schools	97
Total	<hr/> 29,478

The figures do not include the New York Indians whose children attend public schools supported by the State. It is the only State which assumes any responsibility for the education of the Indian youth within its borders.

About 37 per cent (9,300 pupils) of the attendance in Government schools is gathered in schools off reservations. Congress legislates such schools into existence against the judgment of the

Indian Office, which advocates a reduction of the number and the placing of more stress upon schools nearer the homes of the Indians.

The Five Civilized Tribes are also not included in the table given. The Seminoles make no report of their school work, which has no Government supervision. The Chickasaw schools have been on the downgrade. Government supervision is only nominal since the support of their schools is controlled by the tribe; and expenses are excessive, payments dilatory, results meagre and reports unreliable. The Cherokee and Choctaw and Creek schools, managed by Government and tribal officials jointly, have had a good school year except for one disturbance among a faction of the Creeks. The attendance and the grade of teachers has improved, and the helpful summer normal schools, conducted by the Government School Superintendent, were attended by ninety per cent. of the teachers. Nevertheless the division of control and responsibility between Government and tribal officials works unsatisfactorily, especially as it prevents the introduction of anything in the way of industrial training.

The great need for education in the Indian Territory is among the 50,000 unschooled white children and thousands of freed-men. Under existing law school taxes can be levied only in incorporated towns. No public schools, therefore, are supported in country districts, and only a very few subscription schools. The Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks admit white children to their day schools (not their academies) on a payment of one dollar per month. The Chickasaws exclude them. A very small beginning towards supplying this crying need was made last spring by an appropriation of \$100,000 to be used for enlarging tribal schools, for placing in those schools children who do not belong to the tribes, and for establishing new schools. To make this appropriation go as far as possible it is to be expended almost exclusively for salaries of teachers, and neighborhoods desiring new schools must provide buildings and equipment.

Of course this is but a drop in the bucket and the outlook grows even more serious, for after March, 1906, tribal governments must close, tribal buildings must be disposed of, tribal funds be distributed, and tribal relations cease, but Indian lands will be non-taxable. What will then become of the 15,000 Indian children for whose education \$450,000 of tribal money is now expended?

Indian school institutes are growing in interest and usefulness. That held at St. Louis in connection with the N. E. A. on the Exposition grounds gave rare advantages for learning what is going on in the educational world outside of an Indian reservation, and an unusually large number of teachers and other employes of the Indian service availed themselves of the oppor-

tunity. Local institutes were also held in North and South Dakota and at Salem, Oregon.

Exposition Exhibits.—At the St. Louis Exposition two Indian exhibits have been made. A small one in the Government building contrasts by articles and pictures the condition of the Indian within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase 100 years ago and his condition and opportunities today. Among other things there are three colored maps. One shows the various cessions by which almost every acre of land within the Louisiana Purchase has been obtained by the Government from the Indian occupants through formal negotiations. Granting that some treaties were not fairly made and others not fully kept yet the map is a graphic presentation of the fact that our Government has a conscience and as a rule lives up to it, and that its ruling policy is neither to illtreat nor overreach weaker peoples, but to recognize their rights and foster their development. A second map shows the very small area within the Purchase now occupied by Indians, while a third map is dotted over with the hundreds of schools now in operation among these Indians.

The other and more important exhibit is alive and in action. It is an Indian school of 150 students, including a fine Indian band of forty pieces. In a building erected for the purpose the girls and boys do laundry, cooking, sewing and dining room work and carry on the trades of printing, wagon-making, carpentry and harness making. A kindergarten and a seventh grade class have daily exercises, and a band concert, as well as a literary and musical program, is rendered each afternoon. The fine kitchen and dining-room furniture and the inside finish of the building, including plumbing and wiring, was the work of Indian boys.

Surrounding the school plaza in their primitive habitations are living families representing thirteen Indian tribes, and in booths in the school building they too, alongside the school girls and school boys, carry on the aboriginal arts, making wafer corn-bread, bows and arrows, pottery, blankets, baskets, stone pipes, bead and leather work, silver jewelry and rush matting. The contrast is striking, and the ability of the Indian to acquire our civilization and the wisdom of the Government in giving it to him through its schools is forcibly impressed upon the crowds of interested and admiring visitors.

Abolishment of Agencies.—Only twenty-two agencies are now under politically appointed Indian Agents, while the Indians formerly under forty agencies have been placed under fifty-six school superintendents and six farmers and other officials. The division of large agencies into smaller tracts of supervision has given the Indians the benefit of closer contact with those into whose hands their interests are intrusted, and those in charge

have a much better opportunity to know what the Indians need and how best to supply it, whether it be helping or prodding.

Liquor Traffic.—Sales of liquor to Indians still go on with little check, partly because Congress has not granted the request of the Indian Office for an appropriation out of which the cost of employing detectives and obtaining evidence against liquor sellers could be met. With only the insufficient funds of the Department of Justice to draw on, first offenses are overlooked, and only the more flagrant violators of law are prosecuted.

The Five Civilized Tribes.—Allotments are practically completed in the Creek Nation, and the work is progressing among the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees, although it was delayed among the Cheokees owing to the Delaware controversy. The citizenship rolls of the Creek Nation are closed, and those of the other nations are nearing completion. Under legislation of the last Congress the Five Civilized Tribes Commission must finish its work by the first of next July. Under the same legislation all allotments made to the Five Civilized Tribes (except the forty-acre homestead in each allotment and all allotments made to minors) may be alienated with the approval and under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. Regulations have been promulgated which require detailed information as to whether and why the sale of the land will be of advantage to the allottee, and only one such sale has yet been approved. However, under the supplemental Creek agreement of 1902, 121,888 acres of Creek lands have been listed for sale under sealed bids, and such lands as have been sold have brought on an average \$12.05 per acre.

In the suit of the Delawares against the Cherokees the United States Supreme Court has found the registered living Delawares to be entitled to 160 acres of land each and also entitled to share equally with the Cherokees in the distribution of the remainder of Cherokee lands. As the Delawares have made improvements on a larger area than will be covered by their allotments the last Indian Appropriation Act provides that, after selecting allotments, six months may be allowed them in which to sell to other citizens of the Cherokee Nation the improvements located on the unselected lands. The last Indian Appropriation Act also appropriated \$150,000 to be distributed among the Delawares in full of all their claims against the United States.

For royalties due the Cherokee, Chickasaw and Creeks on minerals, stone and timber, together with cattle taxes and sale of town lots the Government during the past year has collected for these nations \$932,000.

Six tracts of unleased coal and asphalt lands in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, aggregating 333,000 acres, are to be sold within the coming year on sealed bids at six dates already pub-

lished. Not over 960 acres may be secured by any one bidder, and the bids will be opened by a committee consisting of a Choctaw, and a Chickasaw nominated by the chiefs of those tribes and a third person appointed by the President. At the first opening of bids last week all the bids were rejected, the prices being too low.

Among the Five Civilized Tribes thirty-two towns have been surveyed and platted during the year, and the issuance of bonds for school houses and water works by eight towns have been approved.

New York Indians.—The Senecas have begun proceedings before the courts to determine the status of the claim of the Ogden Land Company. They were unwilling to allow the Department of Justice to conduct the legislation, and employed their own attorneys under a contract approved by the Interior Department.

Northern Cheyennes in Montana.—The last settler has taken pay for his improvements and left the reservation, and from lands which they occupied industrious Indians are learning how to make a living in a white man's way.

Agreement with Shoshoni.—An agreement has been negotiated with the Shoshoni Indians whereby they cede to the United States about one-half of their reservation in Wyoming.

Wyoming Encounter.—In October a year ago there was an encounter in Wyoming between a sheriff and posse and a party of 35 peaceable Sioux absent from the Pine Ridge Agency by permission of their agent. The sheriff charged that they were violating Wyoming game laws. The Indians denied the charge, declined to go under arrest to Newcastle, Wyoming, gave the sheriff's party a good supper and immediately afterward started for their reservation, the posse accompanying them to the point where the road to Newcastle branched off. Twenty-four hours later, when they had gone at least forty miles on the traveled road homeward, they again encountered the posse. A few minutes of firing ensued, at the end of which the Indians had fled away, their fifteen wagons and other effects were strewn along the road, a boy and three men of their party had been killed, and a woman and an old man had been severely wounded, the sheriff had been mortally wounded and one of his deputies had been killed. Who fired the first shot is unknown, but when, a month later, nine of the Indians were tried in a Wyoming Justice Court for the murder of the sheriff and deputy, they were speedily acquitted, although the nine or ten witnesses against them all belonged to the sheriff's posse.

Appropriations.—The appropriations for the Indian service for the current fiscal year aggregate \$9,878,000, an increase of \$1,276,000 over last year. Of this increase one million dollars

is for the relinquishment by the Turtle Mountain Indians of their long-standing claim to lands in North Dakota; the rest is in fulfillment of agreements negotiated with the Rosebud, Sioux, Crow, Flathead and Devil's Lake Indians for the cession of portions of their reservations.

The CHAIRMAN.—We have heard, I am sure, with much interest this Report of the year's doings, concluding with its unconscious tribute to the impartiality of Wyoming justice.

And now we are to hear, according to the program, from Commissioner Jones as to the lessons and events of the past year.

Hon. WM. A. JONES.—I had hoped that I should be able to attend at least one Mohonk Conference as a listener, and I was encouraged in this hope by a visit from Mr. Smiley to the Indian Office a short time ago, when he made at least a half promise that I should not be asked to speak. But a few days ago Dr. Gates, a member of the Business Committee, called at the office and told me that it would be necessary for me to prepare something in the shape of an address to the Conference.

I was puzzled to find something to talk about. I have attended the Conference for the past four or five years, in fact every year except the last one, and it seemed to me that I had covered everything in connection with Indian affairs, as far as I could see. But unexpectedly I picked up a newspaper published at St. Louis, and it gave me a text—at least an excuse for what I will read to you now.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT TREATS THE INDIAN.

BY HON. WM. A. JONES, COMMISSIONER INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Not long since I saw a newspaper containing an article with the caption, "Lawyers Discuss Indian Policy. Want Reds to Work," what followed being a report of the proceedings of the American Bar Association in St. Louis.

It seems that among other things the Association thought Indian affairs worthy of its notice, for according to the paper the Committee on Indian Legislation reported that "our policy toward the Indian is neither wise nor humane. We require of him no labor; we feed and allow him to pass his time in listless idleness." The committee recommended the proposal of some measure which would be more wise toward the Indians.

Were it not for the quotation marks in this report, I should probably take no notice of it, knowing how easy it is for a reporter to get an erroneous idea of a paper from perhaps a

single hearing; but the paper having been careful to use the marks, I am bound to assume that the language between them is the very language of the committee itself. There is no doubt as to its meaning; it is terse and to the point. "We" make the Indians lazy. The language is impersonal, it is true, but as under the law the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is the one who has the management of all matters arising out of Indian relations, I think I may with some show of right fairly consider myself a "we," and as such offer an observation or two on the matter in hand. I do so with some diffidence, for not only do I recognize the superior ability of the distinguished committee whose deliverance I have quoted, but I appreciate the danger of accepting a part for the whole and basing an argument upon what may be an imperfect report of what was said.

I think it was Cicero who said a lawyer should know everything. That is a high and perhaps an impossible standard! but I submit it is not too much to say that they should at least be right when uttering a dictum so positive in its terms as the one I have quoted, lest they be likened to one who "darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge."

"We require of him no labor; we feed and allow him to pass his time in listless idleness." Do we? Let us see. For many years the indiscriminate issue of rations occupied some of the best and most intelligent thought in this country. All agreed that it was detrimental to a degree; that it encouraged idleness and destroyed labor; that it perpetuated pauperism and stifled industry; and that it was an effectual barrier to civilization. Sporadic attempts were made to stop it, but were ineffectual. The issue went on with all of its attendant evils until some three years ago when, thanks to the Indian Office, the system came to an end.

Convinced that the Indian would never exert himself if he continued to be fed and clothed and maintained in idleness, that he must learn to eat his bread in the sweat of his face if he would amount to anything in the struggle of life, I issued an order, first to cut off the self-supporting from the ration roll entirely, and second to cut off rations from all of the able-bodied, and to use the money thus saved to pay them in cash for work, work that would be given them, work that they could do. That was in 1901. Under that order thousands upon thousands have been stricken from the ration roll, and from that time to this no rations have been issued, save in cases of distress, except to the old and helpless. These we have on our hands and will have for some time to come.

It may give a better idea of the change that has taken place with regard to rations to compare the quantities of several leading articles purchased for the fiscal years 1900 and 1905.

	1900	1905
Bacon	567,600 lbs.	332,000 lbs.
Beef, gross	21,576,700 "	5,265,000 "
Flour	8,890,500 "	7,032,000 "
Coffee	425,000 "	204,760 "
Sugar	1,094,000 "	666,600 "
Beans	350,700 "	341,400 "

Significant as this is, a true idea of the extent to which rations have been reduced within the last five years can only be obtained from the item of beef, that being the only thing in the table that is purchased solely for ration issue. The other articles are both for schools and issue, by far the greater part being for schools. What little is bought for issue is for the old and helpless.

The Indian grumbled at first at the new order of things, but when he got it into his head that we were in earnest, that he must work if he would live, that no work, no pay, he went to work; and all over the country today he may be seen working in the fields, or on the roads, or in the ditches, or building dams, or at other things profitable for the present and beneficial for the future. So the ration system is gone, and with it the blanket, the feathers, and the long hair. More might be said, but I think this is enough to show that we do not "feed and allow him to pass his time in idleness."

I thought all of this was generally understood, for it has been a subject of much public discussion, and was made a prominent feature of several of my annual reports. These reports were received with some applause by Congress, and were extensively quoted and commented upon by the public press. I confess that in the face of all this publicity I am surprised that it has escaped the notice of such an intelligent body as the American Bar Association.

That there are listless, idle Indians, as reflected by the Association is, alas, too true, but not from the cause ascribed. That, as I have shown, has been done away. But others remain more potent for evil and more difficult to reach. One is the periodical payment of large sums of money, and the other is the prevailing practice of leasing of allotments. I have spoken of these before, but somehow they have not received the attention they deserve, especially annuity payments.

It is not necessary for my present purpose to go into minute details or give exact figures. It is enough to say that annually there is paid to a number of tribes various sums of money to which they are entitled. Last year there was paid out some \$1,588,800 in this way, the per capita running from fifty cents up, the largest being \$164. Some years it has reached as high as \$200, if not higher. The smaller payments can do very little good or very little harm, but the larger ones are a curse. The tribes that get them invariably deteriorate. Indeed, I am not sure but that it

would be a curse to the same number of white men under like conditions. Easy come, easy go, says the old proverb, as we see daily illustrated all around us. Human nature is human nature the world over.

I have repeatedly stated that the sooner tribal relations were broken up and these tribal payments stopped the better. If it be asked why this has not been done, I can only say that these payments are made in obedience to law, which can only be changed by the lawgiver. For it should be remembered that the Indian Office is an office to administer things; it is not an office to settle things. Some steps, however, I am glad to say, have been taken to effect a change, and I am led to think others will follow in the near future. Progress, however, will be necessarily slow, as it is beset with difficulties. The land must be disposed of as well as the funds, and some years must elapse before the final winding up takes place. But, and this is the thought that I wish particularly to express at this time, so long as present conditions exist, the devil's workshop will be full of lazy Indians.

The other cause of idleness is the general leasing of allotments. There is no doubt that this is contrary to the purpose and spirit of the authors and sponsors of the original act. The purpose of allotting was to give the Indian something he could call his own—that would incite him to some effort in his own behalf. The leasing system hinders, if it does not defeat it. Like the gratuitous issue of rations, and the periodical distribution of cash, it fosters indolence with its attendant train of vices.

This is one view, and I am not sure but that it is the correct one. I know I have so expressed myself before. But there are two sides to every question. It is urged on the other side that the very central idea of allotment was to put the Indian upon his own resources. Except that he cannot sell it for twenty-five years, he is given his land to do with it what he pleases. It was expected that he would cultivate it and improve it; and it would be much better for him if he would. But if he chooses to lease it, why shouldn't he? The white man around him can lease his land, and why cannot the Indian do as he does? It may not be to his advantage in the end, but he must learn to be self-dependent some time, and he might as well begin at the beginning as twenty-five years after.

There is probably a good deal of truth on both sides. Be that as it may, the present system of leasing of allotments unquestionably contributes largely to the ranks of the idle and the thriftless.

All, if not most of this, is but a repetition of what I have said at various times before, and in saying it again I am painfully aware that I am offering nothing new, but simply threshing over old straw.

When I started out, my only thought was to correct the idea that Indians were fed in idleness, which, coming from such a distinguished source, can have no other effect than create a false impression in the public mind. But, having begun, I will, if it please you, go on, and, taking its report for a text, give some thought to some other things said by the Association's committee. One is the expression that our Indian policy is neither wise nor humane; and the other is the recommendation for a wiser measure toward the Indian.

The particular policy alluded to does not appear, but whether wise or not, be it general or specific, depends altogether upon the point of view. I know we are all fallible, and few of us think alike, but if by "our policy" the official policy of the government is meant, I think before condemning it, we should suspend judgment until a better is offered.

As to its humanity, more is to be said. On this point I differ from the committee emphatically, unless by humane is meant a maudlin sympathy and a sickly sentimentalism, which has done as much, if not more, to retard the progress of the Indian than anything else.

I have heard and read a good deal about "a century of dishonor" and am getting tired of it. All of my reading has led to the belief that in respect to its treatment of the Indian, the United States occupy a very singular but a very honorable place in the annals of the world. Many other nations have taken and occupied the possessions of others, but unless my reading is all wrong, they have taken them by might without rendering any return. History is full of examples, and the sacred story itself tells us how the "chosen people" went in by divine command to "possess" the fair land of Canaan, and possess there meant fire and the edge of the sword. In direct contrast to this, the United States, to its honor be it said, has from the beginning recognized the Indians' right of occupancy, and has acquired title to their lands by purchase and not by conquest, as the hundreds of millions of dollars paid them will show. I venture to assert that the government as government has not taken from them an acre of ground without an equivalent of some sort. It obtained what it got by right and not by might.

I know very well that between the white and red man there have been cruel wars and bloody strife. There were doubtless wrongs on both sides, but all of that was long ago. If mistakes were made they have been corrected; if wrongs were committed they have been righted, and few scars of the dark and bloody ground remain. The government, as government, has been just, but it has been kind and generous, too. It has not only paid what was due, but it has given millions upon millions to help the Indian along, and it is spending millions today; it has encouraged

his efforts and condoned his faults; it has treated him as an equal, and made him a citizen; the monuments of its munificence are all around him, and he is what he is because of its helping hand. We may search the historic page in vain for such another record.

More than this, the government has given the Indian privileges which his white brother does not enjoy; his person and property are protected, yet he pays no taxes, and bears no share of the public burden. If his allotment is leased, the business is transacted by a paternal government, and the rent turned over to him, all for nothing. His poor are fed, and if hard times come, relief is afforded him, while the white man by his side has to struggle and bear his burden alone. The white man may starve but not the Indian.

But there is more to come. The Indian children are educated. I wonder if it is generally known what is done for "poor Lo" in this direction. Let us see. Do not worry that I am going to tire you with a long array of figures, for I am not. It is enough for me to say that the Indian population of the United States (omitting the five civilized tribes), is reckoned about 187,000, of which 47,000 are probably of school age. To educate these there are altogether 253 government schools, with some 2,300 employes. The boarding school is what I wish to speak of now. There are ninety of these, sixty-one being located in twenty-one States and twenty-nine in three Territories. Here some 18,000 Indian children are lodged and fed and clothed and taught, and are given all the comforts of life, and many of its luxuries, all for nothing, absolutely nothing. How do they get there? Do their parents bring them and ask that they be received? No! Do they even pay the expense of getting them there? No! Then how do they get there? Why, they are captured on the reservations, by bribery, by force, by coaxing, by threats, and dragged there; without preparation, without regard to fitness, without previous training, without regard to their worldly condition, solely because they have Indian blood in their veins, sometimes a mere suspicion, and will count in making up the quota of a school. I saw the other day, in a great metropolitan paper, a graphic account of the rounding-up of children by the Indian police to take them away to school, and it read like rounding up cattle for market; and another writer, who ought to know, speaks of the gathering of children to send to school as the ruthless tearing of babes from the mother's arms. Another paper that I saw not long ago, a local one this time, near a large Indian school, expressed its satisfaction that the school was in full operation after the summer vacation. Why? Because it was for the good of the children? No! but because the parents of many of the pupils were wealthy, and their children would have money to spend in the town near which the school was located.

Who pays for all this? The government, and it costs millions of dollars annually. The amount spent for education for the fiscal year just closed was, in round numbers, \$4,000,000.00. Of this, \$3,000,000.00 was spent in twenty-one States and \$1,000,000.00 in three Territories. All, with the exception of probably \$600,000.00, was a gift from the government, pure and simple. The Indian does not contribute one cent, not even the simplest thing. He has his child kept and taught for absolutely nothing, while many a white man around him has to pinch and deny himself to give his child even the benefits of the common school.

Talk about paternalism. Is not this paternalism gone mad? Talk about class legislation. Was there ever such class distinction as this? Where and when is all of this to stop? Is this thing to go on forever? In the last twenty years the government has devoted over forty-four millions of dollars to the education of its almost infinitesimal Indian population. And it is worthy of note that probably three-fourths of this has gone into independent and thoroughly organized States, of which many of the Indians are citizens, and which are equipped with excellent school systems of their own. Many of the pupils first educated are grown, and have children of their own. Are these to be educated as their parents were? And in course of time, are *their* children to be educated, too? Are the 187,000 of a distinctive class to go on year after year and have education given them for nothing, while the rest of our 80,000,000 get it for themselves? I must not be understood as out of sympathy with the cause of Indian education. My only objection is to the present system and the principles involved.

What shall we do then with this whole Indian business? I know it is much easier to tear down than to build up; but I would wind up his affairs with the general government as soon as possible, and turn the Indian over to the States to which he belongs. I would do away with all class distinctions, which have hemmed him in like a wall and kept him from joining in the progress of the world, and put him on an equality with all men before the law. I would give him the same opportunity and afford him the same protection as others, and let him look out for himself.

I would discontinue a number of non-reservation schools at once, and rapidly reduce the others until but two or three remained; and those two or three I would devote to the training of Indians for instructors' work among their own people. Instead of building more, I would reduce the present reservation boarding schools, but I would increase the day schools, and encourage the work in the local field. These views are radical, I know, but they are not a hasty utterance, but a deliberate opinion, formed after seven or eight years of close study of the subject in the office and in the field. I do not believe that the best results, nay, I

do not believe that satisfactory results are obtained by taking a child hundreds, sometimes thousands of miles away from his home, and keeping him there and educating him without any sacrifice of his own, and then returning him to the home to which, in the very nature of things, he must have grown indifferent in the years he was away. It is not by taking the Indian to civilization that he is to be lifted up, but by taking civilization to him. One good road will do more for the civilization of a people than all of the outside boarding schools put together. I know that this will be challenged, but I believe it to be true. If local self-government is the foundation of the Republic, local education is its safety. If a people is to be fitted for a place in the body politic, it must be by influences working where it lives and moves and has its being. The child is father of the man, and the impressions gotten at the mother's knee give cast and character to after life. "As the twig is bent the tree's inclined," and the bending is in the home.

Now, as to further legislation. I cannot see the wisdom of any more. There is too much already. It fills whole volumes. If there ever was a creature more law ridden than the Indian I do not know it. If more legislation is to be had, I do not think anything wiser could be done than repeal many of the special laws for the Indians, and have one weight and one measure for all.

This is all. Do not judge from what I have said that I am hostile to the Indian, or indifferent to his care. I have spoken what I believe is for his good. No one has a greater admiration for him than myself. He has played a striking and important part in the history of our country. Noble in soul, eloquent in speech, often wise in council, and brave in war, he has left an ineffaceable mark upon the history of his times. But conditions are changing; reservations are diminishing; the advancing tide of civilization is slowly but surely sweeping him away, and in a few years tribes that were once independent and powerful will disappear, and there will be nothing left of them but the name. There is something pathetic in the passing of a people, especially one that appeals so strongly to our hearts and our imagination as the Indian. We may give him a passing sigh, and echo his lament:

"Oh, why should the white man follow my track?"

but we shall probably get no better answer than:

"Westward the course of empire takes its way."

In answer to a question by Mr. James Wood, Commissioner Jones explained that by the year "1905" in his list of supplies

bought by the Government for the Indians that year as compared with 1900, he meant the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1904, and that the purchases are made in the spring preceding the fiscal year.

The CHAIRMAN.—We have all listened with great interest to the Commissioner. I am informed that the Treasurer would like to say a few words before the audience scatters this morning, and so he can have a word at the present time.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference: The word that I would speak is not needed by the old members of the Conference, but there are a good many new members, and it may not appear obvious to those who are here for the first time, receiving the bounty of our host—rations, shelter, education, and entertainment—without money and without price, why a Treasurer is needed, or why even money is required.

We are not allowed to provide much while we are here, but since the Conference first met we have been permitted to provide a full and complete, well-reported, well-edited edition of the proceedings. These reports constitute a reference library of great value to those who wish to investigate any topic relating to Indian affairs. There have been twenty odd volumes published by this Conference, and I do not think an equal amount of reliable information from experts on Indian affairs can be obtained anywhere else, comprising papers and addresses covering history, statistics, law, land in severalty, education, citizenship, missions, ethnology, basketry, pottery, and other Indian arts. These reports have been sent to leading papers and magazines, to colleges and libraries, and to all the members of the Conference. Those who subscribe to the fund have the right to receive a certain number to be sent to their friends also. This publication has created the sentiment of the country. The newspapers now speak of Indian affairs in a much saner and safer way than they did in the earlier days.

The members of the Conference give what they please, and I simply rise that the new members may know the Treasurer—the old members know him. The Conference has published a large edition of the Report, which, as I have said, has been circulated very carefully. We have always raised the amount of money necessary, but now that we are discussing our outside possessions and their peoples, it is proposed to increase the number of the Reports printed. We have asked for this purpose \$400 in the past, and I think we may need \$500 in the future.

I wish you to know that the Treasurer is always ready to receive subscriptions, and I would advise you—for your own comfort as well as for his—to subscribe in the early sessions of the Conference.

The CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen: The Treasurer has called our attention to a fact which was not dwelt upon by Commissioner Jones in his address, but which, nevertheless, should be borne in mind,—that the pauperizing effect of the Government's munificence, among other evils to which it has led, has caused its imitation by some of those of unthinking generosity, which leads to all the demoralization which we see flowing from these Conferences. The opportunity offered by the Treasurer is, so far as I know, the only corrective which can possibly preserve the members of the Conference from feeling all the injurious effects that are illustrated in the case of the Indians.

The existing situation of Indian Affairs will now be further developed for our advantage by Mr. A. J. Standing, lately the Assistant Superintendent at the Carlisle Indian School.

Mr. A. J. STANDING.—Ladies and Gentlemen: I have listened with the greatest interest to what has come before us this morning, and especially would I impress on you the value of a remark made by our Chairman, "that what the Indians need now is not *charity*, but *justice*."

For many years here and elsewhere the desire has been to do something for the Indian. Times have changed, and requirements have changed, and I think the necessity of the present hour is "how to quit doing something for the Indian." In regard to the Indian school question, the difficulty was to get schools for the Indians; that has changed also, and the difficulty that confronts the superintendents of these schools now, is to get Indians for the schools. So that, as was set before us in the valued remarks of Commissioner Jones, there are some grave questions that have arisen, and owing to the lapse of time and the changed conditions, the methods of meeting these questions need to change also.

Some time ago I placed my views in this regard on paper; I have that paper with me, and will read it. I do not profess to know it all, but have some suggestions to offer, which I will now place before you for your consideration.

THOUGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

BY MR. A. J. STANDING.

Thirty years' work and experience in Indian Affairs covering many different features of the service, prompt me to present some ideas and suggestions which come to me as a result of that experience.

Since the administration of General Grant, the idea and aim of the Indian Policy of the Government has been continuous along the lines of self-support, education, individualizing by allotting lands in severalty, doing away with the control of chiefs, and substituting Indian Police for military force, reducing and doing away with the ration system, etc. Before there could be much building up of the new, there had to be a breaking down of the old order of things. This period came with the disappearance of the buffalo, and was a time of loss and poverty, loss of population, of physical stamina and property. But by reason of poverty and necessity the schools were filled; education (which also means control), was forwarded, and the absolute necessity of a change in mode of living made plain.

Allotment of lands in severalty I look upon as by far the most important single measure enacted in the individualizing process, but consider its full benefit and possibilities have not yet been utilized, and that the principal drawback so far has been the isolated condition of Indian homes, one here, another a mile away. This isolation (a reasonable result of making the best selections of land), strikes one forcibly in travelling over districts where allotments have been made. It is easy to see that with an uneducated people accustomed to community life, such a condition of living cannot be attractive or agreeable, and that in some way it is desirable to bring neighbors (I do not say Indians) closer together, and create neighborhood interests in some other way than by the dance and feasts.

These interests should be the School, the Church, Post Offices, trading points, etc. To meet these evident needs and place in concrete form what I think would in part, at any rate, meet the case, I suggest the following methods:

First. Continue the allotment of lands as rapidly as possible, jealously protecting the twenty-five years inalienable clause in every case, and taking care that they are properly made by actual examination of the land, so that it shall be known to be fit for farming, and not, as in some cases that have come to my knowledge, a bald knob or a sandhill.

Second. Rent all the land of absentees or incapables for crop rent only, except as may be necessary at first for improvement. This to be for the support of these classes and should so far insure it as to do away with the need of any ration issue as soon as the land becomes productive.

Third. Allow the renting of not to exceed half the land of allottees who will not, or cannot utilize it themselves, for crop rent only. This not as a premium on idleness, but to insure subsistence, doing away almost entirely with renting for cash.

By these methods the population of a district would be increased, life would not be so monotonous, trade would be

increased, and whites as the renters and Indians as the owners, be brought together on such terms that they would be mutually beneficial, each deriving some benefit from the other, and the presence of the whites acceptable, rather than otherwise.

Fourth. By the increase of householders consequent on this system, there would be in a limited area, a considerable school population, part white and part Indian, who would need educational facilities, therefore establish government district schools where the children of both races should go to school free of expense to parents, and by thus mingling together as children, grow up together and eventually live together, forgetting almost that they were different races.

I have long regarded amalgamation as the final destiny of the Indian race, as there is no such antipathy as exists between the white and Negro races, and I know of no more reason why the half-blood should be classed as an Indian than a white, now that Indian marriages on reservations are required to be on a legal basis.

I think the result of such a school system would justify the expense, tell wonderfully in the progress of the country, and most surely avoid the deplorable conditions that have been made apparent in the Indian Territory in regard to the matter of education for the children of white settlers. The increased population under these measures of encouragement would lead to much improvement in the way of roads, bridges, trading facilities, Post Offices and Churches. The school, with a live teacher as a government representative, could lead and mould in many ways. Disadvantages there would be, but I know of no other way in which the two races could be brought together on anything like an equal plane.

Fifth. As these government day schools would diminish the need for Agency boarding schools, these could be curtailed, and some of them used as orphanages for Indian children, or put to county uses.

Sixth. Capitalize all annuities coming to the Indians, individualize the accounts and pay off as rapidly as the period of incompetency expires. Of these different measures, I attach the most importance to those which bring the two races together on the common ground of mutual interest. The whites would soon outnumber the Indians, but as their presence would mean revenue and subsistence, they would be welcomed rather than shunned, and the contact of races come in a natural manner.

The objects attained would be the subsistence of the Indian without cost to the government, the improvement of the country adding many thousands to the value of the Indian property, the establishing of the mixed schools at government expense until the Indians become full citizens, then the appliance turned over

to the several Counties as a contribution on the part of the Indians entitling them to school privileges free of tax for a term of years. I believe in scattering the Indians among the whites as much as possible, but recognize that such a plan will never be of general application, and that the next best thing is to scatter the whites among the Indians in such a way that they will not antagonize but fraternize, and each obtain some benefit from the other.

I believe the course outlined would add many thousands to sparsely populated districts, much material wealth, aid in the problem of introducing the Indian to a full understanding of citizenship, and by having business to do make him capable of doing business better than in any other way so far suggested.

What is needed is a "closing out policy" so far as the special care of the Indian is concerned, the reaching of a stage which will come at different periods with different tribes, when it can be justly said to the Indians: "The duty of guardianship with which Providence charged this nation on your behalf has been discharged. You are now educated and qualified for self support, you speak our language, you are citizens of the Republic; the same opportunities are before you as others—henceforth your lives will be such as you make them by your own efforts. The responsibility for success or failure is yours alone.

After reading his paper, Mr. Standing continued:

I noticed in the remarks of the honorable Commissioner that he holds very much the same views that I do in regard to the Indian school situation. I have never disparaged the agency or the district schools. I was interested in them for years, and they all had their place, and all did good. We were in a very crude situation; there was not much to do with, but there is a great deal—to use a common expression—in the man, or the teacher, behind the gun. There are evidences of the good that these schools have accomplished, and the time seems to me to have come around again when the *day*, or as I term it here, the *district* school, should be the school, and take the place of many others that have served a good purpose in their time. We ought to change with the times, and adapt our means to existing conditions.

I was very pleased this morning to see come into the dining room a man whom I recognized as having been a pupil of mine in one of these schools nearly thirty years ago. He is in this room, and I hope you will hear from him.

The CHAIRMAN.—Before introducing the next speaker, allow me to call attention to something which the Treasurer omitted in his statement, namely, a special use for the proceedings of this

Conference. I hope that they will be liberally distributed among the members of the American Bar Association. One slight approach to distinction which I may possess is membership in that Association, and I can furnish a list of the members to the Treasurer.

I now have very great pleasure in introducing to this audience Mr. Howard White Wolf, a Comanche Indian, who will let us hear from him on behalf of his people.

MR. HOWARD WHITE WOLF.—Before the last treaty was expired, where the Indian had lived a wild life, they had plenty of game; they had plenty and happy times in those days. When the time was expired they said, "We have no longer to depend on the Government, they have no longer to support us; now we have to look for ourselves, what will be best for us. The time is coming now we got to do just like they do, we got to support ourselves, and we got to sweat ourselves." And so they say, "What shall we do in order to do this; we can't no longer live a savage life."

Now they are sending their children to school. They cannot make themselves better, so that they may be in better shape to know about civilized life, and what is going on in the world, and that they may learn to support themselves.

I remember one Indian said,—they were all sitting together—"When I passed through this prairie one time I could see coyotes and deer and wild game running in different directions; now, to-day, I see nothing but fences and telegraph posts and railroads, and everything is changed. We old people will pass away, the time is coming when we will be all passed away; we have got to give our children schooling. When we give them a good schooling they will learn to support themselves. When we give them good schooling there is something nobody can steal away from them."

And now today the work is open among my people. We want to hear about the Gospel today. Many years ago we did not care about listening when the missionaries talked to us; now today the work is open among us, we want to hear about Jesus as well as about supporting ourselves. That is what we need.

This is my first talk before a crowd like this, and I do the best I can to tell you.

MISS ESTELLE REEL.—The teacher of Howard White Wolf is present, and I think possibly the audience would like to see her.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I am quite sure that that suggestion is well founded. We will be very happy to see and hear from Miss Cutter.

Miss A. E. CUTTER.—I am not a public speaker; I have been at work at Carlisle for twenty-five years, and have been doing work mostly, and not talking, except to my pupils.

I do not claim to be Howard's first teacher. I think Mr. Standing had him in the Indian Territory. He was my pupil at Carlisle for a few years. This morning when I saw him at the table I recognized him right away, and after my breakfast I went to him and asked him if he knew who I was. He looked at me and said, "I know you."

I am very glad to be present and hear all the excellent words that we have heard this morning.

The Conference then adjourned till 8 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Evening, October 19, 1904.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at eight o'clock, and said:

The first speaker will be Prof. L. S. Rowe, who will speak to us on the "Legal and Domestic Institutions of our New Possessions." Professor Rowe is Professor of Political Science, University of Pa., and President of American Academy of Political and Social Science, and was the Chairman of the Commission for the revision of the laws of Porto Rico, and is therefore peculiarly qualified to aid the Conference to understand the very important topic assigned to him.

THE LEGAL AND DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS OF OUR NEW POSSESSIONS.

BY PROF. L. S. ROWE.

The significance of the extension of American sovereignty over Porto Rico and the Philippines is not to be found in the addition of a few thousand square miles of territory, but rather in the new problems which we are compelled to face as the result of our contact with a civilization essentially different from our own. No one will deny that the successful solution of these problems involved a new test of national character. Failure to meet this test will be interpreted as a confession of national incompetence. On the other hand, the successful government of the peoples of our new possessions means the exercise of a degree of patience, forbearance, and even self-sacrifice which cannot help but react favorably on the development of national character.

It is to be our privilege to hear from three of the men whose efforts in their respective fields of administration have set a standard which should guide us in approaching these problems.

The most difficult and delicate question that presents itself is our attitude towards the political and legal institutions of our new possessions. The dangers involved are two-fold. The one is the logical outcome of one of the strongest of American traits; namely, the devotion to a particular form of government; a form

which we are accustomed to regard as essential to the maintenance of free institutions. The other is the result of one of the defects of our national character: namely, our intolerance of legal systems and legal forms different from our own.

In Porto Rico, as in all Spanish or Spanish-American countries with which we have been or may be brought into contact, the system of administration is highly centralized. The authorities of the towns and other local sub-divisions are permitted but little freedom of action. Spain has always made it a rule not only carefully to control the policy of the municipalities, but also to make use of the local authorities as political agents of the central government. The development of a distinctive local civic life was discouraged and often violently repressed. The people were thus deprived of the invigorating and elevating influence of direct participation in local affairs. Even when, at the eleventh hour, Spain consented to the election of local officials, the election machinery was so constructed that the central government was able practically to determine the outcome.

With the change of sovereignty from Spanish to American rule, the question immediately presented itself whether we should continue the traditions of a highly centralized administration, which to the mass of our people, as well as to the Porto Ricans, would mean the continuation of the traditions of despotism, or whether we should attempt to introduce into Porto Rico a system of local government as decentralized as that which exists in the States of the Union.

The people of Porto Rico believed that with the change of sovereignty all attempt at central control over the towns would cease, and that a system of complete local autonomy would be inaugurated. When it was found that the Insular government, established under the Foraker Act, was determined to resist the demands for municipal autonomy, a wave of disappointment and resentment swept over the Island. It is fortunate that our government was not led astray by any *doctrinaire* principles of inalienable right. We are apt to speak of the right of local self-government as a right inherent in every people, forgetting that such a system is only workable when supported by a group of qualities, the result of long training and travail. Fortunately, scientific analysis has shown us that institutional forms are not a matter of right, but must be adapted to the civic training and education of a people. To have attempted to transplant our system of local government to Porto Rico would have resulted in a situation little short of anarchy, and would have brought the towns to the verge of bankruptcy.

The native demand for wider local powers must, therefore, be interpreted under the guidance of these principles, and in the light of this experience. It should serve to convince the Ameri-

can people that what we call "free institutions," when transplanted to an environment which has not been prepared by the slow process of popular training and education, may prove the instrument of tyranny and oppression rather than a guaranty to individual liberty. The tyranny of political majorities has always been the most serious menace to popular government. When the people have not been trained to respect the rights of the minority, popular government means oppression and misrule. In France, where the respect for minority rights has never been fully developed, popular government has been preserved through the steadying influence of a highly centralized administration.

The oppressive action of tyrannical majorities is most marked and most dangerous in the petty details of local administration. The opportunities for brow-beating, hectoring, and domineering a helpless minority are almost unlimited. There is probably no worse form of oppression than unfair discrimination in the enforcement of police ordinances, in the assessment of taxes, and in the execution of minor administrative regulations. Time and again I have seen unoffending Porto Rican families compelled to leave their native towns because they had incurred the displeasure of the local leaders of the majority party. It is evident that where such conditions prevail it would be defeating the real purpose of popular government immediately to accede to the demand for local autonomy. The Insular government has adopted the safer plan of gradually increasing the powers of municipalities.

In the work of civic recognition, the treatment of the private law brings up an entirely different set of difficulties and dangers. We are accustomed to pride ourselves on being a cosmopolitan people, and point with pride to our seemingly unlimited capacity for assimilating foreign elements. We forget that this process of assimilation means that foreigners coming to our shores accept our methods and standards and that, therefore, this capacity for assimilation indicates an absence of cosmopolitanism rather than its presence. Our intolerance of any standards other than those to which we have been trained is more noticeable in our attitude towards foreign systems of law than in any other department of our institutional life. American lawyers are trained in the common law, and know little or nothing of other systems. When, therefore, we were brought into contact with the Spanish legal system in Porto Rico, there was considerable pressure to transplant our system of law, in the belief that this system is the only one that subserves the ends of justice. We were in danger of forgetting the close relation that exists between the legal system of a country and its social and economic condition. It is true that certain portions of the Spanish law in force in Porto Rico were antiquated and required thorough revision. This was

particularly true of the penal law and the law of criminal procedure. On the other hand, the law of domestic relations while differing from our own, is so intimately associated with the social structure of Porto Rico that radical changes are fraught with the gravest dangers.

The Spanish law is based upon a concept of the family essentially different from our own. It partakes of the older Roman patriarchal concept. The authority of the head of the family is jealously preserved, and in many cases this authority may be exercised with a degree of absoluteness which impresses us as almost despotic. And yet to destroy the patria potestas at one stroke would probably tend to unsettle family relations, and thus work great harm.

As you probably know, divorce is unknown to the Spanish law. Its absence has undoubtedly worked considerable hardship in individual cases, but when the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico decided not only to make divorce possible, but introduced eight different grounds for which divorce could be obtained, every careful observer of the situation could not help but feel serious misgivings as to the outcome.*

No doubt the general principle of permitting divorce in certain cases was correct, but it would have been far better to introduce the system gradually than to attempt to transplant it, in the same form and for the same causes, as in most of our States.

Again, the law of inheritance under the Spanish system is totally different from our own. The testator exercises little discretionary power. The old Roman system of "forced heirs" still prevails. Whatever our opinion of the merits of the system, it is well to remember that one of the States of the Union still retains this plan, and that it is the system in force in all the Latin countries of Europe. The severity of parental authority, characteristic of Spanish law, is offset in part by this limitation on the power of disposing of property by will.

The Spanish law governing the rights of married women impresses us as primitive, and in some respects, unjust. It was undoubtedly a wise move to increase the safeguards to the property rights of married women, but it would have been extremely

*Civil Code. Title V. Chapter 1. Grounds for Divorce.—Section 164: The causes for divorce are as follows: (1) Adultery on the part of either of the parties to the marriage; (2) Conviction of one of the parties to the marriage of a felony, which may invoke the loss of civil rights; (3) Habitual drunkenness or the continued or excessive use of opium, morphine, or any other narcotic; (4) Cruel treatment or grave injury; (5) The abandonment of the wife by the husband or of the husband by the wife for a longer period of time than one year; (6) The absolute, perpetual and incurable impotency occurring after marriage; (7) The attempt of the husband or wife to corrupt their sons or to prostitute their daughters, and connivance in their corruption or prostitution; (8) The proposal of the husband to prostitute the wife.

unfortunate if we had attempted to transplant in toto the Pennsylvania, the New York, the Massachusetts, or in fact any of the systems of our States.

Probably the most difficult question that presents itself in connection with the reorganization of Porto Rican institutions is the extent to which certain methods of legal procedure, which we have been accustomed to regard as essential to a free government, should be introduced into our new possessions. The mass of the people of the United States are convinced that there is a close relation between individual liberty and trial by jury. This feeling also prevailed amongst the Porto Rican population. The first measure introduced into the Executive Council—the Upper House of the Porto Rican Legislature—committed the criminal procedure of the Island to this system. The party in control felt that this was the first and most important step towards making Americans of the Porto Ricans. It was impossible to convince them that the mass of the people did not possess the qualities necessary for the successful working of the system, and that the strong clan feeling that prevailed in many of the committees would alone prevent the successful working of the system. Many of the smaller communities are dominated by one or two families, and in these communities it is impossible to secure a conviction if a member of one of these families is involved. Furthermore, it is characteristic of a people that has been subjected to oppression that when freed from this oppression they show a lack of confidence in one another. Whatever, therefore, the result of a jury trial, it is interpreted as an expression either of personal antagonism or personal favoritism. Although the jury trial is restricted to criminal cases in which the penalty exceeds or may exceed two years, it has been extremely difficult to secure convictions, and this difficulty means the undermining of respect for law. Another requisite for the successful operation of trial by jury is a well-developed law of evidence. The English law of evidence is the outgrowth of the jury system. Without it there is constant danger of confusing the minds of the jurors by the introduction of irrelevant testimony. Although the people were anxious to have trial by jury they were wholly unprepared for its successful operation.

It would have been far better to have postponed the introduction of this system indefinitely. The responsibility rests with the native political leaders. Its introduction was opposed by the native lawyers, and it is not unlikely that it will suffer the same fate as trial by jury in Mexico, Cuba, and other Spanish countries.

The events of the last few years indicate that we are to be called upon to play an important part in the larger affairs of world politics. The position that we are assuming in the councils of nations is but the logical outcome of that greatest of all

expansion movements—our advance to the Pacific. The war with Spain and its immediate consequences brought us face to face with our new position. We have hardly begun to realize our power. The part that we are to play in the decision of the great questions affecting both Western and Eastern civilization is far more clearly appreciated in Europe than in the United States. Our commercial advance has given us a commanding position which carries with it corresponding responsibilities which we must be prepared to assume. Many thoughtful citizens regret this necessity, others believe that we may ultimately be able to shift the responsibility. Whatever may be our view of the situation, it is clear that we are face to face with a new group of problems, and that for their successful solution we must develop a broader sympathy and keener appreciation of institutions and ideas different from our own. For my part, I cannot help but believe that if we respond to these new requirements we shall be the better prepared to deal with the larger political problems that confront us on this continent.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will now take a voyage across the Pacific, and listen to Professor E. B. Bryan, Professor of University of Indiana, returned recently from the Philippines, where he succeeded Dr. Atkinson as Superintendent of Education.

EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY PROF. E. B. BRYAN, INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am to speak to you for a little while this evening upon the educational work of the American Government among about eight millions of people who live in an archipelago whose landed area is equivalent to the combined areas of Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky. Of these not quite eight millions of people, six and a half million, or a few more, are Christian Filipinos; and a million and a half, or a few less, are non-Christian Filipinos, and belong mainly to the three comparatively wild tribes known as the Igorrotes, the Moros and the Negritos.

The work of the American Government has been for the most part, and indeed almost entirely, among the Christian Filipinos. I wish to invite your attention for a moment to the vast difference between the Christian Filipinos, or the Philippine people as a people, and the comparatively wild tribes, the Moros, the Negritos, and the Igorrotes. I have been pained to know that the educational people in the United States who have gone to the Exposition at St. Louis have so often given what time they had

for the Philippine exhibit to the Igorrote dancers, and have failed to see the educational exhibit, and so have gone away from that Exposition with a greater misconception of the Filipinos as a people than they had when they went there.

The six and a half million Christian Filipinos, ninety-five per cent. or ninety-eight per cent. of whom belong to one Church, are as different from these wild tribes as are members of this Conference different from the wild people that were found here hundreds of years ago, and in whom this Conference is so greatly and so wisely concerned. These Christian Filipinos are an appreciative people, they are an alert people, they are a bright people, they are a polite people. The one hundred Filipino students who are studying in this country put to shame daily many American professors because of their fine politeness, and because of their ability they embarrass daily the students who sit in the class room with them.

So much then for the Christian people in the Philippine Islands. Many of them are poor, many of them are untaught, many of them are densely ignorant; but they are all polite, they are all more or less gentle under normal conditions, they are very appreciative, I have found.

July 4, 1901, formal civil government was established in the Philippines, and the President of the Taft Commission, Mr. Taft, our Secretary of War, was inaugurated as the first civil governor. But months before formal civil government had been established in the islands, the wise step of appointing a General Superintendent of Education in the Philippines was taken. This point should not be forgotten. That step was taken before even civil government was established in the islands. Dr. Atkinson of Massachusetts was called to that position, and he organized the Bureau of Education practically as it stands today.

Were it not that a talk on education in the Philippines needs to be practically a relating of what happened in this first administration, it would be much better had the first General Superintendent of Education spoken on this topic. But as it must be a rehearsing of his work it is probably just as well that it has fallen to the lot of someone else.

After the appointment of Dr. Atkinson he called to his assistance a thousand young men and young women from the United States, to serve in the capacity of local superintendents and teachers. Now there have been many criticisms of these teachers in the American press. I believe I owe it to them to say to you that the thousand teachers and superintendents that were called to the Philippine Islands in 1901 were this class of people—if you were to leave this Conference and go in any direction over any road and select the first thousand teachers that you met, you would not have a thousand teachers who would excel the

teachers that were called to the Philippines in 1901, in training, in scholarship, and in professional zeal and enthusiasm.

As the Bureau stands today there are thirty-five local superintendents, and if you were to leave this Conference and go out over any road in any direction and select the first thirty-five superintendents that you met,—county superintendents, town or city,—you would not have thirty-five school men who would mean more to the educational world than the thirty-five local superintendents in the Philippine Islands today. No one will deny that mistakes have been made, but no one who is acquainted with the facts will deny that I have spoken the truth.

In the public day school there are 200,000 boys and girls, and in the public night schools about 10,000 boys and girls, young men and young women, old men and old women—I think they range from six to sixty years of age. There are in the provincial high schools, of which there are about thirty, 20,000 young men and young women studying; most of them are preparing for teachers in the public schools. There is in the city of Manila an insular normal school for teachers, and an insular trade school to teach the industrial arts. In this trade school there is an attendance of about 500, while in the normal school there is an enrollment of 600. There is in the same city a nautical school with an enrollment of 200 young men.

Now all of this educational work is carried on by about 900 American teachers and 3,000 native teachers, all of them giving instruction in the English language as the medium of instruction. My time is too short to enumerate the wise things which were done at the beginning which have stood the test of time in the educational work of the islands, but one of the wisest things that was done was the requirement that all instruction should be given in the English language.

A great many people have said to me: "Would not it have been wiser if teachers had been selected to teach in the Spanish language?" Not at all, because only a very small percentage of the Filipino people could understand the Spanish language. "Well," they say, "Would it not have been well to teach some in the Spanish language?" Not at all, because the Filipino people will pick up a language quicker than the American teachers could pick up the Spanish language. They are a childlike people, and we know very well that the time when a man gets his mother tongue is in his childhood. Psychologists say it is due to suggestion and imitation. In a few months Filipinos can recite in the English language, and after three and a half years of this work in the schools more Filipino people can talk the English language than were able to speak the Spanish language after a Spanish occupation of more than three centuries. Three hundred thousand people, it is estimated in the Philippine archipelago

today, are able to converse more or less intelligently in the English language.

I was speaking with a friend two weeks ago who had just come from the Philippine Islands, and who is in the Bureau of Education, a gentleman whom many of you know, and he estimates that not less than 300,000 people would be able to converse intelligently with a traveller through the archipelago.

In what respects do these people excel, if in any? They excel in all work that is based upon memory or imitation. That is to say, they excel in such work as music, in picking up the rudiments of a language, in the rudiments of art work, drawing, mechanics, etc. They are not equal, in my judgment, to the American children in those lines of school work that are based upon reasoning, upon consecutive, logical thinking.

All questions of government are more or less personal questions, and especially is this true in the government of a childlike people. In our public schools all over this country it is not so much the question of having a teacher as it is the question of the right kind of teacher, of personal government, of personal management. Now this question is large in the government of the Filipino people, and the question is this: How long can such men as Taft, and other men whose names might be mentioned, be kept there?

I must close by saying that we have at the head of the educational work in the Philippine Islands two men who are peculiarly adapted to carry on that work. Dr. David P. Barrows, an alumnus of the University of California, who took his doctor's degree at the University of Chicago, a scholarly gentleman, a man who knows more about the Filipino people, probably, than any other American, is the General Superintendent of Education. He served for a term as city superintendent of Manila and as Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology. He knows more about the needs of this people, because he has gone into more towns than almost any American alive. As Secretary of Public Instruction we have General James F. Smith, a man who served as brigadier-general in the Philippines, who afterwards served as collector of customs in the port of Manila, and as a member of the Supreme Court. He is a member of the Church which represents the church fellowship of probably ninety-eight per cent. of all the people in the archipelago, he knows this people, he sympathizes with them, and he believes in them as a childlike people. This is the kind of leadership we have in the educational work in the Philippine Islands today.

Now personally, that is, selfishly, I do not care what the American Government does for these people, or does with them. By that I mean that I have no political or religious or social prejudice to overcome. I care only that what we shall do for them

educationally shall be right. To be weak, to be sentimental, to be indifferent, it occurs to me is criminal. On the other hand, to be rash, to be selfish, to be egotistical as a people is not only criminal, but suicidal. The American people have a rare chance to fail in this educational task which they have assumed. On the other hand, they have a rare opportunity to demonstrate to the world that they are wise enough, and brave enough, and good enough, that they have faith enough, to deliver a blow that will tell for God and native land.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will now listen to Rev. A. Grant Evans, President of Henry Kendall College, Muskogee, Indian Territory, on the subject of "Education in the Indian Territory."

EDUCATION IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY REV. A. GRANT EVANS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: You listened this morning to some very admirably presented figures and statistics and statements of facts. I wondered as I listened to one part of that presentation how vividly those figures and those bare statements brought any picture to your minds, especially with regard to conditions in the Indian Territory. You were told some very striking things about that country. In sixteen months from the present time the Indian tribal government which has prevailed there for upwards of seventy years is to be finally abolished. Out of the present conditions there is to be evolved within the next few years some form of statehood. The Indian Territory, a country about as large as the State of Indiana, has at the present time a population far larger than any State of the Union had at the time it was admitted to the Union. At the most modest computation it has half a million people at the present time, and the educational conditions in the Indian Territory are something absolutely changed, absolutely abnormal in American experience.

I must go back very briefly for a little historical review. About a hundred years ago the Cherokees, the largest and most advanced tribe in the Territory, who were then living in Georgia and the adjoining States, decided that they would adopt the arts of civilized life. The minority, who did not want to become civilized, broke off and went into what is now Oregon. President Jefferson very shortly after this decision sent a recommendation to Congress that immediate steps should be taken to admit these people into full citizenship in the United States. We hope that President Jefferson's recommendation will be acted on in the century. I think it was in 1808 that the recommendation

was made, and in 1906 these people are to become de facto as well as theoretically citizens of the United States. But in the little time that remains between this and then there is much to be accomplished, and there are some conditions which we have to face, and which ought to be very generally known.

When the Indians first went to that country they went with the understanding that it was to be their home in perpetuity. They went also ready to frame laws; they drew up their own constitution and made their own arrangements, and among those laws was a provision which was fully known by the Federal Government concurred in—that they should admit to their territory white people to occupy and work their land, to engage in various trades and professions, under such restrictions and upon payment of such license fees or taxes as the Indians might impose. These people went in there perfectly legally. I say this because I find in many places a very general impression that the bulk of the white people in the Indian Territory are there without any legal right to be there. The overwhelming number of them have gone there at the invitation of the Indian people. They have worked the Indian's lands, they have made a living for him for generations, and they have created the immense value which his estate has at the present day, which is being divided amongst the members of the tribes.

I say this because I am to speak tonight about educational conditions in the Indian Territory, and these white people who have gone in there have linked their destiny in such a way with that of the Indian people that we cannot separate them today. We could not if we would, and I don't know that we would if we could. They are there as the neighbors of the Indian people.

But we have done very little to make these people good neighbors. We have done a good deal, it seems to me, at times, to discourage the best class of neighbors from going in there. The Indians have carried on constitutional government for a great many years; they have their own system of schools, and this should be said to their honor that they have been exceedingly liberal to their own schools.

The very first thing that the Cherokees did when they got to that country was to create fine boarding schools and a system of day schools. They are appropriating every year up to the present time in the neighborhood of half a million dollars in the Five Tribes to carry on their educational work. But no provision was ever made for the white people who were living amongst them until some five years ago, when the Curtis Act made it possible for the people residing in the incorporated towns to educate the children there. But for the immense number of people in the rural districts, the people who had been the neighbors and the friends of the Indian, the people who have not been in large

numbers mere grafters, but who have gone in there to build up that country and have been doing it quietly and persistently, these people have had absolutely no legal way in which they could tax themselves to get school privileges for their children.

Now I know that there are some who have taken the view that if you do anything for the white person in that country, why, you are taking it away from the Indians. I just wish to point out tonight that the condition of the Indian in the next few years will depend, not upon what Congress can do, not upon what you here thousands of miles away can do, but upon what their next-door neighbors can do. And we have been making it inevitable that these people should belong to the most ignorant, degraded, and shiftless class. We have been doing that by denying them the possibility of getting schools for their children.

Now we are confronted with another condition that seems to make the situation appalling. The recent treaties made by the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, the Dawes Commission, provided for the winding up of all territorial affairs by March 4, 1906, and as was so clearly pointed out this morning, that means the wiping out of all tribal institutions, so that there will be under the existing arrangements no schools after the next sixteen months, no money to support schools, none of this Indian money that has been so used, and no buildings available for that purpose, because the individual members of the Tribes will have the right to demand the division of the property, the division of the money, and there will be nothing left for the child.

Now this is an exceedingly important and exceedingly pressing issue, for if anything is to be done about it, it must be done soon. If the Indian schools are abolished before there is a State school system to take its place—and no one sees any possibility of any State school system being ready in sixteen months, when we don't yet know whether we are going to be one State or twins—the possibility along that line is not visible.

We have before us then, this condition—the Indians are to come to the end of their school system; a State school system some time in the future will be established; the white people who have lived and who will live in that country, who are crowding into it by thousands and hundreds of thousands, the white people will create a school system. Undoubtedly they will be handicapped in doing this by the fact that a great deal of the land will still be in possession of the Indians; the land that the Indian holds on to will be exempt from taxation, and the white man in starting his school in the various districts will be confronted with the condition of an exceptionally limited area of land subject to taxation. He will naturally say, "We have got our own children to educate, and here are the Indians paying no taxes and dependent upon us for education."

We have no right to leave these people in this condition. We ought to demand that something shall be done so that we shall be assured that the educational work shall be carried on adequately until it can be handed over to a regular State system.

A little has been done during the past year in this direction. An effort was made during the last session of Congress to have an appropriation put into the Indian Appropriation Bill of \$100,000 to be spent upon so enlarging the existing Indian school system that it could be made available in certain cases for white children. That appropriation was made, and that money is being so used. Last month the schools opened under this new arrangement, and I have seen the first ten reports that have come in. These reports show that three-quarters of the children in the schools applying for aid are white children, and one-quarter Indians. It also shows this, that half the schools where such aid was applied for the Indian attendance was so small that it could not affect an Indian school at all; it gave them the possibility of a school, and it gave them the possibility of being educated side by side with their little white fellow-citizens.

What we want to do at the present day is to definitely establish the status of the Indian in that country as the fellow-citizens of the whites. If we do not do this, if we do not take this school system and develop it and hold it until the State is ready to take it and carry on the work, if we let it droop and die, and if the State has to create a new system, the Indian has lost his standing. We can give it to him now, and having once given him that standing in the schools it will be very hard to rob him of it in the future.

There are a great many people in the Indian Territory who are irritated at the conditions, which they feel unfavorable to them. We can do something to relieve these conditions. Surely it is a part of statesmanship today to create and foster the very best feelings between these Indians and their white neighbors. Surely it will not hurt this government if there is a little expenditure, and if a little of the benefit of that expenditure shall go to provide schools for white children whose parents have been denied the common American right of taxing themselves to educate their children. It is not that these people are unwilling to do this thing, it is that we have made them legally unable to do it. That ability ought to be given them as quickly as possible, and the grant made last year ought to be made again this year, and made very much larger, and it ought to be made in such a way that it will insure the carrying on of the existing schools of the Indians until the time when State authority is ready to take them up and carry on the work without interruption.

I went to that country in 1884, and I have been there most of the time since, and I have seen Indians side by side going

through school and through college with their white neighbors and doing well. The Indian can take his place in that State, and he ought to be acknowledged the peer of any citizen in that State. One of the best ways in which we can take a step in that direction is by seeing that the existing school system is not lost, but that provision is made for carrying it on in the interim which there must be between the closing of tribal governments and the commencement of a State government.

We make this plea. We are a sovereign people. A long time ago there was a lesson in kingliness given to a young king by a very wise mother—a lesson that we need to learn: "Open thy mouth," she said, "for the dumb, and plead the cause of those ready to perish." Surely most pathetically this describes our Indian fellow-citizens,—ready to pass away, pathetically dumb as far as speaking in their own interests and for themselves is concerned. We want to do this last measure, not of charity, but of simple justice, to them. We want to take the steps to bring them as far as it may be possible into a gradual and kindly relationship with their fellow-citizens, and I don't believe that there is any better place to do that than in the American common school.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am informed by the Chairman of the Business Committee that Mr. Coppock is exceptionally able to inform us as to some of the matters referred to by the last speaker. Mr. Coppock has for five years had charge of the Cherokee schools.

BENJAMIN S. COPPOCK.—I have missed the paper referred to this morning; and only come forward willingly to commend to your thought and future action the address of Dr. Evans. Those of us who are at our posts in the Indian Territory during the year gather a great deal of information, and until we mingle with people outside, and have an opportunity to answer a great many questions, we hardly know what other people are interested in.

I would speak especially of the educational work in the Cherokee Nation. For five years and a half past I have been there representing the Government in connection with the educational work and the management of the school system of the Cherokees established sixty odd years ago.

I presented a few facts here last year, and will add what has occurred in part during the past year. The High Schools, as we call them, or the Boarding Institutions, are progressing very nicely. During the year past, as on previous years, we have been obliged to turn away from the doors of our Seminaries a good many applicants. None but Cherokees attend. A peculiar thing about that is—and I speak this in the ear of Dr. Evans—

that in our Seminaries we collect board, \$7.50 a month, for a large number of Cherokees. Last year we collected in our boarding institutions over \$20,000 for the maintenance of those schools, from Indians. Those who desire to pay board give freely, and every room is taken. On the other hand, we admit those who are not able to pay their board to the number of fifty in each institution, and we try to reserve those places mainly for the full-bloods.

At last Commencement season we graduated twenty-three young men and young women at our male and female Seminaries. In the past three years we have graduated sixty-four at those two institutions, in about an ordinary High School course. Something happened this year that has not happened before,—we granted diplomas to three colored students in our colored high school, the first diplomas, so far as I know, that have ever been given to colored people in the Indian Territory.

I will say a word more about the colored people. The schools are separate for the colored people, they are graded, and we have about twenty of them; we have a high school with about fifty students, and the work is good.

In addition to these three schools we have an orphan home. A very sad thing to me, and to all the Cherokee people, was the burning of the old orphanage during the year. We had a hundred and sixty pupils in the school, and it was organized as an industrial school, and full of hope, and when it was brought so near to what we desired to make it, an attic was found to be on fire, and there was no means of saving the building. We have eighty-six orphans, however, in an institution since provided for them.

In addition I have general supervision of another institution that is new in the Indian country so far as the Indian tribes are concerned, and that is an insane asylum. The Cherokees put up a fine structure many years ago, and have provided for their insane, as well as for the higher education of their young men and their young women and a home for their orphans.

I now come to speak of the day schools. A year ago we had one hundred and seventy-five teachers in the day schools. We have increased this number. We have thirty-five of our teachers in the incorporated town schools. Last year we had 1,145 Cherokee pupils in these schools; we have perhaps 1,400 or 1,500 this year. Five years ago there was no place to do any grade work except in the Seminaries, now we have these pupils scattered near their homes in the incorporated towns. These town schools are to all events and purposes out of the Indian Territory, and will go on without knowing when a county is organized. In addition to this, we have enough schools to make about two hundred and fifty teachers in our day schools. We have 2,000 Cherokee pu-

pils in graded schools, day and boarding, and 6,000 more together with 3,000 whites in country schools. I do not know the number of whites in town schools.

Congress gave us an appropriation of \$100,000, \$25,000 assigned to each of the supervisors—\$25,000 comes to the Cherokee Nation. We received from the people requests for schools; more than a hundred and fifty neighborhoods in the Cherokee Nation that have not had schools have taken up subscriptions among themselves and secured the funds to erect school houses and furnish them, to get desks and blackboards, or seats and various school facilities, and sent us the names of the parents usually, but always the names and ages of all the children, specifying those who are citizens and those who are not citizens. I have spent days trying to do the right thing in establishing these schools. We have eighty-five of these schools running, free public schools, and in the enrollment about thirty per cent. are Cherokees—twelve hundred Cherokees that would not have school facilities in the sparsely settled neighborhood in the north-western part of the Territory. With these twelve hundred Cherokees there are twenty-eight hundred white children. This is the result of the appropriation of the \$100,000 by Congress.

This work, if it is followed up, and the suggestion of Dr. Evans is that it be, the system of schools will be established when statehood comes. We expect that somebody, somewhere, here, in Washington, in the States and Territories, someone has the funds to keep these schools going, and it must be done.

These people have petitioned us, and their petitions are pathetic. I have read many letters from whites pleading for some little chance to educate their children: "I am not able to send my children away to school. Can't you do something for us?"

I only want you to remember that the people in the Territory are at work, that they are reaching out in every direction and to every source for help, asking for assistance—"Give us a teacher; we will furnish the books, we will furnish the house, we will furnish the children. Give us some little encouragement that we may start a school." That is the feeling, and the educational sentiment of the Cherokee Nation is thoroughly aroused and very enthusiastic.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Rev. W. V. W. Davis, D.D., of Pittsfield, Mass., will be heard now, instead of a little later, as I understand he is unexpectedly summoned away.

Rev. WILLIAM V. W. DAVIS, D.D.—Ladies and Gentlemen: I really do not know why I am here at all to speak to you at this late hour. I think it can only be because our good friend here wants to illustrate anew the ancient parable of the spider and the

fly—Mr. Smiley is the spider and I am the fly. He said to me at the supper table, "You must speak tonight," and therefore I am here, the fly, but a fly who says, "This is the finest little parlor that ever you did spy."

There is just one reason why I think it is fitting for me to speak to you tonight. It was my privilege to be as best I could during the last ten years of his life the pastor of Mr. Dawes, one of the great privileges of my life. I am sure that no face can come back to you more vividly here than his. It always was to me an inspiration beyond words to go into his study and look around the walls, above the books, that long line of portraits of his Congressional friends, and then among them some strong, manly faces of the red man of the West among senators and presidents, Indian Chiefs. I think Mr. Dawes felt that they were worthy to stand in the same company, and to me it was always something very beautiful to see how this old man, who had been I think, longest in service of all the statesmen of our nation at the time of his death, having left behind all the other memories of his work, still kept the Indian fresh before him to the last. He died thinking of the Indian. He knew them not in the mass, but to me the striking thing was he knew them almost one by one, he knew them by name, as we are told the Good Shepherd knows his sheep by name, and he had a warm personal interest in them.

As I thought over his history, and remembered how, when he was in the House of Representatives, he was at the head of its leading Committee, the Committee on Ways and Means, and then was promoted into the Senate, and there was assigned to what was, I suppose, considered at the time the humblest Committee, the Committee on Indian Service, he went on preaching to that Senate year after year what some of us try to preach in our pulpits, the great Christian motives. They listened, and on the floor of the Senate the principles of righteousness as incorporated in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, were accepted and acted upon. And we are gathered here tonight to bear our witness that that was done.

I cannot say all I should like to of Mr. Dawes. Of course I presume fitting eulogies have already been abundantly pronounced here.

These two thoughts came to me this morning as to what was said in connection with the present treatment of the Indian. I think the thought was this,—the Indian must be treated in the future like other citizens. That sounds well, but does it mean the extermination of the Indian before a great while? If you treat the Indian just as you treat other men how many Indians will there be living a hundred years hence? Not a great many, as I imagine. And I must say as I recall those portraits on Mr. Dawes' study wall, I must say there was something there worthy

of permanent preservation, if it can be, in the great brotherhood of man. It seems to me that the Indian has got something that we want to cherish. We don't want to make it Anglo-Saxon; we don't want to make it Caucasian; we want to keep it Indian to the end. Some of us go out in the summer time and try to be like red men as much as we can. If Dr. Van Dyke were here tonight he perhaps would tell us in his eloquent way of the delights of the return to nature. Are you sure that to build these fine houses with all the appurtenances of our Anglo-Saxon civilization produces always just the type of man that God wants produced in every case? I do believe that those brave, manly faces of the children of the forest have something that is worthy of a distinctive place through all the future in the rich household of the world's life.

That is the word with which I would leave you here tonight, excepting that it will not be gracious, going away as I must tomorrow, to fail to speak the word I should like to have spoken on Friday night, and say that it has been pretty near heaven to be here.

The CHAIRMAN.—The final exercises for this evening will be given by the Indians themselves. Mrs. A. R. Page of Oklahoma will kindly introduce to the audience two Comanche Indians, who will speak to us in their own dialect; and we will hear through an interpreter what the interpreter thinks we ought to hear.

Mrs. A. R. PAGE.—I have been asked to say just a few words in introducing these men to you, so that you will understand just a little about their position in the tribe. These friends are all Comanches, and have been associated with our work there among the Comanche tribes for some time. I do not feel that I need to introduce Howard to you, for he spoke for himself and won his own place this morning.

Nahwats has been our faithful friend for six years, and Periconic we have known well for the last two years. These men were mescal worshippers, their lives in the past were not such as they look back upon with any degree of pride morally. Still, they have stood these last few years firmly and faithfully, coming to the Mission constantly, and are friends in all our work.

I want to say just one thing in regard to Periconic. It is less than three years ago when I was driving across the plains with the Rev. Frank Hall White I met a number of Comanches riding towards us on horseback, and I was especially attracted by one tall man. Mr. White pointed him out and said, "That man is Periconic, son of Tabananaca, the worst man that we have in the whole Comanche tribe. He is a notorious mescal worship-

per, and he is a hard drinker." What he is today you can judge for yourselves, after you have heard him speak.

Now I want to introduce you to them just as I have introduced them to you. Nahwats and Periconic, I want you to know that all of these are friends. You know that we have been coming here, we have been travelling for many days and nights, and now we are here. You see all of these friends, and you see and know the Chief that sits down here in this house. You know him. And now, tonight, all of these people they are working right along with the Indians. They know the white man's road, they knew it, and they can give it to you. I think it would be good for you to listen, and if there is anything that you hear that you can carry away to the Comanche, that is good. Now Nahwats, you first,

NAHWATS.—I have been living in savage life for many years, and I do not know what is best for my people, and I can't think anything myself that will make my people any better, because I don't know any better, I have no schooling. And so I have been coming far away from my home to find what would be best for my young children. That is why I come down here a long way, knowing nothing for myself. That is what has brought me here before you tonight, seeking what will be best for my people.

Tonight I want to say a few words to you. You white people have a power; you can make anything because you have education; you are smart; you can make most anything. My poor people have been living in darkness. They don't know what is best for them. We want to give our children schooling, but we can't give it to them ourselves. We ask you to give all you can for our young people, to give them schooling. We are willing to send our children to school just as quick as they get old enough. We will not miss it.

There was a man named Hayward, a Quaker, used to be agent for my people way back, and Hayward told me, and it came to pass—he told me that a railroad would go to our country, and we would have to send our children to school. He said that the time is coming when the Indians would have to farm and live like white people. Hayward was an old Quaker; he was our agent, and a good friend to the Indians. I wish I had taken his advice twenty years ago, because then I would have given my children schooling. Now I want to send my children to the mission school or to the government school; I don't want my children to follow the old way.

I feel in my heart that you will do all you can for the Indians. That is why I have come a long way, to ask you to do all you can for my people. We want to see our people instructed in the language.

PERICONIC.—I want to tell you this evening what a mistake my father made; I expect if my father knew it he wouldn't make this mistake in not sending me to school. It is a great mistake that I can't speak the language, and I have to use an interpreter. Of course that is no excuse; if my father made a mistake, I don't have to do like he did, because I begin to know better. My father made a mistake because he didn't know any better. I begin to see the best thing I could do for my children is to give them schooling and let them learn all they can, so that when they want to make any business with the American people they can come up and make their trade.

Of course we have no schooling, and we don't know what would be best for our people. We are ready to learn. We know that as long as we live in savage life and have no schooling we can't become like American people. Anything that the Americans would do we want to do as they did, and learn to support ourselves.

Of course we old Indians we can't understand because our young days are passed away. We want our young generation to go to school because all the old Indians will be passed away.

The meeting then adjourned.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, October 20, 1904.

The President called the Conference to order at ten o'clock and announced as the general subject for consideration, "Our Island Dependencies."

He introduced as the first speaker Dr. Fred W. Atkinson, President Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Superintendent of Education in the Philippines for about three years, during which he organized the present educational system, who read a paper as follows:

THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM.

BY DR. FRED W. ATKINSON.

Of the few countries today where the old order still continues with but slight modification, where virgin fields have awaited the student of politics, economics, sociology, philology, ethnology, where such a diversity of conditions, interests, and languages exists as to make the problem bewildering in the infinity of its phases, the Philippine Islands are among the foremost; while in us Americans who have assumed the tutelage of the Oriental islanders, who have taken upon ourselves the solution of a problem that is unique, this general interest becomes merged in the feeling of serious responsibility which rests upon us for the ultimate successful accomplishment of the task.

Opportunities for research are ample, and the Insular Government, through the employment of experts, is carrying on many lines of investigation, the result of which will be valuable. What the conditions were before Spain's influence began to be felt, and how much the Spaniards did for the Filipinos is difficult to say; it depends, as all things Philippine depend, on the point of view.

The question is primarily one for the trained philologist who, by a study of the dialects and their acquisitions from the Spanish language, may learn much concerning the early history and customs of the Filipino people. It was of absorbing interest while there in the islands, bearing in mind always what the past had been, to watch and study the kaleidoscopic happenings, and to speculate on what course the current will take in coming years. Such events were likewise watched with a similar interest by our thoughtful citizens at home, supplied with a comparatively small amount of information which was essentially conflicting.

There seems to be a dearth of accurate, whole-truth information on the Philippine situation. The testimony of an army officer on the one hand and that of a civil official on the other, based upon different points of view and perhaps a knowledge of entirely different parts of the archipelago, could not be other than contradictory; and similarly with any reports which did not first look beyond the immediate vicinity to confirm impressions there gained, for the inaccuracy of any such information varied directly with the distance from the particular place in which the conditions were observed. In short, it was unsafe to note the existence of any peculiar practice, habit, or dialect without labeling it with the exact locality where found; for such was but a far removed, modified specimen of a most diversified family; and the error lay in assuming that to be the generic which was merely the specific—an error which has led to a most unfortunate difference of conceptions as to what the problem really is, and what the solution ought to be.

The Philippines should not properly be a party issue; and the action of both Republicans and Democrats in refraining from reviewing the story of our acquisition of them, and, at the most, centering their attention upon the one possible phase of the question open to discussion,—the speed with which we can grant the inhabitants larger powers of self-government, is cause for a feeling of satisfaction. The islands are a part of our country; as a nation we have become responsible for their external relations and their internal administration. To the world, to the Filipino people, and to ourselves, we have a duty to perform, however unpleasant and unpalatable it may be. The executive department of our government took cognizance of this duty as soon as the treaty of peace with Spain was ratified in February, 1899; Congress later recognized our responsibility by prescribing a form of government; and our Supreme Court has established their status as a part of the United States.

The problem is thus larger than any party; and hence even with a change of party, a material variation from our present policy would not be possible. In facing the situation today, thoughts of what might have been will be rather a hindrance than a help; a work, the very immensity of which is just beginning to be perceived by us, has been undertaken, without any prospect of immediate, satisfactory completion; but it is our task, and we have made an encouraging start.

It would be well, indeed, if every one of us here at home could be led to join in the unanimous opinion of every American in the Philippines, of whatever party, that democratic principles of government must be considerably modified when the people to be governed have the racial qualities, traditions, and history of the Filipinos. Unless there be a unity of sentiment among

the American people, an eagerness of spirit to solve the problem in the best possible way, with the sole view of the welfare of the Filipino, the experiment now inaugurated will fail. The difficulties of the problem we are only now learning to appreciate; until the conditions are better known, then, we should suspend judgment and, certainly, be less prone to destructive criticism of the pioneer service now being performed.

No amount of books, magazine articles, and lectures can transport the American at home to the Philippines; nor adequately supply the results of a practical acquaintance with the islands. It is impossible for our legislators in Washington who have not been on the ground to realize that this group is not the United States, simply a few centuries younger; and thus the talk of independence in the course of the argument in support of which similarities are pointed out between conditions now existing in the Philippines and those just before our own Revolutionary War, is apt to be misleading. Vain speculation without knowledge of facts is useless; what did happen in the Philippines could not have been prevented from happening. An experience of nearly three years in the Philippines has brought me to the conclusion that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government; in their affairs they are managed by a few ambitious leaders. They have not yet cultivated a sense of fair play and tolerance for those who differ in opinion, and yet, although the gift of self-government in full measure was not possible, to a degree it was bestowed by granting practical autonomy in provincial and municipal affairs. There are some 600 towns in which natives have, in the main, the same control over their local affairs as in the United States is enjoyed by the residents of towns of corresponding size. Independence is a cherished ideal of the Filipinos, and that they may ultimately realize this ideal is, I believe, the unexpressed purpose of those who have undertaken the tutelage of these peoples. How far removed is this realization, it is beyond my power to predict; the proximity or distance of it must remain a matter of opinion. Certainty that these people will or will not become an independent nation is equally out of the question. For some time to come the political dependence of the islands upon the United States must be very real. Granting independence in any near future would be a great error, sure to result in serious harm; and in the policy of not attempting to fix the day when the connection between the two countries shall be merely nominal, we are pursuing a wise course. The doctrine of the consent of the governed is indeed included in our scheme of administration in these islands to the fullest extent to which it ever laid claim in the minds of those who first propounded it—namely, the granting of self-government to all who were competent to exercise it for their own benefit and that of society.

The question of the right of a higher civilization to dominate a lower is one capable of much discussion; the only justification, surely, for such an extension of sovereignty is the material improvement and the intellectual and moral elevation of the weaker race.

The United States Philippine Commissioners have erred, if in any direction, in giving too great a degree of self-government in both provincial and municipal affairs. It is an open secret that they went farther in bestowing local self-government than the Filipino leaders themselves advised; in fact, as President Roosevelt expressed it in a message, they reached the danger point; only, indeed, by our belief that the privilege of voting is in itself an educative force in the State, and that it constantly increases the self-respect of the voter, we can justify the establishment of the present form of civil government in the Philippines.

The Filipino people, taken as a body, are children, and, child-like, do not know what is best for them. That they possess ideals and ideas creates a faith and a hope that ultimately they may be able to institute a republic modelled on the American lines. In the ideal spirit of preparing them for the work of governing themselves finally, their American guardianship has begun. Our political sway has not been imposed upon the people to any greater extent than was necessary; and by the very fact of our superiority of civilization and our greater capacity for industrial activity, we are bound to exercise over them a profound social influence. In speaking of the future of this country, the one thing to be emphasized throughout is that all depends upon the temper we exercise in the work which is mapped out for us. What is best for the Filipinos, is the foremost consideration; and this desire to put their interests first rather than to foster American exploitation has animated the United States Philippine Commission in all its legislative and administrative acts.

The solution of the Philippine problem is in the hands of men of large and generous sympathies, whose abilities as practical statesmen have been shown. Governor Taft's has been a brilliantly successful career, in which success is attributable in no small degree to a personality that won the love and admiration of the natives and the support of all thoughtful persons. Besides the five Americans on the Commission are three Filipino members, who from the beginning have been left free to do all they could do effectively. The details of the organization of civil government need not be dwelt upon now; suffice it here to say that by formulating civil and criminal codes, and organizing on a comprehensive scale departments and bureaus of government, which are modern and efficient, the Commission has done much in the matter of paving the way to ultimate success.

As a result of our general policy, there are signs of an in-

creased friendliness between Americans and Filipinos; and much now appears in the situation to create a feeling of cheerfulness. Bitter memories of what have been, naturally still exist; blood has been poured out and money contributed; and there are Filipinos who view our presence with a feeling of dislike, the predominant reason for which is the natural idea that through the Americans they have lost an independence all but attained. Yet there is reason for sounding a cheerful note in the fact that in spite of all, the large body of the people tolerate us, even though somewhat half-heartedly; and without overrating the intensity and permanence of the manifestations of good will which have greeted our efforts, we may feel that the leading Filipinos, whether from expediency or real appreciation, are co-operating with the Commissioners and their subordinates. The danger lies in the conservatism of these people who want to do as they have always done, and in the dissimilarity of the racial qualities, traditions, history, and manners of the two peoples.

From a purely scientific point of view, the experiment is interesting as an attempt to do what has never been done before with an Oriental race of Malay origin in the tropics. The Filipinos will become Americanized only in the sense that they will speak English and adopt American innovations as they are introduced; the character of the people, and their stronger, more individual characteristics will be retained. What is good in Philippine civilization must not be handled roughly; the Filipino himself will always remain such as he was under the Latinizing process of the Spaniards. With such considerations in mind, those in authority have been very careful not to go too far in the attempt to introduce American ideas and institutions, in spite of the demand by the press and public opinion at home for a wholesale clearance of the native customs and beliefs. Sweeping administrative reforms were found necessary; yet our government has not met with as much that is Malay to change as Spanish. The Commission has attempted to establish a firm and strong government as a condition precedent to the country's political future; but, on the other hand, has interfered just as little as possible with the customs, manners, ceremonials and beliefs which go to make up the individuality of a people.

For over three years now, our government has been operating a free public school system, the cardinal point of which is the introduction of English, which the Filipino wanted, and in teaching which not the slightest attempt has been made to stamp out any of the native dialects. Our educational efforts have possibly done more to give these people a true conception of the benefit of civilization and good government than all the other influences we have brought to bear upon them; indeed, in this work is to be found the solution for a large part of the problem. Up

to the present time, it has hardly advanced beyond the teachings of the rudiments of English, though considerable progress is now being made in arithmetic, geography, and the other elementary branches; while in the various centres, work of an advanced nature is carried on. Thus popular education, on which, naturally, the whole structure in this field must ultimately rest, has been strengthened and broadened, steps have been taken in the direction of higher training, and for the future, when the time is ripe, a university has been planned as an apex of the school system. Among the greatest difficulties that the promoters of free education have to contend with are the apathy of the lowest classes and the antagonism of the highest. In democratic United States it has been possible to advance popular education rapidly during the past century because those who had influence were men who themselves possessed a true conception of its benefits, and were able to see the whole question in the proper perspective; in the Philippines the masses have learned little else than the catechism, and the higher classes have acquired hardly more than a veneer. Education is now desired apparently with greatest eagerness, but when the novelty wears off and the hard work is required, the attendance decreases. Through Spanish mis-teaching education has come to have a false meaning there; scarcely a Filipino understands its significance; his view is a narrow, social one possibly tinged with ecclesiasticism. To turn out facile penmen, glib talkers, or formal observers of the faith, will not satisfy us. For the present, at least, a purely utilitarian view of education must be accepted, yet to the American teacher now and to the Filipino reformer of the future, the ideal must be a higher one, namely, development of physical and intellectual powers, formation and strengthening of moral character, widening of the sympathies and, incidentally, preparation for citizenship. Frequently in the press of the Dutch and English colonies of the Orient, and occasionally in our American papers, opinions have been put forth to the effect that the institution of popular education in the Philippines is likely to do more harm than good, and that the people would remain better and happier without it. With this view I cannot agree; my liking for the people and knowledge of their character arouse in me the hope; my belief in the ability, tact, and courage of the American teacher creates in me the faith; and my own observation and judgment confirm in me the conviction that the popular education of the Filipino, if not unduly hurried, and if conducted along practical lines, will prove an ultimate success.

We have not only made an encouraging start in governing this distant group of sixteen hundred islands properly and efficiently, and in furnishing an adequate system of education, but we have already attempted to develop their rich resources. The economic

aspect of the question is by no means the least interesting. Since my return, the question whether the Philippines will continue a great expense to the United States, without any corresponding profit, has been frequently asked, and has invariably revealed ignorance of a fact which was supposed to be generally known: namely, that the United States Government pays only for the expenses of the American army of occupation and the Insular Government maintains itself from its customs and revenue receipts. The islands are exceedingly fertile and productive, and yet I must confess that I am not optimistic in my belief that immediately the Philippines will pay largely commercially. Commercial success involves a labor problem of exceeding seriousness: the probability of American colonization in the islands; the investment of American capital; the need of new markets for American products, and the increase of Filipino wants; the character of later Congressional and Insular legislation; the development of means of land and inter-island transportation, and such kindred matters.

Among these resources, timber is the richest, and yet, owing to the condition of the country, the difficulty in getting the wood out, and the lack of labor, nearly all the lumber used for the past three years in the islands has been Oregon pine. It would, indeed, be far easier to prove to an academic reformer that in the Philippines we have a great national duty to observe and an opportunity for individual service of trying pioneer character, than to convince a practical business man that they will pay. The wealth of this rich country may or may not under American enterprise amount to as much as sanguine Americans think, but there can be little doubt but what it is being governed with a consciousness of the trust which has been assumed.

By accident the United States found itself in the Philippines. Can anyone question the advantage of the change from Spanish dominion to American protection? First had to come war with the rifle, then military commission with the rope, and, finally, civil government with the benefits of American sovereignty,—separation of Church and State; division and co-ordination of judicial, legislative, and executive powers; rights of suffrage, writs of habeas corpus, assembly and free speech; abrogation of obligatory military service, and abolition of the practice of banishment. Spain justified her conquest here only on religious grounds, and failed because she did not take upon herself in addition just that moral obligation which we have accepted.

Thirty-nine years have now passed since the close of the Civil War, and the Negro problem is still unsolved; at the end of a like period of time we shall be struggling with the Philippine question. In trying to solve it we must leave the time element out of consideration; and we shall be gravely disappointed if we

do not look the facts in the face and thus keep from building our hopes too high. This is not saying that we must be discouraged or that we have not done much; a careful consideration of the real difficulties and complexities will show us how much has really been accomplished. One of our leading thinkers, President Eliot, writes of American civilization in a recent work:*

"Our people are too impatient for peerless fruitage from the slow-growing tree of liberty; we all expect sudden miracles of material and moral welfare—we get only a slow development and a halting progress." If this is true, how much less should we expect in the way of fruitage if this very tree is torn up and transplanted in the Philippines—a foreign soil where local government has hardly taken root, and where the sanctions of order and justice which promote industrial development are scarcely understood. It is a huge and novel work—this training some six or eight millions of tropical, indolent people for self-government.

Social, or rather, political, trustworthiness, respect for the minority, and freedom from everything resembling castes or insurmountable social or political barriers are requisite conditions for a democratic form of government; and these are lacking. In the past, under Spanish domination, these people were restricted by numerous social limitations, with an ecclesiastical atmosphere pervading all. In our work we must assure to the Filipino everywhere free and prompt justice and security of property in the interior; and must instill moral restraint and ideal standards which will help him through the perils of an unknown freedom.

Although it is impossible in a day, or in a generation even, to enable these people to raise themselves from the condition of semi-civilization to the rank of a civilized nation, the difficulties of our task are not insuperable. The question is a national one, and to the extent of his opportunities every citizen should do his part in assisting by encouragement those to whom has been assigned this difficult pioneer service. To judge intelligently the results, one needs to be acquainted with the situation; to possess a knowledge of the climate and other geographical conditions especially their influence on Philippine character and civilization, of the history and life of the different peoples, and of the ethnological constitution of the islands. A clearer understanding of certain elements of native character also will lead to saner expectations as to the results of the American protectorate. Unless we inform ourselves on these matters, there is bound to be disappointment in the future.

For some time to come no jury system is possible, and all public moneys must be handled by American officials of integrity.

* Pres. Eliot: "More Money for the Public Schools," p. 56.

In judging of fitness for self-government of the American kind, the character and intelligence of the masses rather than of the few must determine how fast innovations shall be introduced; and their natural conservatism in many ways must be respected.

The Filipinos are bound to develop in some way, and in the right one, if we persist in our present course. From their many innate gifts something substantial is certain to result if the conditions are at all favorable; and we Americans are the conditions. They have already taken an extensive participation in their government; and as time goes on, this will increase steadily. We have scratched a Malay, and at some future date we need not be surprised to find an American, at least in spirit, initiative, and capacity.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am quite sure the audience has heard with gratification that the Philippine Problem will last at least thirty-nine years, since that insures us thirty-nine more Lake Mohonk Conferences.

To strengthen this impression we will now hear from Mr. W. Leon Pepperman, Assistant to the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, formerly Recording Secretary to the Schurman Commission, and Secretary to the Taft Commission, afterwards Civil Service Commissioner in Philippines, being in Islands from 1898 to 1903.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS DONE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY W. LEON PEPPERMAN.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I understand that this is the first Conference in which the Filipinos have been discussed. I hope that it may result in an addition to its name, and that hereafter the Filipino, as well as the Indian, may look upon you as his friend.

When Columbus landed in America he thought that he had discovered one of the outlying islands of Asia, and in the description of his voyage he called the people whom he had found there "Indians." This name was continued by subsequent discoverers, who described Caribs and Aztecs, the wandering tribes of North America, and Malays of the Philippine Islands, as Indians. We have in a great measure adopted this broad and incorrect generalization. Although it is a false one, yet it suggests a comparison which will make this body thoroughly well acquainted with the condition of the Indian tribes in the United States realize by comparison the condition of the tribes. We speak of the Filipino. The term is as broad, and covers as many and as diverse people as the term "Indian," which we apply to the aborigines of North

America. You know how wide a difference there is between the savage and wandering Utes and Apaches, and the civilized community which, under the name of the Cherokee Nation, is governed by half-breds of English names, who administer an autonomous government, in accordance with the terms of treaties made with, and of laws passed by, the Government of the United States. A large majority of these people, outside the Indian Territory and until recently, those in that Territory, under the administration of the Secretary of the Interior, are not citizens of the United States. They are subjects of the United States, and by the wise methods which have been adopted for their training and for their education, will probably at some future time themselves find that they have passed through that stage of communal existence which permits tribal life, and will become fit to be merged in the great mass of the American people. Your experience with the American Indians has shown you that to enable them to govern themselves, something more than a law proclaiming that they are fit to govern themselves is necessary. A preliminary period of training is required. Such training is being given to the Indians. It has not been considered necessary or advisable to promise them that in ten years, or in two hundred years, they will become American citizens. Nor were the inhabitants of the Indian Territory and the other Indians who are now citizens, promised that they were to be made citizens at any given time, but undoubtedly when their shoulders have grown strong enough to bear the burden of citizenship, it will be placed upon them.

What your body is interested in seeing should be done and well done in the case of the Indians, the Insular Government in the Philippines is interested in seeing should be done and well done among the Filipinos. In the Philippines the United States has been fortunate in finding that the ground has been largely cleared by Spain. The people, or a large majority of them, are Christians, at least in name. They are the only Asiatics who in the general mass can be considered Christians. Spain did this, and she broke down and destroyed the tribal system along the seaboard, and the great river valleys of the greater portion of the Archipelago. She stopped there. We who followed Spain in so many parts of the world, have there a fallow field. I shall attempt to tell you briefly how it is purposed to till it.

You who are interested in the solution of an analogous question will find that though in the Philippines the means employed are on a larger scale, yet the idea is the same.

Perhaps a brief description of the more important ethnological divisions of the Filipino people will not be out of place in this connection, in view of the fact that the most contradictory statements are to be found concerning the inhabitants of the Philip-

pine Islands. Some writers credit them with a high degree of civilization, and compare them to our colonial ancestors, while others regard them, even the more civilized people, as little better than barbarians. It is safe to say that the truth is to be found between these two extremes, and among a people of such diverse origin, culture, and faith, it is unsafe to predicate any general statement.

While the vast bulk of the population is probably of Malayan origin, the aboriginal race of the Archipelago is the dwarf Negrito.

They are almost the smallest people on the globe. Not less than 30,000 have been accurately reported, and are holding their own at the present time. They are fleet of foot, and their usual weapons are a lance of bamboo, a palm-wood bow, and a quiver of poisoned arrows. Their food consists of fish, roots, and rice, and meat when they can get it. They are notorious cattle thieves and have some little knowledge of agriculture, but are migratory in their habits.

The Igorrote is a fine race of agricultural, head-hunting barbarians. They are copper-colored, have high cheek bones, a flat nose, and thick lips. Their hair is straight, black, and sometimes worn long. The men are well developed, and possess great strength and powers of endurance. The women have well-formed figures, and an erect and graceful carriage. Tattooing is common among both sexes. They manufacture iron and steel bolos, spears, and axes, and have developed no little skill in working in copper.

The Tagalos are found at Manila, and well distributed over the Island of Luzon, and have been in more intimate contact with the Spaniards than the other people of the Archipelago. From the Spaniard they acquired much of what civilization the latter had to impart.

While the educated Tagalo, Visayan, and Ilocano, speak Spanish, each retains his mother tongue.

The latest comers to the Philippines, preceding the Spaniards, are the Mohammedan Malays, who occupy most of the great Island of Mindanao, and the Jolo Archipelago. They were formerly the pirates of the eastern seas, and there was always warfare between them and the Spaniard.

The people of the Philippines naturally divide themselves into three grand divisions, all of them of Malay extraction, with the exception of the aboriginal Negrito, yet widely separated as to language, habits, culture, and faith. First, the non-Christian tribes of the interior, upon whom the Christian faith and Spanish civilization have made but little impression; second, the Christianized tribes, who accepted Spanish rule, adopted Spanish civilization, in part at least; third, the Mohammedan Moro, over

whom the Spaniard never exercised more than nominal sovereignty, and whose faith and culture remain practically unmodified by European influence.

The problem of the savage races of the Philippines is not the same problem that we have to meet in this country among the Indians. With the exception of the Moros, they are not particularly warlike, and do not combine in large numbers for offensive purposes. Most of them have welcomed the school teacher among them, and in time it is hoped that they will take on the habits of civilization.

The Insular Government, recognizing the three broad distinctions above mentioned, has provided a government adapted to each. The Christian people enjoy the full measure of civil rights as granted under the present form of government; the Moros have a special form of government, considered to be best fitted for their present needs; while the wild tribes of the interior have still another form of government adapted to their peculiar conditions. Later, I shall briefly describe these three forms of local governments.

The central government and legislative authority in the Philippine Islands is at present vested in a Commission of eight members, three of whom are Filipinos. The President of this legislative council is also the chief executive of the islands and each of the four remaining American members presides over the four executive departments of Finance and Justice, Commerce and Police, Public Instruction and the Department of the Interior, which four departments have supervision over all of the subordinate bureaus and offices of the Insular Government. By the existing law of Congress, provision is made whereby, two years after the completion and publication of the census now being compiled, the legislative power is to be vested in a legislature consisting of two houses, the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly, the latter house to be elected by the inhabitants of the islands. Provision is also made for the election by this legislative body of two resident commissioners to the United States.

The powers of the judicial branch are exercised by a Supreme Court, composed of seven members, appointed by the President, three of whom are natives of the islands. The courts of first instance and courts inferior thereto are presided over by judges appointed by the Commission. Of the present judges of the courts of first instance, fifteen are Americans and six are natives. Of the minor courts nearly all the judges are natives.

For governmental administrative purposes the entire area of the Philippine Archipelago is divided into forty provinces, each presided over by a Governor, which provinces are in turn subdivided into municipalities. In other words, the municipal sub-

divisions in the Philippines are the same as the towns of New England and the townships in other portions of the United States, and taken together include all the territory of the islands.

These autonomous provincial and municipal governments come in daily and direct contact with the great mass of the people and constitute the school in which the capacity for future self-government must be taught. For this reason I beg your indulgence for a few moments in order to briefly describe their organization and functions. I have already mentioned the three general or broad ethnological divisions into which the inhabitants of the islands should be classed. Along the same lines there might be said to be three different grades of civilization in the islands, and therefore provision has been made for three different forms of provincial government.

(1) The general provincial law under which the thirty-four Christian provinces are governed provides for a provincial government of five officers—the governor, the treasurer, the supervisor, the secretary, and the fiscal, or prosecuting attorney. The governing board is called the provincial board, and includes as members the governor, the treasurer, and the supervisor. The prosecuting attorney is the legal adviser of the board, and the secretary of the province is its secretary. The first function of the provincial government is to collect, through the provincial treasurer, all the taxes, with few exceptions, belonging to the towns and the provinces. Its second and most important function is the construction of highways and bridges and public buildings. Its third function is the supervision, through the governor and the provincial treasurer, of the municipal officers in the discharge of their duties. Within certain limitations the provincial board fixes the rate of provincial taxation.

The governor has the power to suspend any municipal officer found failing in his duty, and is obliged to visit the towns of the province twice each year and hear complaints against the municipal officers. The provincial treasurer collects all the taxes, turns over those due to the town to the municipal treasurer, and examines the accounts of that officer. The supervisor must be a civil engineer, and carries on the work required to be done by the provincial board. The fiscal, or prosecuting attorney is the legal adviser of the provincial board and of every municipality in the province.

The provincial governor is elected biennially, on the first Monday in February, by a convention consisting of counselors of every duly organized municipality in the province, subject to confirmation by the Philippine Commission.

The positions of treasurer and supervisor are subject to the civil service law, and the positions of secretary and fiscal are filled by appointment made by the Philippine Commission.

An election was held in thirty-two of the thirty-four Christian provinces on the first Monday in February, 1904, and at this time all the governors in these Christian provinces were elected to office in the manner above set forth, and for the first time all of them are Filipinos. The remaining provincial officers, including clerks of courts, members of boards of tax revision, etc., with the right of exercise of authority of government (but not including subordinate clerkships), are filled by eighty-six Americans and two hundred and thirty-eight Filipinos.

(2) The Moro Province consists of all the islands of Mindanao and its adjacent islands, except the provinces of Misamis and Surigao (which are within the thirty-four already mentioned), also the island of Isabela de Basilan, and of the islands to the south of Mindanao in the Archipelago. It embraces within its boundaries, therefore, all the Moros in the Archipelago except a small number of them resident in the southern half of the island of Paragua and a possible few on the borders of the Province of Misamis.

The Moro Province is divided into five districts.

The executive head of the province is the governor, who has as his assistants the provincial secretary, the provincial attorney, the provincial engineer, the provincial superintendent of schools, and the provincial treasurer. These officers constitute the legislative council for the government, and in case of an even division, the proposition having the vote of the governor prevails.

The province is given the customs receipts of the two ports within its geographical limits, and is authorized to impose such other taxes as the legislative council may see fit. The legislative council has been granted a very large measure of discretion in dealing with the Moros and in preserving, as far as possible, consistent with the act creating the Moro Province, the customs of the Moros, the authority of the Datos, and a system of justice in which the Moro should take part. The first governor of the Moro Province is an officer of the army, detailed for that purpose, and the remaining offices mentioned are filled both by civilians and by detailed officers.

(3) The five distinct provinces, viz.: Benguet, Lepanto-Bontoc, Mindora, Nueva Viscaya, and Paragua are populated, in whole or in part, by harmless and amiable, but ignorant and superstitious tribes. It was necessary on the one hand that these inhabitants should be granted protection, and on the other that they should be gradually accustomed to the ways of civilized people, which it is believed they will readily adopt. To this end the general provincial government act has been applied to these provinces in a modified form, under which the governor or chief executive is appointed, as well as the other subordinate officials. The townships in these districts are also organized under a modi-

fied application of the general municipal code, and the actions of such township organizations are subject to the approval of the governor.

The general law of municipalities, which is applicable in all the thirty-four Christian provinces, provides that the powers of the municipality are to be exercised by a president, a vice-president, and a municipal council, to be chosen by the qualified electors of the municipality, to serve for two years and until their successors are chosen and qualified.

There is a property and educational franchise qualification. In actual practice the law has worked to the satisfaction of the people and of the Commission. There have been individual instances of misconduct on the part of municipal officers, which have been promptly punished by suspension and removal from office. Violation of the oath of allegiance has not yet been proved against a single president.

The city of Manila is governed by a special charter, quite similar to the manner in which the city of Washington is governed, that is, by a Commission of three members appointed by the chief executive, with an advisory council of eleven.

With this brief description of the machine of government which has been set up in the Philippine Islands since American occupation, I want now to set forth briefly some of the results.

One of its first acts is one providing for the organization of the insular civil service on a basis of merit. This civil service act is very comprehensive, and includes practically all positions in the insular service, except the members of the legislative council and of the judiciary. It provides for a rigid moral, physical and mental test of fitness, and also provides that preference in appointment shall be given first to the natives of the Philippine Islands.

In the beginning, by reason of their lack of knowledge of the English language and of American methods, Filipinos in any considerable numbers could not be used to advantage in the administration of the central government of the islands at Manila; but with the progress they have made in acquiring a knowledge of the English language and of American methods, a large number now fulfill the civil service requirements, and the proportion of places given to Filipinos in the general government is becoming much greater.

In the provincial and municipal services a knowledge of English was not essential, and from the beginning Filipinos secured appointment to practically all the positions in these governments.

Without going into too much detail, it may be stated that while there are about 1,500 Americans in the civil service of the general government, and about 2,500 Filipinos in the general government service, there are only about 100 Americans and over 15,000

Filipinos in the provincial and municipal governments. This large number of Filipinos in the municipal and provincial governments consists mainly of presidents of municipalities and members of municipal councils. This does not include the teachers in the educational department, of whom 1,000 are Americans, and upwards of 3,500 are Filipinos.

A complete judicial system has been inaugurated throughout the Archipelago. A Code of Procedure adapted from American usage has been enacted, and a new Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure are well under way. Meantime the codes promulgated in the Islands during the Spanish regime, with certain amendments, form the basic law. There is a justice of the peace and an auxiliary justice of the peace in each municipality. The territory of the Archipelago is divided into fifteen judicial districts, in each of which there is a court of first instance. The appellate jurisdiction as already stated is vested in the Supreme Court of the Islands, which consists of seven members, three of whom are Filipinos.

There also exists a court of customs appeals, and a court of land registrations. There is an attorney general with his assistants, and a solicitor general with duties somewhat analagous to those performed by similar officials in the United States. The attorney general is an American; the solicitor general a Filipino.

Convictions have been secured in nearly every case where justice required conviction. Adequate penalties have been imposed. Justice is administered evenly, uniformly, honestly, expeditiously, and ably throughout the islands. The judges, both native and American, have performed their duties in a very satisfactory manner. It is not too much to say that the new judicial system has been one of the greatest benefits that has been conferred upon the islands by the American Government, and that it has brought home to the Filipino people an abiding conviction that in the courts is to be found safe and reliable protection against all unjust invasions of the rights of person or property.

An educational system has been established, and over 2,000 schools are maintained in the islands, including trade schools, agricultural schools, nautical schools, telegraph schools, and normal institutes, for the improvement of the native teachers. English has been adopted as the base of instruction, and when the school system bears its fruit, the inhabitants of the islands will, for the first time, be welded together by a common tongue. Children are even now in nearly every village acting as interpreters for their fathers. A policy has been adopted of sending to the United States each year, to be educated at Government expense, one hundred Filipino youths, to be selected from all parts of the Archipelago. The first consignment of one hundred is now entering upon a second year, scattered throughout the different schools and colleges of the middle west and eastern

parts of the United States. After a four years' course, these students are obligated to return to the islands, submit to a civil service examination, and entering the government service for a period at least equal to that spent by them in this country.

A monetary system which affords a fixed medium of exchange has been adopted, thus doing away with the fluctuation in value which was such a menace to the trade in the old days.

The coinage of the islands is distinctive, showing that it is a coin of the Philippine Islands, also showing such islands to be under the sovereignty of the United States. The silver coinage is based upon the decimal system, ranging in value from the ten-centavo piece to the one-peso piece. There is also a nickel coin of five centavos, and bronze coins of one and also one-half centavos. These coins have a fixed convertible value to the United States currency in the ratio of two to one. A gold reserve is maintained for the purpose of preserving this parity.

The islands have also a distinctive paper money, showing that it is an issue of the Philippine Government under the sovereignty of the United States. These certificates are issued in the denomination of two, five, and ten pesos, and bear the vignettes, respectively, of Jose Rizal, a Filipino, McKinley and Washington.

Nearly all the business houses have by common consent put their business on the basis of the new currency. In all of the provinces it is found in free circulation, and the people now object strenuously to taking any other currency. The old Spanish-Filipino currency has been very largely brought into the Insular Treasury and subsequently shipped to the United States for recoinage, while the Mexican currency, which has been for centuries in general circulation, has been exported principally to China.

It is no small achievement for our government to have eliminated thirty or forty millions of debased currency and have substituted for it a currency based upon the gold standard, all within less than a year and six months of time, and without a tremendous jar.

A postal system has been established, so that mail can now be dispatched with promptness and safety to all parts of the Archipelago, and money orders bought and sold on the United States at domestic rates.

The islands have been gridironed with telegraph and telephone lines and tied together by cables. A fleet of revenue cutters are used to maintain a schedule service between all ports in the Archipelago. Extensive harbor improvements are under way in the principal ports; the inland seas are being charted, old lighthouses improved, and new ones built, and other aids to navigation extended. Highways are being constructed, the forests have been protected, and agriculture has been stimulated. The

islands have been placed in a sanitary condition, vaccination has been made general, and small-pox almost banished. The plague has been conquered, and cholera, whose home is in the Orient, has been driven from the islands. Quarantine stations have been established at all ports of entry. A customs tariff has been adopted that taxes luxuries and exacts nominal duties upon articles of prime necessity.

The first census of the islands has been taken, and the compilation of the returns is now in progress in Washington, and will probably be ready for publication the latter part of this year.

A most complete weather bureau service has been established, with fifty stations throughout the Archipelago, from which daily telegraphic reports are made to Manila. The benefits conferred by the weather bureau in forewarning ships of the coming of typhoons is incalculable.

An insular constabulary of seven thousand Filipinos, officered principally by Americans, is maintained for the exercise of general police powers, for the suppression of ladronism, and for the discipline and instruction of the municipal police force.

The vexed Friar land question is being solved. Titles to these lands will soon pass to the Philippine Government, which has already made provision for the lease or sale on easy payment of these lands to the present tenants.

The garrison of American troops in the islands has been reduced to twelve thousand officers and men, aside from the Filipino scouts.

All of the expense of the administration of the government and all the results already attained, heretofore enumerated, have been met by the revenues in the Philippine Islands. It will be seen that many public improvements, such as river and harbor works, marine hospitals, light-houses, and revenue-cutters, which in this country are paid out of federal funds, have in the Philippines been met out of the revenues of the insular government.

What has thus far been done in the islands has been accomplished by the most careful consideration by the Philippine Commission of the good of the Philippine people and the growth and development of the people made possible by the conditions created, but the commercial and material prosperity of which the islands are capable cannot be brought about without additional Congressional legislation.

Whatever may be thought about the political future of the Philippines, or their relation to the United States, it is a matter of great importance both to Americans and Filipinos that the economic prospects of the Archipelago should be determined. If this could be done there would be less unrest in the Archipelago, and many things that are now hard to deal with would find their own solution. The real issue at this moment is not what to do with the Philippines, but what to do for them.

The Philippines need development. They need markets,—the markets that are created by a normal foreign demand for native products, balanced by a shipment of needed foreign goods to the islands. Their fertile soil, and large natural resources of every sort, will make them entirely self-supporting, and an aid to, rather than a draw upon, this country. Their prosperous economic condition will alter the political situation at once, and for the better. In the opinion of those officials of the government whose work pertains to the government of the Philippine Islands, it is believed that the remedy lies, first, in a further reduction of the present rate of duty assessed upon exports of the Philippine Islands to twenty-five per cent. of the present Dingley tariff.

The principal articles of export in the Philippines are hemp, copra, sugar, and tobacco. The first two are already on the free list, so interest hinges rather on sugar and tobacco. While during the past twelve months exportations of hemp to the United States aggregated in value \$10,000,000, the total value of tobacco exported to the United States was less than \$1,000, and not one pound of Philippine sugar found a market in this country until the arrival at United States ports during the month of May and June of two shipments valued at \$350,000.

By a change of sovereignty, incident to American occupation, the Philippines lost to a degree the Spanish market, and now naturally look to this country as a legitimate field for their trade expansion. A reduction of the tariff for this purpose is opposed by the interests which represent sugar and tobacco, but it would seem, even in the event the entire surplus found a market in this country, that it could hardly affect either the beet sugar or tobacco industry here.

Another primary remedy is, that authority be given by Congressional Act to the Philippine Commission to encourage the investment of capital in the construction of railroads by accompanying the grants or franchises to build railroads, in cases where it is deemed necessary, with a guarantee by the Philippine Government of an income on the amount of the investment to be fixed in advance, said amount not to exceed annually four per cent. of the fixed principal.

It is needless to dwell on the necessity of railroads to develop the Philippine Islands. There is now but one road, 120 miles in length. From preliminary surveys it is believed that 1,000 miles of road at a cost of \$40,000,000 would open up the entire Archipelago, and that the interest charge on the Philippine government, if at the maximum possible interest charge in the beginning, would be but about \$1,500,000, whereas, unquestionably, certain portions of this entire system would be on a revenue-producing basis from the beginning, and the insular government would therefore not be called upon to make up the deficit.

In conclusion, those of us who have lived in the Philippines, those of us who know the people, and those of us who know the history of the country, know that the Secretary of War told the truth when he recently said that the Philippine people never have had such liberty in the history of their country as they are now enjoying.

Those of us who know the facts in the case must agree with the Secretary of State when he stated to the Peace Congress that we have given to the Philippines, if not peace, at least a nearer approach to it than they have had within the memory of man.

The CHAIRMAN.—You will remember that at the commencement of the first of the two extremely interesting papers which we have just heard, it was explained to us that in the opinions of civil and military observers the results attained in the Philippines usually differed very widely.

We have heard from two civilians, and we hope now to hear from a military officer, who will explain to us how wholly untrustworthy is what those civilians have said.

General G. A. Goodale, who for three years commanded in the Philippines, will favor us with a paper.

A FEW REMINISCENCES OF THE MOROS OF THE SULU ARCHIPELAGO.

BY G. A. GOODALE, BRIG.-GEN. U. S. ARMY (RETIRED).

As I had supposed the Philippine question in its various phases would be pretty generally discussed at this Conference,—possibly that the course of our government in those distant islands, which, under God's providence, have come under our control, be assailed, and on the other hand, our most beneficent conduct of affairs under Governor Taft and his successor, General Wright, be defended, when any defence would seem to those most familiar with conditions in the islands unnecessary, in view of this, our good host has permitted me, as my small contribution to this Conference, to give a few recollections of my life among the Moros at Jolo in the year 1899, the year in which authority over this section was transferred by Spain to the United States.

No attempt will be made to recount the history of these interesting people. Suffice it to say they are a race of pirates, who for many years preyed upon each other and upon the commerce of the world in those parts, more especially before the introduction of steam navigation, and many a vessel becalmed in those waters has fallen a prey to their cruel rapacity.

As is well known, the magnanimity and generosity of our gov-

ernment accorded free transportation to Spain, of all the Spanish personnel of the army in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. So it was, that in May, 1899, a large Spanish ship was chartered, the "Alphonso Trece," upon which was embarked at Manila two battalions of the 23d U. S. Infantry, Capt. E. B. Pratt commanding, and on May 22d, as the Spanish flag was lowered at Jolo, our flag went to the peak, and we took formal possession, the Spanish garrison sailing for Spain the following day.

In June I was ordered to take command of the regiment and post of Jolo, and proceeded to that place with General John C. Bates, charged by General Otis to effect a treaty with the Sultan and Daltos of Sulu.

The miniature city of Jolo is a little gem of a place on the northwestern coast of Jolo, the largest of the Sulu group. It was formerly the "Botany Bay" for Spain, exceedingly unhealthy, and altogether undesirable as a station for a detachment of the Spanish army. Finally, a few years since, General Arolas was sent there to command, supposedly for his Republican sympathies. Instead of waiting to die of cholera and malaria he set to work most energetically to improve sanitary and other conditions. The streets were laid out with regularity, drained, and paved with white, broken shells, houses of a good class erected, small parks reserved, and good water brought by gravity two miles from a mountain stream, furnished an adequate supply for domestic purposes, and the fountains of the small parks, which, as well as the streets, are well shaded by trees and shrubs. No quadrupeds were allowed inside the walls. All freight to and from the stone pier was moved by Chinese coolies in the bamboo pole manner, so usual with them. The streets were swept many times a day, and leaves and trash burned outside the walls. 'Tis said that General Arolas at one time issued an order forbidding the trees to shed their leaves, so strict was he about the cleanliness of the place and immaculate condition of the streets.

For defensive purposes a stone and brick wall, about eight feet high, with frequent loop holes, was laid on the three land sides of the town. So, very soon, this former pest-hole became the most healthful spot on any of the Philippine coasts.

We found the inhabitants were chiefly Chinese and Filipinos. While there, we continued the rule of the Spaniards, that Moros were allowed in town only in day time, and each was searched at the gate, that all knives and other arms were left without the walls. An exception only was made in the case of the Sultan and his Daltos, whose dignity was preserved by allowing each with twenty retainers to enter with arms, in their official calls upon the Governor, or Commandant.

The Moros, their history, their customs, and costumes, have of

late been so frequently described and illustrated, I will not take the time to recount. Suffice it to say that General Bates had to wait patiently for a month before the Sultan with the unpronounceable name, and his Daltos, chief of whom are the brothers Calbi, and Jackanine, consented to come in and sign a treaty—and not then until General Bates had called upon the Sultan at Maribau, some thirty miles by sea on the south shore of Jolo, going on the cruiser "Charleston," Capt. Pignan, the ship, which, the following winter, was wrecked on the north coast of Luzon. The occasion of the signing of the treaty by General Bates, the Sultan, and his Daltos, was very interesting. It was in the largest room of my quarters. The Sultan and Daltos, attended by slaves, who on motion of their master, passed the betel nut box, or cuspidor—a glass finger-bowl—as either was required, and meantime squatting upon their heels on the floor. The discussion was carried on through the official interpreter, Mr. Schuck, a German, born on the island. The Sultan contended for but one thing—and that, the customs jurisdiction of Siassi, a small place on an island of same name, forty miles to the south, occupied by about twenty Chinese shopkeepers, and garrisoned until just before our occupation of Jolo, by a company of Spaniards.

The Conference lasted for hours. General Bates was firm, and finally the treaty was signed—the native principals departing on their ponies to their several abodes.

I will state here that during my period of command there was the best of feeling between the military and the native rulers. No semblance of trouble of any kind, visits were paid back and forth. This may have been caused in part, possibly, by the intensely bitter feeling existing between the "Sultan's men" and the henchmen of the Daltos, chiefly the brothers Calbi and Jackanine, the two most important and warlike of the native chiefs, whose places were three and six miles respectively from Jolo up the coast, while Maribau, the capital of the Sultan, was twelve miles from Jolo across the hills in the opposite direction. The Daltos were jealous of the Sultan in his assumption of the right to most of the revenues of the islands. Dalto Calbi one day asked me if their women would be given refuge in the fort, in case it came to hostilities with the "Sultan's men." They do not say "with the Sultan," owing, I presume, to religious scruples though it amounts to the same thing.

Not long after I left the island, ordered to another sphere of duty, a tragedy occurred only a mile from the garrison. A dozen "Sultan's men" were caught stealing fish from the weirs of the Daltos followers. They said they took them only to appease their hunger. They would pay for them or catch and return in kind. But no, out in a flash came the cruel serpent Krisses, and all were slain and cast into the sea for the fishes, the latter a

fate equal in horror to the Mohammedan, to the blowing from the cannon's mouth to the Sepoy.

Among the revenues of the Sutan is an annuity of \$5,000 from the British North Borneo Company, the Moros of Borneo being under the jurisdiction of the former. Another source of revenue, claimed and exacted by the Sultan, much to the disgust of Dalto, is the Pearl fisheries in all of the Sulu waters. It was leased at \$1,200 a year to a Chinese of Jolo, Captain Tiene, who owned and used for the purpose of his divers three small sloops, upon each of which the Sultan had an inspector to enforce honesty on the part of the Captain in turning over to the Sultan all pearls of a certain size and quality, called "Dalto pearls." The chief value to the contractor was in the shells, the inferior pearls he was allowed to retain being a by-product, so to speak. The officers of the post made, at Captain Tiene's invitation, a visit one day to his little fleet, twelve miles from Jolo, going in the government steam launch. A diver—Filipino—was employed on each vessel, using armor, and supplied with air by a pump worked by hand in the hold of the boat.

This Captain Tiene was a very interesting character, a man of wealth, very hospitable, who had lived many years at Jolo, had become a naturalized Spanish citizen, married a Filipino of the better class, and had several pretty and intelligent children. He was chief of all the Chinese of the place—and any and all disputes, as between Chinamen, were referred to him for settlement. He spoke Spanish, and the Filipino dialect of his wife, and the Chinese with equal facility, an honorable and worthy gentleman. One day he invited General Bates and army and navy officers to a dinner. Birdsnest soup was the first course, but following came only American dishes.

The Captain showed us his commodious and well-furnished house, with the little private chapel for his Filipino senora, who is a Roman Catholic.

On August 19th, the officers of the "Charleston" and the post went in the steam launch to Dalto Calbi, three miles up the coast. Dalto Calbi is much more pacific than his warlike brother Jackanine. The entertainment consisted of horse racing and bull fighting. In the evening Mr. Schuck gave a reception at the club. On the sidewalk he had spear and other dances by natives. The women, like the Filipinos, dance chiefly by posturing and movements of hands and arms.

The spear dance was both interesting and exciting, and got to such a pass in its intensity that it had to be stopped, the combatants getting too much in earnest. On an afternoon just a week after the birth of Dalto Calbi's child, the date of our previous visit, we were invited to its christening, so to speak—not that, of course, but a ceremony by the priests, and festival a week after

the birth of a Mohammedan child. We went as before, in the steam launch, and were carried ashore on the backs of natives, and were most hospitably received by Dalto Calbi, who seemed to be a superior sort of man, much less warlike than his brother Jackanine. Around the wall of a large room, seated upon the floor cross-legged, we saw eight Mohammedan priests, with their big turbans and ample robes, chanting the Koran and reading aloud from it by turn. This they did by the hour, with little cessation. At the farther side of the house could be seen a screened-off place, where the mother and young babe, attended by several women, lay. On the porch and in the yard refreshments were served on pretty glass and china dishes. The Daltos do a great deal of entertaining among each other, and to their many retainers. The Sultan, in a recent pilgrimage to Mecca, took his wives and children and slaves, a company of forty or more. They went by way of Singapore, where the Sultan could dispose of his "Dalto Pearls," and Aden. I made a voyage upon the English ship which conveyed them to Singapore. The captain said they were a "dirty lot," and was berating himself for not having charged more passage money, which he assured me he could have got as well as not, which seemed to be a case of charging "all the traffic will bear."

An event of interest and of considerable importance was the flag-raising at Siassi on September 9, 1899, when we took formal possession of the small place which until recently had been garrisoned by a company of Spanish infantry. It is a place of really little importance to us, though during the short interim between the Spanish and American occupation, it had proved a perfect bonanza to the Sultan, who had taxed the twenty Chinese shopkeepers most extortionately. The place was daily visited by great numbers of Moros boatmen who there procured their few necessary supplies. The shops lined a dilapidated old wooden pier running out from the shore. The old Spanish fort, and what little remained of barracks was on a slight eminence a short distance away. A company of the 23d U. S. Infantry, commanded by Captain Seay, was sent down on the "Churuca," while General Bates and his staff went on the U. S. S. "Yorktown." At noon the Moro flag was lowered from the staff, and the national flag was raised, Company D presenting arms, and the "Yorktown" firing a salute. General Bates presented the Moro flag to Capt. Sperry of the "Yorktown," but as the Sultan sent an urgent request, it was turned over to his representative.

Again on September 7 we went to an interesting Moro festival, this time to Dalto Jackanine's, six miles up the coast from Jolo. At the time of which I speak, there existed, as I have already intimated, a very bitter feeling between the Sultan and many of the Daltos, owing to the feeling on the part of the lat-

ter that the Sultan arrogated to himself most of the revenues wrung from the people's toil or stealings, both Sultan and Daltos being a most avaricious set.

There is a certain degree of sacredness attaching to the person and office of Sultan. This, and possibly the ignorance as to the action the garrison might take, probably prevented an outbreak during the year I was at Jolo. The Sultan's adherents and those of the Daltos were about equal in number, and each side was supposed to have about two hundred rifles.

We went, a dozen of us, with the band of the 23d Infantry, all unarmed, in the steam launch, and were carried to the shore in the usual manner, on the backs of natives.

A short distance from the houses of the Dalto was a clearing in the forest, an ellipse of seventy by two hundred yards. Surrounded by magnificent mango and other trees, grass sod under foot, on one side a covered grandstand of bamboo for distinguished visitors and the harems of Daltos, at the end of the enclosure another and larger grandstand for the women and children of the masses. Neither women nor children seemed afraid of us. At our first visit they were shy, and peeked at us from the corners of houses. The women do not veil, as do the Turks. The races began. The women stride their horses, and for stirrups place the feet in rope or strap loops, while the men use the great toe in a small loop. The saddles are wonderful affairs, something on the Moorish style, with very high peaked pommel and cantle, and secured in a rude way by rope or strap, but nothing approaching our hair or web cinch. The best rider of either sex was the wife of our German interpreter, Mr. Schuck. She sat erect, had a good figure, and managed her horse very well. The men brace well back and lean to one side. Horses trot, pace or single-foot; I saw none running. It was all pretty tame, from an English or American standpoint. Scarcely more exciting was the caribao fight. Several pairs of great, ungainly creatures, with wide-spreading horns, were led up by rings in nose, successively, head against head, and by much urging and pulling, but with no cruelty, worked up to the fighting pitch, which consisted only in pushing and butting, and vainly striving to use the unwieldy horns, and pushing antagonist by sheer strength,—an entirely different affair from the Spanish bull fight as seen in Mexico.

A Moro band played in front of the grandstand, some seventy men and boys with horns made from the Nipa palm-leaf, for half an hour, making a most discordant jargon of sound.

A feature of the afternoon's festivities was a spear dance—so called. Two little old men, one with a stubby little gray moustache, confronted each other, from behind great shields, carried on the left arm; the shields, of a tough wood, and nearly as

high as the dwarfs of men, who were very agile, and of wonderful endurance for those of their age. They jumped about from side to side, seeking advantage with their blunt-pointed spears, trying first at head and again at feet and legs of their opponent, all the while grimacing in the most comical manner imaginable. After several minutes with spears they were thrown aside, and the combat continued with long knives. When through they were made happy with some small change of silver. It was a very novel and most fantastic exhibition.

Beyond any particular feature, in interest, was the scene in its entirety, the amphitheatre, of grassy sod, with fringe of tropical verdure, at the southern extremity of our new eastern possessions, 1,200 miles from home, among this strange Malay-Mohammedan people, still cut-throats and pirates—at least 2,000 of them—men, women and children, in the peculiar and bright-colored costumes, every man and boy with borong, kris, or campelan by side, the shouts of those urging their caraboos to fight, the cries of man or woman speeding the little horses over the turf, and the blare of nearly a hundred horns, makes a strange and weird picture, seen probably nowhere else in the world.

Though entirely at their mercy, we felt no fear, the Daltos having shown themselves so friendly since our arrival, and Mr. Schuck having the utmost confidence in their good faith. 'Tis said they will never harm those who have partaken of their hospitality. Refreshments were of cocoanut milk, sweetened water, many forms of cake from rice flour and sugar, fried fish and chicken, pickles of doubtful origin, boiled banana blossoms, and other dishes our curiosity did not urge us to try.

Our band played several pieces, including the National Hymn and "Star Spangled Banner," and at dark we bade our host adieu, and returned to our station, having had a most enjoyable afternoon. One more description,—that of a visit on September 21 to the Sultan and his aged mother, the Sultana, widow of the former Sultan, at Maibun, accompanied by several officers on the gunboat "Yorktown," Captain Sperry. General Bates, on his final departure from Jolo, had left in my care a sum of money to be given Sultan and Daltos under provision of the treaty, also five hundred Mexican dollars as a present from our government for the Sultana, together with a few other trifles, with request that I deliver them to the latter, if opportunity served.

Arriving off Maibun, a mile from shore, our ship anchored, and boats took us as far as possible, when we transferred to native boats. Then part of the officers on the backs of natives and sailors, the remainder wading over the sharp oyster shells, shoes and stockings in hand, we reached land. It may be a matter of opinion which plan was the least dignified.

Climbing the rickety old dock, I will not say we were received

—we were confronted by the Sultan's representatives, Daltos, secretary, and a dozen or two retainers, among whom was the ugliest-looking mortal I ever saw, pock-marked, one-eyed, fat, just such a pirate as might have been taken from one of Ned Buntline's stories. All were cross, sullen, and uncomfortable-looking, armed, of course, with kris or borong—with half a dozen rifles scattered through the crowd. I stated that we had come to pay our respects to the Sultan, and to his mother the wise and good Sultana, saying nothing of the money an orderly held in the background.

It would be impossible to see the Sultana, as "she was visiting in the country," which was the conventional for the Occidental "She is out." I had come a long distance, and I convinced the secretary that I should see the Sultana, if I had to hunt her up in the country. There was a short conference. A messenger was sent, and after half an hour's delay we were conducted to the Sultana's house, about a mile distant.

Climbing the ladder to the upper rooms—the lower part being devoted to the fowls and swine—we found all in readiness. At one end of the largest room, seated upon her throne (a large dry goods box, with some mats upon it) was the Sultana, surrounded by a roomful of her people. I was introduced as the Governor and a small, delicate hand, with rings of pearls and diamonds gave me a cordial and civilized welcome, and I was requested to sit by her side.

Refreshments of chocolate and rice crackers were served, the Sultana apologizing for the lack of something more elaborate. I told the Sultana that it gratified me, as the Governor of Jolo, to pay my respects to one who, by her wisdom and kindness, had in past years so endeared herself to her people, that I trusted our friendly relations would ever exist, that we were not present in the Sulus from any mercenary motive, but to protect all alike, and to establish peace, and security for life and property. She replied that she was for peace, and hoped for the welfare of her people, but that she was growing old, and knew she did not have mental power as formerly, that she had always had the love and confidence of her people, but in her old age she feared they would not be so ready to follow her advice.

She was a small woman of about seventy, with sharp, intelligent eyes—alert, yet of dignified bearing. I was told she had always been a power for good among her people. Finally I told her of my pleasure in bearing from General Bates as a present from the United States, a small bag of coin, which she was to accept as a token of goodwill from our Government. At this her little eyes snapped and beamed with pleasure, and as the orderly brought forth the matting sack of silver and I lifted it and placed it at her feet she could scarcely disguise her pleasure and impatience to handle the Dobie dollars.

Making our adieux, we were escorted to the residence of the young Sultan—a house much larger and more pretentious than that of his mother, and unlike hers also, in that it was surrounded by a high stone wall for defensive purpose. In front of the house was a guard of ten Seiks—stalwart fellows—drawn up, who presented arms, and we proceeded upstairs to the presence of the Sultan, who met us at the head of the stairs, and shaking hands, he ushered us into the audience chamber, which, I judge, served also as state dining room, for we were seated at a long table, the cloth of which was much stained by chocolate.

The women of the household—unveiled, more's the pity—crowded the doorway of the adjoining room. The usual refreshments were passed. For quite a time the Sultan was very reticent, so much so, it became rather embarrassing. But later he began talking about our occupation of Siassi a short time previously, and so dwelt upon the subject that our visit was prolonged two hours. He was not at all reconciled to his dispossession of the customs revenue at Siassa, as previously noted.

I assured His Highness, that though commanding officer of Jolo, I was only that, and General Bates represented our Government in all diplomatic affairs.

It was a relief when, finally, I was able to say good-bye, and pass down past the Seik guard and return to the ship. The same pock-marked, one-eyed horror seen on the wharf and at the Sultana's, stood behind the Sultan through those two hours.

While at Jolo there was no act of the Juramentado, those fanatical Moros who "run-a-muck," but instances have since occurred in the very streets of the little city.

Now, this strange people, will, I think, prove one of the most serious and difficult problems in our management of Philippine affairs. They have always been a "law unto themselves"—the Spanish control extending but little beyond their garrisons and fortified posts, at Jolo, for instance, never going beyond the walls of the city, except in large parties, fully armed.

The Moros are exceedingly tenacious of their religious tenets, which include slavery and polygamy, twin relics of barbarism, held not so many years since by many of our people as Scriptural and right.

On going to Jolo, there were two things we were specially warned against, if peace was to be maintained: not to try to proselyte, not to interfere with their domestic relations.

Great wisdom, the utmost patience, with the firm, strong hand of the military, may, after many years, bring these Sulu Malays into as peaceful and civilized a condition as their brothers of the "straits settlement" under the wise control of the English Government.

The CHAIRMAN.—It will be borne in mind that our subject for this morning is generally "Our Island Dependencies." Now we have heard from the Philippines, and I hope that Porto Rico's feelings are not hurt by being asked to come afterwards.

Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh, Professor of Pedagogy University of Pa., President Juniata College, and First Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico, and who organized its present educational system, will speak to us on "The Beginning of American Government in Porto Rico."

PROBLEMS IN THE BEGINNING OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN PORTO RICO.

BY DR. M. G. BRUMBAUGH.

When the smoke of the Spanish-American War lifted from the islands of the sea, this country found itself possessed of new territory and of new problems. The new territory included the far-away islands of the Orient and the little Pearl of the Antilles—Porto Rico. Among the new problems was one, unique in the history of the race, the problem of impressing the forms of civilization peculiar to the Saxon race, holding to republican institutions, and speaking the English language, upon the Latin races, accustomed to monarchical institutions, and speaking the Spanish language.

The working out of this problem in Porto Rico affords an example of experiment in government without a parallel. The American army landed at Guanica July 25, 1898, and the government was in the hands of the military authorities continuously until June 1, 1900, when by authority of Congress a temporary civil government was inaugurated. This civil rule is still in force in the island, and will likely remain for years to come. Congress is not quick to change its decrees, especially when its enactments meet adequately the conditions.

By the Act of Congress, approved by President McKinley April 12, 1900, and known locally as the Foraker Bill in honor of the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Insular Affairs, the President of the United States was authorized to appoint a Governor and an Executive Council of eleven members. This Executive Council is the Senate of the Island for legislative purposes, and its six American members constitute the Governor's Cabinet. This Council was also empowered to promulgate an election law under which a House of Delegates is chosen by the electors of the island.

Civil government began June 1, 1900. President McKinley, bound by no senatorial suggestions, was free to select officers

who would typify the qualities that he prized most in our public service. He expressly declared to me that he would send no man to Porto Rico who wanted to go. So far as I know, he faithfully adhered to that resolution. It is a significant fact that he selected for each position a college-bred man. Remembering Cuba he said, "I desire to make appointments to Porto Rico that I can sleep on." He also declared it to be his purpose "to put the conscience of the American people into the Islands of the Sea." It was under the inspiration of these ideals that civil government was created in Porto Rico. To live through the birth of a new government, to be a factor in its bringing forth was a high privilege, a solemn responsibility. How well this responsibility was met must be left to the mature judgment of those who actually study the results, not to those whose preconceived ideas or political bias make them unfit to judge and make their judgment misleading and dangerous.

In entering upon the administration of civil government in Porto Rico its officials worked together in complete harmony. They were animated by the true missionary spirit—the spirit of helpfulness. To them as to you, the great concern was not the commercial advantage that might accrue to the United States, but the social, education, and industrial uplift of a long-neglected people. And in this conception of their duty they were steadfastly sustained by the wise and sympathetic support of that great President who in 1898 was the conqueror of a people who, in 1901 mourned his death and designated him "the founder of human liberty in Porto Rico." His solicitude for the welfare of the people of the island was such that when appointments to vacancies in the Executive Council were necessary, his one question was, "Do you know these candidates to be good men?"

In the organization of civil government for these people it was my duty to create and administer a system of education. This was by no means a light burden. The population of nearly one million souls was so inadequately educated under Spanish rule that eighty-eight per cent. were classed as illiterate. There were schools—in all about five hundred. Pupils were taught by many incompetent teachers. The attendance was poor. The interest was dead. Education languished. Under the military rule many schools were opened and a new impulse was given to education, and yet when civil order became operative, there were scarcely six hundred effective schools in operation, and not a single building in the island that had been erected for public school purposes. One such structure, the San Juan Model and Training School Building, erected under military direction, was destroyed by fire, soon after its completion. In 1901 we had 835 schools, about 40,000 children enrolled, and an average daily attendance of seventy-five per cent., being a larger percentage than

that of any State in the Union, Massachusetts, with seventy-six per cent., alone excepted. The old rented residences, in every way unfit for school purposes were rapidly supplanted by commodious and substantial, though plain, school buildings. The Insular legislature cheerfully appropriated about twenty-seven per cent. of its entire revenues to public education. More would have been voted were it not for the fact that imperative needs of the government demanded proper recognition. The leading citizens were quite willing to authorize an insular loan of sufficient volume to erect school houses for all the educable children of the island.

The enthusiasm for education was universal. Children crowded the schools. Waiting lists grew to rival the number enrolled. Parents made sacrifices to purchase clothing for their children, and local authorities generally supported by intelligent co-operation the work of the central authority. The explanation of all this is to be found in the thirst to know, in the desire to acquire the language of the United States, and in the ambition deeply cherished to demonstrate through education their right to a wider participation in the government of the United States. In the erection of new school buildings the Department of Education was materially aided by the donation of all necessary ground by the people of the respective municipalities. No money was paid by the Insular government for school grounds, save in the case of the land for the Normal School.

With the increasing number of schools opened annually and the gradual elimination of incompetent teachers, we were early face to face with the need for additional teachers. Two alternatives were before us. We could send to the States and secure teachers, or we could, perhaps, make them from the better young life of the island. As no people have ever become great in any essential way who did not breed their leaders from their own ranks, it was early decided to bring from the States only enough teachers to give instruction in the English language, and to create a Normal School for the purpose of training home talent. This Normal School was preceded by a summer training school for teachers, attended by upwards of eight hundred young men and women—an attendance far in excess of our expectations, and a splendid confirmation of the wide-spread interest in popular education. The government purchased seventy-two acres of land and erected at Rio Piedras, a large and creditable building. The Normal School now occupies this building, and is doing splendid service for the people.

The government made provision to send twenty-five young men to leading American educational institutions to be educated. The sum of \$10,000 is annually voted to these young men, and they are doing most creditable work, ranking high in their classes. Ten boys and ten girls are also sent to Tuskegee to re-

ceive an industrial education. Five thousand dollars is annually appropriated to this wise purpose. In addition to this, upwards of three hundred young men and women were sent by the Commission to the States to be educated, generally through the financial assistance of the educational institutions in the Atlantic States. These young people, trained in our civilization and educated for efficient service, are returning to the island. It is not too much to claim that they will in the near future largely influence the development of their people.

A series of agricultural schools was projected for rural communities. The wealth and the hope of the island is in its soil. These schools are built upon at least one acre of good farm land and are equipped with tools and seeds, as well as books and maps. Portions of each day the children till the soil under the personal guidance of the teacher, and thus they are acquiring in a practical way an insight into the vital problems of the island. Each school gives guidance also in the two languages, in mathematics, in the history of the United States, and of Porto Rico, and such related data as a good citizen should know. Fifty children attend each school, and the total attendance in 1901 in these agricultural schools was above 1,500.

The salaries paid are fair. The rural teacher receives \$30 per school month, the graded teacher \$50, the principal of a graded school, \$75. The American teachers receive \$60. The latter alone are appointed by the Commissioner of Education. The others are chosen from an approved list by the local school boards, elected by the people. Each teacher is also entitled to an allowance from the municipal budget of at least three, and at most fifteen dollars, as house rent. Schools of all grades are open nine months. The same salary is paid to women as to men. The schools are gradually becoming co-educational throughout. All books and apparatus are free to all the children, and the supply is ample to their needs. The schools are supervised by competent officials, who are under the direction and control of the Commissioners of Education, and who report to him constantly. As early as 1902 above 30,000 children were singing our American National Hymn in the English language, and fully 25,000 were reading and speaking the English language.

The work since 1902 has been faithfully conducted and advanced by my successor, Dr. Lindsay, who will report upon his work. There has been no re-action. The progress has been steady and substantial. It is perhaps fair to claim that no people under this flag are today more sincerely devoted to universal public education. They regard the public school as the agency through which they will eventually win territorial recognition, and ultimately statehood in the federal union. As their most eloquent speaker declared at an Institute for Teachers in Ponce:

"They turn to the public school for the reformation of their lives and for the guidance that will fit them to realize their fondest dream—the dream that in the not distant future they may see the star of the Island of the Sea rise and nestle in the folds of the flag of the free." They are learning what we everywhere need to teach—that the door to statehood in this federal union is the door of the free American public school.

The CHAIRMAN.—We shall now hear from another of the gentlemen who went to Porto Rico without wanting to go, Dr. S. M. Lindsay, Professor Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, the successor in the island of the gentleman who has just spoken to us. He has but recently (Oct. 1, 1904), resigned that office.

EDUCATION IN PORTO RICO.

BY DR. SAMUEL M'CUNE LINDSAY.

I am sure you will realize from the very interesting address to which you have just listened, how difficult I find it to follow so able and clear a speaker as Dr. Brumbaugh; but I have found during the last three years in Porto Rico some of the difficulty of following Dr. Brumbaugh, and I have become somewhat used to the task.

I shall try to begin where he left off,—first of all to remind you that the problem, or problems, as you please, in the island of Porto Rico, are quite peculiar to that particular locality. The island itself is different from any other island of the West Indies, and of course totally different from the sort of thing we find in the Philippine group.

We have there a very dense population, a denser agricultural population than is to be found, I understand, in any other part of the world, with the single exception of the island of Barbadoes. We have a people speaking one tongue. . We have a people divided, as Dr. Brumbaugh has told you, into two classes,—a cultured class sharing in all the traditions of our common Western civilization, and a class of persons, honest, simple-hearted folk, with good intentions, but densely ignorant.

I was glad to find that I was not the only representative of education when I landed in the island, and I think it is worth while telling you that so long as the spirit of education, in the broader sense of the word, dominates every official sent into every one of our insular possessions, I think you need have no fear of the disastrous results of our colonization. I found the educational spirit deeply fixed in the Governor of the island, and in the heads of departments; all of the work that had been begun and was being continued in the island was done in the deepest educational spirit.

The special character of the Porto Rican people has presented peculiar difficulties. I talked one day with the President of the House of Delegates; we were philosophizing about the character of the Latin Americans, and he said he was pessimistic in a way about some of their traits and the ultimate outcome of their civilization. We asked him, "What is it that the Latin American wants?" He said, "He wants—because he feels by his past history his inferiority to some other peoples—he wants you Anglo-Saxons, you Americans, to recognize his equality with you; once that, and you can do what you please with him. He wants the form rather than the substance." Those are the words of one of the best lawyers, and one of the best representatives of the cultured class of the Latin Americans with whom I have had the pleasure of talking.

You need not expect the Latin American to be contented. Biologically that is easily explained. It is a process of selection by which all his history for centuries past has been a protest against existing conditions. He will always find fault, but beneath his fault-finding there is a genuine human heart, and there is a kindly spirit, and an earnest purpose to strive for the best things. And it is that to which our educational system has appealed.

The great work which my predecessor, Dr. Brumbaugh, did in that island was to arouse the common people from their apathy regarding education. I found the demand for instruction in general had been so judiciously aroused that it was always in excess of the supply. When a delegation from a small town would come in and ask for an additional English school, I would want to find out if the desire was real or only fanciful, and so I would say: "I will take this matter under advisement, and will let you know as soon as possible if I can persuade the Governor to put the school there." And if after a week or so I found the desire real, and that the delegation came back and brought all the political and other pressure they could to bear to get the school, I would yield to their request, and throw the responsibility upon them for making that school a success.

That policy has worked well in the island in making them feel that they have a right to demand certain things, and that when they demand anything it carries with it a responsibility to carry that thing through and make it a success, to justify the demand by the result. That is what we have attempted to do in the way of schools.

The military government had to take over the assets of the old regime, and they took over a bankrupt concern in every department. It is not necessary to make any apologies for saying that we took over a bankrupt concern when we took possession of the island of Porto Rico. How much longer it might have run without going into a court of bankruptcy I do not know, but

from the facts as I saw them I do not think that that island could have run very much longer without creating a spirit of revolution such as tore up things from the very roots in the island of Cuba.

The military government took over as an asset from the old regime a bankrupt and corrupt system of public schools. They called them public schools, and we have the official statistics of some 520 of them with an enrollment of 25,000 children. How many of these 25,000 children attended the schools I do not know, but I do know that the teachers were unprepared for their work; that they were appointed under a political system of patronage, and that they did not look upon their task with any feeling of responsibility for the results. They frequently hired a deputy to do the work, and drew the salary—though they very rarely got their salaries regularly. The whole system was inefficient from top to bottom. Very often the teacher lived in the school and taught his scholars outside under the palm trees.

The first year under civil government some \$500,000 of the funds of the insular government was set aside for schools. The military government could do nothing more with this asset of the school system than to canvass the situation, try to make the position of the teacher a dignified one, and make a beginning of a school system based upon American pedagogical ideas. With the advent of civil government there was set aside about one quarter of the total revenue of the island, or \$500,000, and these 500 schools were made 800 by the end of the first year. By the end of the second year they had increased to a thousand, and they have now increased to 1,200, and the sum of money set aside for their maintenance has increased to \$700,000 annually.

So the people themselves now vote a quarter of their revenue, twenty-five per cent. of every dollar of taxation insular and local. All that money comes from the people themselves, and they would vote twice that amount if the American majority in the upper house would allow them to do it.

I had not been in the island more than a month when a bill was brought forward to increase the appropriation for educational purposes. The Governor and heads of departments showed me that the finances would not stand it, and so I sent the bill back to the house. They said to me, "What kind of a Commissioner of Education are you anyway, not to want more money for your department?" I tried to argue with them, and said, "The money is not in the treasury, and we cannot vote what isn't there." "Oh," they said, "the Governor will find it if we just vote it. He has got a secret chest somewhere up there in the palace, and he will get the money."

All of that money, or nearly all of it, has gone into the common schools, the regular, little, simple, primary school, in the country or in the town. I have not got the statistics at hand, but

I should say roughly that eight-tenths or nine-tenths of all that money goes to the support of the primary schools, and a few of grammar school grade. Besides this, there is the cost of maintaining the normal school, which is a branch of the university. Some people say, "What do you need with a university?" Well, we have got the organization of a university for the future, we are looking fifty or a hundred years ahead. We have simply got the organization of an insular university with this normal school as one of its departments.

The normal school is justified as a part of the common school system. It is necessary, as you have just heard, to train teachers there. This summer we brought 500 of those teachers to the United States, and half of the expense they contributed themselves out of their small salaries; they contributed in all some \$21,000 toward the expense of the trip. Some 300 of them went to the Harvard Summer School, and some 200 of them to the Cornell Summer School. The change effected in these teachers was something marvellous; the officers on the vessels on the return trip said they did not seem like the same company that went out, and all over that island there is spread out now a strong Americanizing spirit through those teachers.

Soon after the return of these teachers from their visit to the United States, a member of the council of a little town near San Juan came into my office one day, and said, "Are you employing a public lecturer?" I said, "No." "Well," he said, "there is a man in our town who gathers the people in the plaza every evening, and mounts a box, and tells them about the United States of America." I found he was one of our teachers who had been here this summer, and the stories he was telling about the United States of America were losing nothing in the telling.

We cannot increase the taxes, but of course as taxable property increases in value the amount devoted to educational purposes will increase a little. With what we get at present we are able to keep going economically about 1,200 common schools and this normal school, agricultural schools, and two or three industrial schools, and there are also two or three high schools that take in those who have progressed far enough.

In this way we have accommodation for 70,000 children of school age, but there are 370,000 children of school age in Porto Ricó, so that there are still 300,000 children out of school, for whom there is no place in a school in that island today. I could put 100,000 children in school down there next month if I had the equipment and the teachers.

Now how long are we going to stand for a system of colonial government that will not give the opportunity of a common, elementary, primary school education to 300,000 children that are growing up to form the next generation of citizens? What is the

use of talking about a great many of the problems that we discuss in an experiment of that kind, when we do not face the first great fact?

The question is not how much these islands are going to be worth to us commercially, but the question is, how much we are willing to pay out of our pockets for a missionary experiment that is worth while doing. Now I know that means one thing, and I haven't time to lead up to it in any graceful fashion, I have got to throw out the hint and sit down. That means one thing; it means Federal aid to education.

Now that is an unpopular sentiment in some parts of our country, perhaps in all. You try to talk to a Congressional Committee about it, and you find the ice getting pretty thick around the room no matter what the outside temperature. I don't care about the precedents against it, there must be a way found, and whether or not the American people are going to justify their experiment in colonial government in Porto Rico, depends upon their finding a way to give some Federal aid to education by bringing public opinion to bear upon the representatives of the people in Congress.

There is a demand in the island for a loan for educational purposes. Here is the opportunity. Let the Congress of the United States vote a substantial sum, a sum that we could well afford,—ten or twenty millions of dollars,—as a loan to the island of Porto Rico, to be vested in a board of trustees, and the income of that loan to be used for the support of public schools. In that way you will furnish the capital necessary for the upbuilding of industry in that island, and you furnish the income to be used for the permanent educational prosperity of the people of that island.

The CHAIRMAN.—Whatever we may think of the suggestion with which our friend has just closed his very interesting remarks, one thing seems to be clear, that in Porto Rico, as well as elsewhere, everything comes down in the last resort to a financial problem.

We will now hear from Dr. J. H. Hollander, on the financial re-organization of that island, which will be a fitting introduction to any measures of financial re-organization which may be involved in its further development. Dr. Hollander is Professor of Political Economy in Johns Hopkins University, was appointed Special Commissioner to revise taxation laws in Porto Rico, and then was first Treasurer of the Island, inaugurating the revenue system now in operation, known as the Hollander Law.

FINANCIAL RE-ORGANIZATION OF PORTO RICO.

BY DR. J. H. HOLLANDER.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I lament that the combination of a late hour, an approaching luncheon, and a succession of most interesting papers and addresses make it necessary for me to illustrate what I have to say by a lesson in applied finance. But the tax which I am obliged to impose upon your patience shall be light and administered in tabloid form.

The role of the tax reformer is not an easy one. We have a not unfamiliar dictum as to the company in which taxes ordinarily figure in the consciousness of people. I might supplement it by saying that taxes are not only certain, but about as welcome as death. And yet the place of fiscal revision in our insular possessions is not only fundamental, but vitally important. These interesting pictures of educational development which we have heard, and which might be supplemented by equally interesting accounts of internal improvement, accomplished under American rule, rest upon a financial basis. The first proposition which I shall venture to submit is, therefore, that such educational and economic activities were impossible under the Spanish regime, not merely because the spirit was lacking, but because the resources were absent. To have attempted to provide a system of education or a system of roads upon the basis of revenue provision that existed under the Spanish administration, would have probably entailed more suffering and more hardship than the ends justified.

The whole fiscal story of Porto Rico resolves itself into successive periods. There was first the period of military occupation; then came the period of civil government; then came the introduction of a new fiscal system, and finally the period of its operation.

There is a principle that may be deduced from each period. From the day that the American flag was raised over Porto Rico, and military government established, the fundamental principle of American finance prevailed, and that was, that every dollar that came into the treasury remained there, or rather, that every dollar that ought to come into the treasury did come there. That was a revolution of an importance that I cannot over-estimate. To the mind of the Latin American a dollar taxed and a dollar received were two radically different things, and the transplanting of the American system of accounting upon the statute books and into practice meant a new attitude of the public mind towards public duty and public responsibility.

With civil government it became possible to supplement honest accounting by enforcement of the revenue laws, such as ex-

isted. They no longer were treated as mere literature, but as statutes possessing the same force as coinage or postal regulations. I shall never forget the amazement, the utter inability to comprehend the extradition of a defaulting tax collector. For the first time in the history of Porto Rico, a public official who had stolen a sum of money and left for Paris, was induced to return to the island; it was an object lesson of far more weight than a series of educational or ethical teachings.

But, after all, it was very difficult to administer existing laws efficiently. The opportunity for betterment came with the convening of the first insular legislature, and the enactment of a new plan of revenue.

The new revenue law contained three parts, each designed to accomplish a certain thing. There was first a property tax, which introduced the principle for the first time into Porto Rican experience that wealth was a proper subject of taxation; before then, property had carried with it a right of exemption. The second part of the revenue law was a series of excise taxes. Excise taxes there had been, but levied upon the necessary consumption of the poor, with the heaviest burdens upon rice, codfish, and flour. At one stroke, under American rule, these articles were swept from the list of taxes, and replaced by heavy taxes on rum and tobacco. I am not sure that the amount of alcohol consumed has been reduced, but the treasury has gained, and rum is drunk in more dilute form.

The third provision of the new system was an inheritance tax, insignificant in its yield, but deliberately placed in the fiscal system because it suggested an ideal of financial re-organization; so that the people of Porto Rico should have before them not only an actual system, sound and workable, but the future of a system towards which further development might tend.

The revenue measure was in complete operation on July 1, 1901. Its general purpose was not merely the provision of revenue, not merely the implantation of sound principles of public support, but also the very practical object of making the island self-supporting to the degree of dispensing with the customs duties, and permitting free trade with the United States.

Within a very short time after the operation of the law, this third purpose was accomplished, and on the third anniversary of the landing of American troops upon the island, the proclamation establishing free trade with the United States was issued by the President of the United States.

It is rather a fine result, I think, that within a brief period was thus realized not merely the political emancipation of Porto Rico, but what some of us are disposed to regard as of no less importance, its economic emancipation. The mischievous principle that had dominated the colonial policy of Spain, that a col-

ony was something that was to be used as a sponge for the enrichment of the mother country, was once and for all abandoned, and we had implanted in Porto Rico the new principle of "Porto Rico for the Porto Ricans."

History has been defined as past politics; it might be defined as past economics. The problems which were solved, I hope, or which are being solved in Porto Rico, are recurring at this very moment elsewhere. You have heard stated that one of the two urgent needs—and I think I am not exaggerating when I say, the urgent need—of the Philippines, is a reduction of the existing tariff on trade between the Philippines and the United States. I should fortify that opinion by saying that I believe the introduction of free trade between the Philippines and the United States will work an economic regeneration of the islands far in excess of all educational activity and all internal improvement. It will only come about when the islands have been made financially self-supporting, and it is a source of gratification to know that a beginning towards that end has been made, and that the essential features of the Porto Rican excise tax has within the last two months been re-enacted with the modification suitable to the different conditions in the Philippines. Unless all signs are wrong, I prophesy that within a period of a very few years the result of the larger revenue accruing from the operation of this reasonable measure will produce a fiscal condition which will make tariff reduction inevitable, whatever might be the disposition to the contrary.

Finally, let me refer to a question that is often discussed: Are the people of Porto Rico happy under the new fiscal regime? I doubt whether any people, even those who have attained the high optimism of the American, view with cheerfulness the advent of the tax collector. But what is possible is that a people should come to the point of recognizing that the revenues contributed by individuals even though at some sacrifice, will, if wisely expended by the public authority, produce a collective benefit in excess of the aggregate of the individual benefits that would have accrued had the money not been so paid. That is the ideal of economic re-organization in the new territories.

We must not expect that when large masses of people for the first time are called upon to contribute to the support of government, however just and proper the demand is, that it will be viewed with cheerfulness, or even with equanimity. But if our scheme is intelligent, the results will vindicate the effort. And who will say that the benefits of free trade in Porto Rico, the benefits of tariff reduction in the Philippines, will not incomparably compensate for the burden of an equitably distributed system of revenue?

If I should dissent in any measure from what Professor Lind-

say has so admirably said, it would be to suggest the doubtful propriety of a larger expenditure, even for educational purposes, to which the people of Porto Rico should have made no contribution. I am a school man in sympathy and activity, but I question whether in the long run that education will attain the civic ideal which is not provided by the people by their own sacrifice. And it will be provided, I believe. Education begets the demand for education. I believe in the economic possibilities of Porto Rico and of the Philippines to the extent that the day will come when not seven hundred thousand, but seventeen hundred thousand dollars in taxation will be contributed for that purpose, and contributed as cheerfully as the lesser amount now is. But in the meanwhile we must remember that the fiscal administrator occupies the interesting position between the upper and the nether millstone; he hears with great joy of soul of the enlightened action of the native legislature in appropriating thousands for educational purposes, but he wrings his hands in anguish when it becomes necessary for him to impose new tax burdens.

It is not, I think, a sign of discouragement that now and then we hear expressions of dissatisfaction and yearning for the flesh pots of the Spanish regime. People who have been accustomed to continued existence swinging in a hammock, kicking up a yam and pulling down a banana, as the first civil governor summed up the economic status of a considerable part of the population of Porto Rico, have no sense of dissatisfaction, and when the awakening from the economic as well as the intellectual torpor comes, then the state of mind is not rejoicing in what is, but aspiration for what should and what might be.

The Conference then adjourned till 8 P. M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Evening, October 20, 1904.

The President called the Conference to order at eight o'clock, and said: Our friend, Mr. Smiley, wishes in the first instance to offer a resolution on a subject that will certainly be of great interest to all members of the Conference.

Mr. Smiley read the following telegram which he proposed that the Conference should send to Mr. Philip C. Garrett:

"The members of the Mohonk Indian Conference deeply regret your absence, and hope for your early restoration to health and your continued usefulness."

Mr. Smiley continued: I would like to say that Mr. Garrett has been identified with Indian work perhaps as long as anyone. He is President of the Indian Rights Association, and a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners. He has attended nearly all these Conferences and been on our executive committee nearly all the time, and he is one of the best, clear-headed and warm-hearted men I know of. I have known him ever since he was a boy; he was my pupil at college, and when he graduated I signed his diploma.

When Philadelphia's political situation was a little rotten years ago—I don't mean now—all the best citizens gathered together and selected one hundred men to purge the city, and they selected Mr. Garrett, when quite a young man, as the chairman of that committee of one hundred.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the telegram was sent to Mr. Garrett accordingly.

The CHAIRMAN.—The general subject under consideration continues to be "Our Island Dependencies," and the special theme is "Hawaii." Hawaii is somewhat in the situation of a member of our national family whose nose has been put out of joint by more recent acquisitions. Nevertheless, it is still small, it is still youthful—although there are others that are more youthful, and I bespeak for it your kind and indulgent consideration.

We will first hear from a gentleman who was for twenty years,

from 1841 to 1861, a resident of the islands, and also Hawaiian Consul General for New England up to the time of their happy "benevolent assimilation" by the United States,—Hon. Gorham D. Gilman.

ADDRESS OF HON. GORHAM D. GILMAN, ON HAWAII.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I regret that the limited time allotted to me prevents my giving you some account of one of the most interesting people of the island world of the great Pacific, of their early history, traditions, customs, government, of their discovery and development from barbarism, idolatry and degradation to civilization and Christianity—all within the comparatively short space of a hundred and a few years, of the greatest active and extinct volcanoes, of its beautiful valleys and scenery, and all the attractions of a Paradise of nature, but I must confine myself to a brief résumé.

THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII — THE CROSS-ROADS OF THE GREAT OCEAN — THE PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC.

The political evolution of Hawaii from savage feudalism to royal authority, to a republic, and now to a close union with a great nation affords material for a most interesting study, and the tremendous changes of the last thirteen years especially.

In January, 1891, King Kalakaua died, and his sister Queen Liliuokalani became the reigning sovereign. Under the Queen was continued the conflict begun under the King, between those with whom had not completely died out the despotic ideas of a feudal ancestry, and those who had imbibed the principles of Anglo-Saxon liberty. This conflict culminated in the attempt of the Queen in January, 1893, to overthrow the Constitution she had solemnly sworn to support, proclaim one which would have destroyed most of the safeguards to life and property, and introduce a strongly autocratic government.

She failed, and to the monarchy succeeded the "Provisional Government," its title designating its character,—its aim to promote the union of the Islands to the United States. But unexpected obstacles intervened, and in self-defense, the foreign population, with some native Hawaiians, combined to constitute the "Republic of Hawaii," Honorable Sanford B. Dole continuing to act as chief executive. Efforts were continued to secure the primary object of the Provisional Government, the admission to the United States. The tender of the Islands to this country was repeatedly made, until, by the "Newlands Resolution," passed by

both Houses of Congress, signed by Pres. McKinley, April 30, 1900, the Islands were admitted as a territory of the United States.

The early missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. to Hawaii were instructed not to interfere in the political affairs of the country to which they were sent. They were Americans, however, who had been educated in the principles of civil and religious liberty, and although they obeyed their instructions, they could not well help teaching as they had been taught, that where there is light there is liberty, and in the light of the Gospel is freedom and progress.

Today the missionary pioneers have passed to their reward, and are entitled to grateful remembrance for work well done, but their children, the active forces in the country, have now come into the place of influence and power. Others also, not "sons," but those who went from this country, Germany, and England and her colonies, inheriting the same fundamental principles, the same desires for safe, stable and constitutional government, united in one common cause in which also the intelligent and educated Hawaiians heartily joined, that the words of King Kamehameha III., the motto on the seal of state might be perpetuated, "The life of the land is established in righteousness."

In the institution by Congress of the Territory of Hawaii the little republic became merged in the greater country which had always been the protector and guardian of the once far-off isles of the Pacific. It was a most alluring anticipation to those children of Anglo-Saxon blood that by this union with the mother country they were at once to obtain the best advantages of American life, national, educational, social and religious, and thus fulfil the hopes and prayers of the early pioneers.

There has been a rude awakening from such pleasant dreams. True, the flag of a common country floats over the new possessions, and the protection of the laws of the greatest republic on the earth has been extended to the little Territory, but those laws have been so interpreted that there has been turmoil where peace was hoped for, and justice strained in behalf of the transgressor, and the evil influence of political "pull" exercised from Washington, has made itself felt, much to the detriment of good government and frustration of hope.

Most unfortunately for Hawaii, on coming into the United States, it was destined to share the experiences of other newly-established territories. Adventurers, seeking only personal gains by the readiest and shortest means, flocked from the mainland as vultures to their prey. Such carpet-baggers are ready to use any means to secure their ends. They assumed to be the only truly representative Americans, for had they not just come from this country? and almost immediately they began to form an "Ameri-

can Party" to control affairs, ignoring those who combined pride and loyalty to their American blood and ancestry, with a knowledge and sympathy with the Hawaiians, which much better qualified them to guide the newly made citizens in the paths of self-government.

In the Organic Law enacted by Congress for the Territory of Hawaii, the suffrage was made unlimited. This was a mistaken extension of the franchise, which, under the monarchy and up to annexation, had been limited by a property and educational qualification. There was a strong, but unavailing effort to keep the suffrage the same as it was, made by those who knew the Hawaiians best, such men as President Dole, Chief Justice Freear of the Islands, Senators Mitchell and Cullom, and Representative Hitt of Congress, men of ability and judgment, who had made a thorough examination of the subject at the Islands, and were qualified good judges.

At the first election in Hawaii under the new laws, it was plainly seen that the mass of the natives were led astray in the exercise of their new privileges by the greatest demagogue the Islands have been cursed with, a man without moral character, but with a better education than most of the people, a man who had been tried and convicted of treason against the government and sentenced to death, but later pardoned. This man succeeded in fooling the natives and obtaining for himself the election as delegate to Congress from the Territory. His course at Washington showed his utter worthlessness; he did not secure a single measure passed by Congress for the benefit of his constituents, and left debts behind him when he left Washington.

At the next election, a man of the ancient royal blood consented to be the Republican candidate for Congressional Delegate. He is now a candidate for re-election.

The assembling of the first legislature of the Territory of Hawaii soon revealed the utter incompetency of a majority of the members to comprehend the rudimentary principles of good government. The United States Organic Act provided that the proceedings of the legislature should be conducted in English. This was set aside the first day of the session, and is a sample of what followed. There were petitions presented by members that would have shamed the scholars of a grammar school. The time was mostly frittered away in attempts to embarrass Gov. Dole and his administration, as a majority of the legislature had been elected on the same platform as the delegate, and were in sympathy with him under the class cry of Hawaii for the Hawaiians. The better class of the community could do but little to prevent some most absurd and dangerous legislation. The session closed by limitation without the passage of the necessary appropriation bills, and an extra session had to be called for that purpose,

making the total expense to the territory greater than that of any legislature in the history of the nation.

The second session of the legislature was not much improvement on the first. Most of the time was passed in a wrangle to pass what was called "A county bill," but which might better have been called a bill to provide offices for as many Hawaiians as possible. The measure as passed was declared by the United States authorities to be null and void. There was the usual lobbying carried on by the majority, but they could point to legislatures on the mainland which could give them lessons in the art. Still, there was a saving portion which succeeded in staying much mischief and in doing some good work for the territory.

The Hawaiians are somewhat excusable, perhaps, for their lack of integrity and ignorance in legislative matters, from the fact that they are much like children suddenly placed in places of responsibility, unprepared, without proper education or experience.

There are those who think that as yet but few Hawaiians can wisely be placed at the heads of departments or intrusted with the control of affairs. While good subordinates, they are not yet qualified to take the lead in important matters requiring a full sense of responsibility. Several instances have occurred where Hawaiians forced upon the administration for responsible positions have proved defaulters and embezzlers of the public funds. The voting Hawaiians seem possessed with the idea that as Congress has made them full-fledged American citizens, they are, therefore, fully capable of filling any and all offices of the government, and that they are the ones who should fill them. Their logic is simple:—the offices belong to the citizens, we are the citizens, hence the offices belong to us. Nevertheless, there is among them a slowly-increasing sense of public responsibility. It is to be hoped that the incoming legislature will contain a larger number of men of character, for there are many such among the Hawaiians if they can be brought forward, to counteract the sordid politicians.

Gov. Dole stood nobly for the best interest of Hawaii in all things for a decade. His has been a self-sacrificing position, like that of his father and mother who gave their lives to the advancement of education and religion among the people. It was no easy task to stand firm under the pressure of friends and opponents, but Gov. Dole always maintained the dignified position that as the Governor of the Territory, and servant of the United States, he must not be swayed by personal inclination, but act only for the good of the charge committed to his care. When a vacancy occurred by death last year in the United States District Court for Hawaii, President Roosevelt appointed Mr. Dole to fill it, a proper recognition of his eminent fitness for a high judi-

cial position as well as of the great ability which he exhibited as the head of the government of Hawaii.

Owing to this appointment, there was a vacancy created in the gubernatorial office which the President filled by the appointment of Hon. George R. Carter. The new incumbent is island born, of American parentage, and a graduate of Yale University. Much younger than his predecessor, he has a goodly share of the strenuous characteristics of the President who appointed him. He has commenced a course of action which has excited much comment. He has been freely among the Hawaiians, expressing sympathy with their desires, and assuring them of his friendship and of his co-operation as far as possible and consistent with the public good. Against the advice of a large majority of his friends he called the legislature together in special session to pass financial bills vitally concerning the expenditure of the revenue. His action was completely justified. For the first time the bills were debated, and passed, with not a whisper of graft, and the session was shorter than planned. Gov. Carter is now preparing for a new legislature to be elected next month, with good prospects of continuing to hold the great influence he has acquired over the people.

Business of late has passed through a period of some depression, owing partly to the low price of sugar in the markets of the world, but chiefly to the labor question. The latter is the more serious of the two, for unless cheap labor can be obtained, the culture of sugar cane cannot profitably be carried on. What is absolutely needed is a modification of the Chinese exclusion law, made to apply only to Hawaii. The Chinese seem better qualified for field labor than any of the other nationalities which have been tried, and they prove very capable, and are easily managed.

Though the islands lie just on the line between the temperate and the tropic zones, the climate is too warm for white men to work successfully as field hands. Small farmers can cultivate on certain locations, but not in the cane fields. The Japanese who have been introduced in large numbers, and are now in the majority, have not proved tractable as laborers, nor very desirable as inhabitants. The low-grade imported Porto-Ricans and Southern Negroes have proved to be great failures, their natural viciousness, ignorance, and indolence making it almost impossible that they should become desirable elements in the population.

The future population of Hawaii is a matter for thoughtful consideration. With 60,000 Japanese, 55,000 Hawaiians, 20,000 Chinese, 15,000 Portuguese and but 13,000 of Anglo-Saxon blood it is easy to conceive that with that mild climate there will be a large and rapid increase. Under present laws, children born of foreign parents in the United States are citizens eligible to all privileges. What will the future voting population be? Should

there not be every encouragement for an immigration of small American farmers, who could take up unoccupied land, and who would maintain an American sentiment for real and traditional American institutions and principles?

The principal productions of the islands are coffee, rice, and sugar. Coffee is easily cultivated, and the quality is superior, the greatest drawback being the lack of cheap labor. Rice grows freely and yields large returns.

The production of sugar is far greater than that of all others combined, and will, in time, make Hawaii one of the greatest sugar raising countries of the world. This interest dominates all others, and on the rise or fall of the price of sugar depends largely the success or failure of investments. In the period immediately succeeding annexation, there was a great boom in sugar plantation stock, with the usual result of a collapse. With decreasing prices came a period of depression from which the islands are slowly but apparently surely recovering. There is probably no other country in the world where the production of sugar is more scientifically carried on with less cost and better profit. If only the labor question could be favorably settled by Congress, no country would afford better opportunity for investment of capital, for with prosperity in sugar assured, all other material developments would follow.

Notwithstanding all the drawbacks of the hard times and difficult problems of the last few years, Hawaii has developed wonderfully in the past decade. The increased amount of land under cultivation, the extensive purchases of machinery and of material mostly from the United States, the outlay of capital in telegraph, telephone, and other electrical appliances, in steam and electric railroads, the enlarged commercial facilities in new docks and wharves, improved harbors, larger and better stores, offices and warehouses, indicate an activity and prosperity which gives hope for the future.

It would be unjust to the people of Hawaii not to mention matters religious and educational. To those interested in guiding the Hawaiians in spiritual things, there are encouraging evidences of greater interest in the churches and church work, and of increasing regard for home and home life. The people as a whole appear to be attaining a higher standard. There will survive some of the good seed sown in former years, by the noble band of self-sacrificing missionaries, that will yet be nourished and bring forth good fruit. I have faith to anticipate a people on the islands who will come to realize the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and to build on the foundations so well laid for them by the pioneers.

The schools promise much on which to found hopes for the future. The system of education is conducted largely upon New

England models. A Government Board has the general direction of affairs. A large number of the teachers are from New England, and the English language is taught in the schools, with but very few exceptions. The rising generation will be much better equipped than the old to understand American manners and institutions, and accept our forms of good government.

The question is often asked: "Has annexation of the Hawaiian Islands been beneficial to the parties in interest?" The answer is "Yes."

The United States has secured at small cost the most important strategic point in the Pacific Ocean, and has annexed a kindly disposed people, partly, at least, imbued with American ideas. The United States paid the outstanding debt of Hawaii, amounting to \$4,000,000, and in addition paid \$1,000,000 for stamping out the terrible bubonic plague, which was almost as much of a menace to the port of San Francisco as to Hawaii—\$5,000,000. It has received from the Territory since annexation over \$6,000,000. It has taken for government use the best harbor privileges, and some public lands for which it has returned comparatively a small amount.

The people of the Islands have secured a safe and stable government, which encourages investments and confidence in business in the place of possible revolutions and attempts at autocratic government tending to drive capital out of the country. They are now an integral part of a great nation instead of being a feeble and isolated one, whose independence was increasingly threatened by the encroachments of European powers among the islands to the south, or by the demands of Japan which long looked wistfully upon Hawaii, and whose people form a large portion of the population.

Nevertheless, the Territory has not received sufficient return for the money which it has paid into the national treasury. A lighthouse system is immediately needed for the protection of the rapidly-increasing commerce, and Congress should make appropriations for various essential internal improvements, as harbor docks and public buildings.

In spite of these hindrances, in view of future growth and the rapid increase in business which will follow the completion of the Panama Canal, the islands will become in time the most important cross-roads in the Pacific, and both the United States and Hawaii itself will be immensely benefited.

Relics of the past, antiquated ideas and customs, will give place to new forms of progress, and as we believe in the advance of Christianity and civilization, we shall see in Hawaii the fruitage of the early seed-sowing of the American pioneers in the religious and commercial life in this "Paradise of the Pacific."

The CHAIRMAN.—I will now ask you to listen to an address by Professor Frank A. Hosmer of Amherst, Mass., President of Oahu College, Honolulu, from 1890 to 1900.

CIVILIZING INFLUENCES IN HAWAII.

BY PROF. FRANK A. HOSMER.

I am, of course, aware that the popular interest in the Hawaiian Islands, so strong a few years since, has been quite overshadowed by more recent events in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Panama, and Manchuria during the present Russo-Japanese war. History has been making rapidly the past few years. And yet your newest organized territory—the Territory of Hawaii—presents such a field of interest and for development as to claim more than a passing glance.

These islands have been for a long time your only colony—since 1820, when the American missionaries, Asa Thurston and Hiram Bingham, of honored memory, landed on those shores from the brig “Thaddeus,” and founded there American civilization upon the Word of God. There they planted the Church and the schoolhouse side by side, and the civilization which we enjoy today in Hawaii is the direct result of their labors.

Not long ago, an English writer, in describing the islands, pictured the happy life of the natives before the white man came. He painted a Utopian existence. For breakfast the breadfruit, the coco palm and the taro, and the abounding fish supplied food in plenty, and it was an easy task to provide the scanty clothing and shelter necessary. Life passed in roaming the forests or sporting in the surf was one round of pleasure. Why should the white man intrude? Why change this ideal simplicity for the cares and burdens of modern civilization? Even if a state of ignorance is bliss, this assemblage knows that the Englishman’s picture is untrue. The early Hawaiian lived under a two-fold tyranny, that of kings and chiefs on the one hand, and on the other a dark and gloomy superstition. He had no right to his little taro patch, his house, his wife or children, or even his life. The masses were subjected to excessive though irregular toil, and were constantly under a slavish fear of the petty chiefs, the high chiefs, and the kings. Death was the punishment of the slightest breach of etiquette. Heavy taxes were exacted to be paid in food, clothing or labor, and not at stated intervals, but at the whim of the monarch. The wants of the king and his horde of retainers must be supplied even if the masses should starve. When the king’s house was to be erected or a new war canoe was to be launched, human victims must be sacrificed. There were no courts and no justice worthy of the name was meted out. Excessive as was this op-

pression, their superstition was more cruel. The Hawaiians peopled the air, the forests, the mountains, and the sea with innumerable demons. Hideous idols represented their ideas of the gods, the smallest infringement of whose tabus would be followed by fearful punishment. All sickness and misfortune were attributed to these malicious divinities. Wars were decimating the men, impurity was destroying the women. A stupefying liquor was in use, and—what is rare even among barbarians—the maternal instinct was weakened, mothers often giving away their children, or, when wearied with their cries, burying them alive. No wonder then that the population was decreasing before the advent of the white man.

When Captain Cook discovered the islands in 1778, he estimated the population at 400,000. Later Vancouver made a closer estimate of 300,000. In 1820 it certainly did not exceed 150,000. In 1832, when the first census was taken, they numbered 136,000; the census of 1900 gives 37,635 Hawaiians.

With the appearance of the white sailor and trader came the usual bad influences always seen where a higher civilization meets a lower race. Intercourse with the outside world had also caused many to doubt the power of their gods, and at the death of Kamehameha I. in 1819, the strong hand of the king being removed, the restraints of the tabu system were thrown off, and idolatry was abolished. The strange spectacle was presented of a barbarous people in an era of scepticism. It was in the following year that the American missionaries arrived.

The queen regent, Kaahumanu, a woman of remarkable character, was an early convert, and with others of her race, warmly seconded the efforts of the missionaries. For years these devoted men, joined from time to time by reinforcements from the United States, patiently labored in the cause of Christianity and civilization. In addition to religious instruction they taught the native useful arts and better modes of agriculture; they translated the Bible and many practical text-books into the vernacular, and made it a written language. They were the trusted advisers of the kings in suppressing evil at home and resisting the encroachments of foreign powers. We see them urging upon kings and chiefs the promulgation and enforcement of laws for the prevention of drunkenness and vice, bringing upon themselves the bitter hatred of depraved and lawless whites, at whose hands their lives were often in danger. Through their influence the common people were gradually freed from the oppression of the old regime. In the reign of Kamehameha III. (1839), a constitution was granted, and the people were enabled to hold small plots of land in fee simple. Commodore Wilkes regards this constitution as "among the most obvious benefits of missionary labors."

The American public school system was introduced more than

fifty years ago by the Rev. Richard Armstrong, father of Mr. Armstrong, who is to address you this evening—and father of General Armstrong.

Today the percentage of illiteracy is less than in the state of New York. Under the management of Hon. A. T. Atkinson, our inspector general, the schools have attained a high order of efficiency; there is a fine corps of trained teachers, and there are excellent buildings with the best of equipments. The public schools are supplemented by private schools in which are found one-fourth of the 15,000 pupils of the Territory.

It will be remembered that in 1863 the American Board withdrew from the islands. For the most part native pastors succeeded the missionary fathers, and while results were sadly disappointing, at the present time the outlook for the fifty-eight native churches is encouraging.

The Hawaiian readily takes a veneer of civilization, and for this reason people are deceived in him on short acquaintance. There is a charm about the native. I love his genial ways and kindly disposition. His progress is wonderful when we consider that he is only eighty years from barbarism. There are many strong and noble characters among them, but the masses of course have not accomplished as much in their eighty years as our race has in its fifteen centuries. The Hawaiian, grown to man's estate, is still a child.

Not long since, a native in Kaii, Hawaii, cheated a neighbor out of a small sum of money. The community was indignant, and determined that the guilty party should be punished. The day of the trial came, the testimony was conclusive, the judge closed his charge, reminding the jury that "it takes nine to convict," for then a three-fourths majority was required instead of a unanimous jury. It was thought that the twelve might decide in the box, but the Hawaiian likes form, and they gravely withdrew to the jury-room. They were gone an unconscionable time. At length the judge, impatient, sent to find out what in the world was the matter, and discovered this predicament:—All twelve were for conviction, and no three could be induced to vote for the defendant.

The members of Kanmakapili Church in Honolulu wished to be rid of their pastor, the Rev. Waiamau. A delegation came to consult the Rev. Dr. C. M. Hyde, the only representative of the American Board. They made some weak criticisms of their pastor, but Dr. Hyde, knowing the native character, insisted upon learning the real reason, whereupon one of them—a deacon—made the following naive admission: "The fact is we owe our minister so much back salary that we are ashamed every time he goes into the pulpit." The idea of relieving their embarrassment by paying their pastor never entered their heads.

No wonder that these natives upon whom the full responsibilities of American citizenship have been thrust, make poor use of suffrage. Like children of unfortunate tendencies, they turn away from true friends who offer wholesome advice, and easily fall victims to the demagogue, white or half-caste, who is lavish in promises utterly impossible of fulfilment; and no matter how many times he may deceive them, they are ever ready to be deceived again.

The approaching election is not likely to mark any decided advance. The so-called "Home Rule" party, a survival of the royalist faction, is in the field with the usual list of utterly incompetent candidates. The local Republican and Democratic parties have each made nominations of fit and unfit men, and vigorous scratching of tickets by independent citizens is likely to result.

The islands are fortunate in President Roosevelt's appointment of Governor George Carter. His father was for many years Hawaiian minister at Washington, and his mother was the daughter of an American missionary. He is a graduate of Yale, and he has lived for many years in the States. He is a man of strict integrity, and of a high order of executive ability; he has a strong love for the Hawaiian and a thorough understanding of the conditions in the group.

The mistake made by Congress of giving immediate and unrestricted suffrage to the native has been harmful chiefly to the Hawaiian himself. A clean government with restricted suffrage is a better object lesson than a reign of ignorance and graft. The American fetishism that government must always rest upon the consent of the governed, whether they are competent or not, is likely to prevent any change in respect to suffrage at present.

As for the future, the watchword is Patience. The Hawaiian is slowly developing, and the younger generation will vote more wisely. The half-white and the half-caste Chinese will be a more intelligent factor. Marriages between Hawaiians and other races are so frequent that the type is passing away.

The 16,000 Portuguese, of whom 9,000 were born on the islands, are exceedingly industrious and frugal, and for these reasons are inclined toward good government, though still greatly hampered by lack of intelligence.

There are hundreds of Chinese and Japanese growing up, upon whom citizenship will come as their birthright. These races are being educated in public schools, and Americanized as fast as possible. The public school system is effective in developing intelligence, but as intelligence without character is dangerous to the public weal, the importance of the missionary efforts of our Hawaiian Board is manifest.

The white element of our population, aside from the Portu-

guese, consists of about 6,000 British and Germans, and over 7,000 Americans. It is upon them that the chief business enterprises depend, and to them belongs the greater part of the taxable property.

The term "Missionary" party is often heard in local politics, and so much criticism has appeared in the press that a brief explanation of the term may be pardoned. The sons and grandsons of the early missionaries have, for the most part, remained in Hawaii, or after an education in the States, have returned to Hawaii, regarding it as their home. They have been industrious and enterprising, and many have been quite successful. They have constituted a peculiar element—a leaven in the whole lump. They are a bit of New England, transplanted years ago, and they have grown sturdily in the tropic soil. They, and others who, entertaining like sentiments, have arrayed themselves with them, are the respectability of the islands today. It is by them that the work of the Hawaiian Board is maintained, i. e., the executive body of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, founded in 1863. This organization, through its missions among Hawaiians, Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese, has accomplished a work whose value is beyond computation. It is one of the strong forces which make for civilization and good government, and which render human life and property secure.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will now listen to an address by Mr. William N. Armstrong of Hawaii, who was Attorney General in Hawaii under King Kalakaua, and is a brother of the late General Armstrong, so well known to all members of this Conference, and to all friends of the Indians.

Mr. W. N. ARMSTRONG.—The present generation of Americans cannot realize the deep and holy agitation, the profound gratitude to God, manifested eighty-four years ago by the religious people of America for what was then believed to be one of the most signal events in the modern religious history of the world: the sudden conversion of a pagan nation to Christianity.*

From the crater above the city of Honolulu you look down upon a modern city, with its macadamized roads, trolley cars, costly hotels, fine residences, many churches, and an apparently progressive American city, buried in a forest of tropical growth. Yet of its own population of forty thousand, nearly ninety per cent. are aliens to American institutions, and the majority are

* The previous speakers on Hawaii spoke quite fully on the early history of the people. A portion of the present address covering the same ground has been omitted.

Buddhists or followers of Confucius, while throughout the group of islands the pure native race constitutes now only one-fifth of the people, although in 1872 they constituted nine-tenths, a decrease of startling significance.

On an analysis of the existing conditions, it will appear that in the involution and evolution of the Hawaiian institutions, there have been two distinct movements: First, that of the native race, and second, that of the alien races who largely occupy the country. Penetrating and shaping both movements, was the Evangelical Mission to Hawaii, which begun eighty-four years ago, not wholly succeeding in its original purpose, and yet, making a brilliant success in another direction.

In 1863 the American Board announced that the work of the Mission had been accomplished as an agency for spreading the Gospel, and it accordingly created a native ecclesiastical body, and turned over to the native churches and pastors the maintenance of Christianity. This act is now believed by the living missionary stock to have been a serious error. The staying powers of the natives had been over-estimated. The native pastors were weak, and the people, instead of supporting the churches, fell away in large numbers, and are now about equally divided between the Evangelical, the Roman Catholic, and the Mormon churches. What vitality the natives Churches now have is mainly due to the moral and financial aid of the descendants of the missionaries, and their philanthropic friends. The Mission had assumed and declared that a pagan people could be Christianized first and civilized afterwards. But neither the American Board, or the Mission itself realized the supreme power of superstition after it had been pressed into the soul by centuries of ignorance and tradition.

Recently, the late Dr. Hyde, President of the native Theological Seminary, declared in public that he despaired of the capacity of the people for intelligent thinking, or for prosecuting industrial work, which is the foundation of character building. Governor Dole, with his inherited love of the native race, appointed, after annexation, some of the leading natives to high office, but these officials nearly all became defaulters. Even the one native Judge appointed by the late President McKinley has recently been degraded by President Roosevelt for cause.

The native race failed to earn the title of Christian nation, just as we decline to call the Negroes of the South a Christian people, though every Negro is a member of a Christian Church. I speak of the people as a nation. There were and are many individual cases of comparatively pure and noble lives. So far as these are concerned, the Mission accomplished good. But the late General Armstrong's aphorism is true, that the Hawaiian saint is about on a par with a respectable New England sinner.

It is, however, in another aspect of the Mission work that you find that it unconsciously discharged a singularly unique and noble task which is now and will be its glory for all time. It planted American institutions in Hawaii, the benefits of which the dying native race will cease to receive, but which will stand hereafter as a permanent agency for uniting the Occidental and Oriental civilizations.

It was fortunate in the beginning that the native monarchy was financially poor with only a small precarious income, often paid in kind. It tempted no political money-makers, nor were there political schemers, because the rule was absolutely despotic. Among a disorganized people Church and State were united. The missionaries soon became politicians from necessity. Laws were needed to secure peace and protection, especially to the native converts. The missionaries also had the time, desire, and ability to promote good government. They, as the chiefs gradually put confidence in them, suggested effective laws; the laws, of course, which are found in American communities. The chiefs of their own volition, drew out of the Mission some of the ablest missionaries, William Stewart, Dr. Judd, Mr. Richards, Dr. Richard Armstrong and others, who in entering the Government service only enlarged their own missionary work. These men drew about them several honest, capable, educated men, mainly from New England, who were seeking their fortunes in the Pacific. With the consent of the native rulers, who submitted with childlike confidence, they established Anglo-Saxon institutions which neither rulers nor natives comprehended. Wise laws were passed, and an imperfect Constitution was adopted, which was soon followed by a complete instrument. The missionaries felt their way. They avoided paper Constitutions, and relied not on any abstract knowledge of laws, but on their inherited habit of maintaining law and order. With incredible rapidity, in view of the slow growth of communities, every protection known to the common law of the Anglo-Saxon race was thrown around the people. Serfdom was abolished and the humblest native obtained from the King a homestead in fee simple. At once there arose without sacrifice or cost a substantial structure for the protection of civil and religious liberty. Judges were appointed with a life tenure. These political missionaries, with strange good fortune, secured the recognition of the Hawaii monarchy by the great powers of the world, before it was hardly out of the swaddling clothes of paganism. The foreign traders and merchants sought no home protection, because they were protected by a government of laws, and not of men. All of this the native race was utterly incapable of doing. The higher executive offices were generally filled with honest white men on the cordial assent of the rather bewildered but confiding chiefs. The Judiciary, that

great bulwark of liberty with the Anglo-Saxon, was established with intelligent solicitude. Judges were appointed who would have done credit to American Jurisprudence. In the course of time weak rulers and irresponsible native demagogues tried to overthrow this independent Judiciary, but it stood like a rock, and the increasing white population, whenever it was threatened, rose in arms to protect it. It was the one great staying power of the rising civilization, for it curbed both native rulers and people, when in later years, in their utter ignorance of the vital need and value of the impartial administration of justice, they tried to decrease its power, or take it into their own hands. A small though intelligent number of the Teutonic races gradually settled in the Island for business purposes. The missionaries had established an Anglo-Saxon Constitution, and the white settlers stood by them with their inherited instincts for Constitutional Law.

Then came a large emigration, owing to the demands of the sugar plantations for foreign laborers and the indisposition of the native population to work. The missionaries had planted these institutions for the purpose of creating a thriving Christian Polynesian nation. Unconsciously, however, they were building for more advanced service toward Latins and natives. But the Polynesian now ceases to figure in the life of the community excepting only as a political nuisance, exercising political power which an unwise Congress of the United States had granted him; a power which the intelligent natives never asked for, and which their best friends knew would be fatally abused.

The native race will soon be extinct, but new and strong racial forces are now coming under the tuition, guidance, and protection of the liberty-securing institutions, the foundations of which were laid by the Mission when the Polynesians were in the darkness of heathenism.

Since 1872, the Americans have increased in Hawaii from 900 to only 2,200, though they have been dominant for over eighty years. The Chinese have increased from 2,000 to 25,000; the Japanese from only sixty to 61,000; the Portuguese from 400 to 16,000, mainly by the birth of their native-born children. While this Latin race will have influence in the future, and may largely increase, it is evident that the Asiatics will dominate the Islands, simply with the overwhelming numbers, not of the emigrants, but of the native-born children. Out of a present population of 151,000 only five per cent. are Caucasians, and only three per cent. are Americans. Over 80 per cent. are Asiatics. There are 7,000 Caucasians, against 80,000 Asiatics. The pure native-born children of the Asiatics in the public schools already outnumber the Caucasian children three to one, while the Portuguese children outnumber them four to one.

The Japanese immigration is recent. When these Asiatic children, native-born, and all of them American citizens, reach manhood, the voting majority in the territory will easily pass into their hands. These Asiatic children are educated in the public schools, read English literature, sing English songs, and live within an American environment. They know little of Asia, and little of the customs and traditions of their ancestors. Hawaii is their new fatherland. During their school days they daily salute our national flag. In business matters, they meet only American methods.

It is probable that the Americans will gradually abandon the Islands. Benjamin Kidd declares that it is a blunder to acclimatize the white man in the tropics. Charles H. Pearson in his work titled, "National Life and Character" says, "Europeans cannot flourish under the Tropics, and will not work with the hand where the inferior race works." I accept these conclusions only with modifications. If the farmer is the backbone of a nation, or of an isolated community, the Americans will not furnish a backbone to Hawaii. The Asiatics, as well as Portuguese, now vastly outnumber the Americans as farmers in Hawaii. When the American farmer comes in contact with the Asiatic farmer, unless he has special advantages, he will withdraw, or fail. The American in Hawaii will maintain the social and commercial supremacy until the native-born Asiatics greatly outnumber him, and, educated and trained in American methods, are strong enough to form an effective social body which will confront him, and compete with him as they do in the British colonies, and take away the Englishmen's business.

We shall have within a half a century a large Asiatic community in Hawaii, partially isolated from the world by ocean barriers, but dominating in political and probably in commercial life. What will this population represent when raised under American institutions? I reply positively an American population in its thoughts and ways. It is generally said that there is a radical difference between the Occidental and the Oriental races. The ablest writer on the character of the Japanese, the Rev. Sidney Gulick, Hawaiian born, but a resident for many years in Japan, in his remarkable book, titled the "Evolution of the Japanese," insists that the difference between the Occidentals and the Orientals is not biological, but purely social. He claims that no one has yet been able to specifically show that this difference is other than social. He declares that only social environment creates this difference, so that races able to hold their own in industrial and commercial life will assimilate their civilizations in a great measure. Assuming the truth of this belief, you in the future will see on American soil a compact body of American Asiatics, born citizens of America in a beautiful but

isolated section of our territory. They may number in time a half a million people. They will be trained, as they are now being trained, according to the very best methods of our national system of education. They will even cease to speak the Asiatic language. They will be assimilated, as the alien races which now do the labor of New England are being assimilated.

Moreover, and it is a matter of supreme importance in the world-contact which this great nation is making, that this Asiatic community at the cross-roads of the Pacific will stand directly before all Asia as a brilliant headlight of the American civilization.

The permanent forms of our institutions in Hawaii, of such inestimable value in our close contact in the future with Asiatic civilization, is the work of the quiet, small, and zealous Mission to Hawaii. Although these institutions are now maintained apparently by only five per cent. of the white inhabitants of the Territory, including missionaries and their allies, there is now behind them the supreme power of the Federal Government.

Just before the Federal power reached out with annexation and re-enforced these institutions, there were times when it seemed as if there would be a relapse into semi-barbarism. When the late King Kalakaua attempted to exercise despotic power, this missionary force arose and checked him. When ex-Queen Liliuokalani, ignorant of the nature of self-government, naturally Polynesian in her instincts, threatened to abrogate the Constitution, the sons of the missionaries arose in rebellion and abolished the Monarchy which their fathers had created. They did it in sorrow and tears, because it was the work of their fathers. But they abolished it just as their own ancestors on the mainland cast the British away from the Continent in 1775 and for the same reasons, and no others.

About twenty years ago a large and desirable immigration of Portuguese laborers to the Islands was abandoned in favor of a cheaper class of laborers from Japan. The prevailing commercial and public sentiment of Hawaii took no account of the morrow. It naturally looked only at its bank account.

The philanthropists will regard this political shortsightedness of preferring the Japanese to the Latins as indeed fortunate. It threw open the gates to a large Asiatic immigration and to the contest of two great civilizations. It unintentionally established the way for planting on American soil a large body of native-born Asiatics. The social and political condition of the Islands are singularly favorable to the contact and assimilation of the Occidental and Oriental races. It is the best locality on this Continent for a vast American school in the practice of self-government by Asiatic citizens, for there are here neither California hoodlums or trade prejudices to insult the young citizens.

The scope of this school is as grand as that of any university, and its pupils will number the entire Asiatic population. Out of this great industrial school in practical politics, supplemented with the very best public school education which the Americans can suggest, will come within several generations an army of native-born Asiatics, who will indirectly carry all that is best in American life to the very heart of the Orient.

(American institutions were so deeply planted in Hawaii by the missionary forces, that when an annexation to the United States took place the new territory came under the Federal Constitution without suffering from any unjust social or legal conditions. If the foreign-born Asiatics could reach the ear of this Conference they would ask its aid in removing the political disabilities which prevent long-resident, intelligent and wealthy Asiatics from sharing in the government while every native is permitted to vote. But as the national policy at present assumes that the Asiatic cannot be a good citizen it would be useless to ask it, but the overwhelming number of native-born Asiatics will within one generation remove these unjust discriminations.)

There will be some friction for a while in navigating this little Hawaiian ship of State, now only a small tender, to the great battleships of American civilization. The alien crews will fall into disorder at times, try to cut the rigging, and work her onto the shoals, but the American will stand at the helm and navigate firmly and wisely for several generations and until the educated Asiatic will take his place in the pilot house, and keep her to her course with his finger on the chart of the best Christian civilization.

Mr. FREDERICK R. BURTON entertained and interested the Conference with specimens of Ojibwa music, with words in Ojibwa and English. Mr. Burton has for several years made a study of Indian music, harmonizing it and reducing it to notation. He finds that the Ojibwa (Chippewa) music is more highly developed structurally than that of any other tribe on the Continent, and of a corresponding high aesthetic value. In fact he rates the music above all aboriginal music heretofore known. His special address to the members of the Conference, on Wednesday afternoon, included a discussion of Ojibwa scales, and the intimate relation of music and verse, both phases of the subject being illustrated with songs discovered and translated by him.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will now listen to an address by the Rev. Douglas Putnam Birnie of Rye, N. Y., formerly Pastor of Union Church, Honolulu.

HAWAII OF TODAY.

BY REV. DOUGLAS PUTNAM BIRNIE.

Other speakers have told you of the history of the Hawaii Islands, have traced the story of their development and analyzed the changing population. I shall speak briefly of to-day and the needs of the hour.

On Saturday last news came of a tragedy which had stirred and shocked the city of Honolulu. In the early hours of the evening Mr. S. E. Damon was foully murdered. The next morning found business at a standstill and the city stunned with amazement. Mr. Damon was the son of one of Honolulu's most eminent citizens and a graduate of Yale University. After leaving college he spent several years in Scotland studying methods of the banking business. On his return to the Islands he entered the banking house of Bishop & Company, identified himself with the new life of the territory, and with his charming wife was winning a strong hold upon the community. There was no irritating cause for this brutal crime. Mr. Damon was popular with all classes in the city.

Now, who was the murderer? This is the fact which concerns such a gathering as this. He was a Porto Rican. And how did he come to be across the sea and Continent, far from his home-land?

When annexation occurred the labor laws of the United States took effect. No more Chinese could enter the Islands. It had been proved beyond all question by a long course of experiments that white men could not work in the heat of cane fields. The planters now turned to Porto Rico and at large expense imported a number of laborers and their families. Of course the best elements do not migrate from a country where there is demand for labor, and the quality of the new workman was very poor. Many criminals were among them, and in Hawaii they soon drifted into the ranks of vice and crime. Since annexation there has been a consequent deterioration in the tone of labor. Idlers have multiplied and the records of the courts show increase of crime.

The best interests of the Islands demand that a limited number of Chinese be permitted to enter Hawaii and labor in the sugar and rice fields. There need be no danger of their coming to the mainland. Commercially this is the only solution of the question; it is not so much cheaper as better labor. But the question which interests this Conference is ethical. Here the Chinese meet the needs. They are honest above all peoples of the Pacific, they are industrious, they obey law, and are temperate. What better qualities can be bred into a new land? Here is material for good citizenship. They identify themselves with the American life. I have seen the first prize in an oratorical contest open to

boys of all races, the oration to be written and spoken upon some assigned topic of American history—taken by a Chinese young man. This last year the student championship in the baseball of Honolulu was won from the Kamehameha school by the Club of Chinese Boarding School. They can “play ball” in more ways than one.

The same paper which brought me the news of the murder of Mr. Damon gave the reports of the trial of a Japanese charged with killing a fellow-countryman. The grand jury had found an indictment for murder in the first degree. The case was submitted to a jury, and they returned a verdict “guilty of assault and battery, with an appeal to the Court for mercy.” You smile! So they do in the city of Honolulu, and law breakers laugh at such miscarriage of justice. Under the Monarchy there was the trial by jury. This was continued in the Republic, but it was under the law which required not a unanimous vote for conviction, but merely three-quarters. History has proved it to be the only form of trial by jury adapted to the Hawaiian people. You have heard in this Conference of the Organic Act and its bestowal of the right to vote. You have learned its peculiar racial distinctions. In a word the result is this, about two-thirds of the votes are in the hands of one-fifth of the population, that is the Hawaiian. In the opinion of the most intelligent students of the history of the Islands, the “failure of the late Monarchy was due, not only to the personal character of the sovereign, but to the moral unfitness of the electorate for self-government.” History revealed to us the weakness of these people for political achievement, and yet in the face of this the United States Government deliberately placed the control of the Territory in their hands. What sort of a Legislator did they elect?

By the provisions of the Organic Act it is required that all proceedings of the Legislature shall be in the English language, yet during the session this provision of the law has openly been violated. “Is it too much to ask,” writes one strong friend of the welfare of the people, “Is it too much to ask that it be required of every member of the Legislature that he be able to read, write and speak the English language understandingly?” This much is demanded even of a member of a jury.

I have frequently heard it said, “What is the matter with Hawaii? She wished to become a Territory of the U. S. A. That has been granted to her. Why can she not be Americanized as other Territories have been?” What happens on the mainland? Into a new territory from the north, south, east and west flow the streams of American life and influence, the Islands are six days’ sail far out in the Pacific. The coasting shipping laws of the United States now control all commerce. Do you realize what this means? If you were in Honolulu and desired to go to

California, you could not take passage, as was possible under the Republic, upon a German or English or Japanese steamer; you must, under penalty of a fine of two hundred dollars, wait until a vessel carrying the flag of the United States appeared. That is to say, annexation instead of increasing the means of communication with the mainland, has greatly decreased them.

You have heard in this Conference that the Philippine and Porto Rico Governments are permitted to retain custom duties. Hawaii sends about \$100.00 a month to the United States, and thus far the Territory has paid its own expense for dredging the harbor of Honolulu. To put the fact into figures the United States receives \$8.53 per capita from every citizen of Hawaii yearly and spends upon them \$1.62 per capita. The average expenditure of the United States Government for every citizen on the mainland is \$7.97. There then are three needs of the present day. Let me urge some relief in the labor laws, the enforcement of the Organic Act in regard to the use of English in the Legislature, and relief in the coasting shipping laws.

Now for the future let me state briefly two considerations: First, the Hawaiians are to-day racially children. What they may become we cannot tell. The present fact faces us. The result of the experiment in the school shows that intellectually they are capable of advance to a certain point, then development is arrested. They lack inclination and capacity for clear independent thinking. Commercially the same is true. They are splendid seamen and every effort has been made to fit them for the higher positions on the steamers of the Pacific, yet no Hawaiian has proven fit to command a vessel. In the great iron works of the city of Honolulu you find them filling subordinate positions, but as heads of departments they fail. No business of any importance is controlled by them. Ecclesiastically it is the same story. The utter collapse of the native church when the white man withdrew from the oversight and direction, is patent to all. Today there is no Roman Catholic Hawaiian priest for the many of that faith. The white man leads in all Protestant and Catholic advance. Politically, the fact was clearly revealed after many years of experiments, at the downfall of the monarchy; but the idealists in Congress desired to give its natives one more trial, and they have again been found wanting. This fact is to be considered in every intelligent plan. The Hawaiians as a race are children, and should be so treated if the best results are to be obtained.

From the figure given you by the previous speakers you can readily see that in the next generation when the children born of the various races on this new American soil claim citizenship, the Hawaiian will not be a dominating factor. He will be lost in the larger numbers. Today he has the control, in the next gen-

eration it will have passed from him. The critical question is what forces are to be brought to bear in the shaping of the character of these new citizens in their formative years? You have heard from the men who fashioned the government for Porto Rico and the Philippines of the necessity of a strong centralized government in which the people shall have a limited share. The endeavor is to make vice difficult and virtue easy. Yet what has the United States done for Hawaii? Just the reverse. From the generation now coming on there is an inefficiency in control of her legislature, violation of laws by the law-making body, speculation in high places, and rapid increase of crimes of minor grade. The second essential which is demanded for the Islands, east and west, is education. The school system must be strengthened, yet last year in Hawaii when the Governor found the Territory face to face with bankruptcy, he secured vigorous retrenchment in expenses, and the schools were cut as well as the other departments of the government.

This new generation, children of the many races, must be taught the essentials of liberty and be fitted to use wisely the power which is to come into their hands. Today the intelligent, few men and women of high character and great ability, are making splendid efforts for the salvation of Hawaii. We should stand by them, and this out-post of the Republic should be made sane, safe, and sound. Did I say out-post? Do you realize the westward march of empire? We have called Boston the Hub. yet if you should describe a circle, then let the western circumference rest upon the Philippines and the eastern fall upon the State House at Boston, the center of the circle would rest upon Hawaii, the new Hub of the Greater Republic.

The CHAIRMAN.—During the very few moments more that remain of this session, I will ask Mr. C. H. Ames of Boston to kindly speak to the Conference. He has recently been in the Philippines, Hawaii and Porto Rico.

Mr. C. H. AMES.—Mr. Chairman: It is past the hour when most meetings adjourn, and if it were not for the fact that this is the most extraordinary audience in America I should not presume to respond to your call. I assume that you believe with me that these matters are of such importance that you cannot have too much information. The amount of misconception about matters in the East and in Porto Rico is so great that even a layman like myself could not refuse to speak.

Let me mention this one consideration. I have heard everywhere during these last few years, and I think it is the feeling of Americans, that we have entered upon a new, untried, unheard-of, possibly impossible proposition, an Oriental proposition for America. It once seemed to me so, but more familiarity with, and study of, Oriental life, has convinced me that we have in the

Philippine Islands the least troublesome, the most hopeful, Oriental proposition of any civilized race.

Briefly, the considerations are these: in the first place, the Philippine archipelago is off by itself; it is territorially isolated; it is not at all in the range of the jealousies of other nations. Compare, if you please, for a moment, the condition of the Philippines with that of Corea or Tibet or Afghanistan, or many others. Our sovereignty is undoubted, and recognized everywhere. We have the opportunity to do with them the best we can, undisturbed by the jealousies of other nations.

The second point is that in point of numbers the inhabitants of those islands are small. There are less than eight million; two million of those we have scarcely any present active concern with; considerations in regard to them must come slowly, but we have about six million of nominally Christian Orientals, the only Christian Orientals in the world. That is a matter of transcendent importance, in my judgment, a matter of remarkable importance to us. Whereas in other places in the Orient the Christian meets with instinctive opposition, it is not so in the Philippines, with the great majority of the people with whom we have to deal. They are also Christians; they have the same ideals, and they worship with the same formalities to some extent that we do.

Think, for a moment, of the reception that the Christian gets when he goes to China or to India. Instantly there is opposition because he is a Christian. Not so in the Philippines, and that is to our advantage.

Are we to lie down before this proposition, and to whimper, and to consider that we are up against something impossible of accomplishment? It would be to our shame if we thought so for a moment. I wish that that feeling could be taken away from the American people.

I had four points that occurred to me in that matter, and the fourth was that the Filipinos heartily welcome the education we are bringing to them. Those of us who have been in Manila and throughout the islands, know that constantly there used to come in little delegations of unknown people from unheard-of islands, whose sole mission was to ask for teachers, somebody to go back to their little corner of the archipelago and teach them.

I wish I had time to contrast the Philippines with Porto Rico. Nothing has been more common than the question to me: "Well, what do you think of the Philippines and their people? they are much about the same as the Cubans and the Porto Ricans, aren't they?" The differences are vital, and they have been well explained here.

I appeal to the magnificent object lesson that you have had in this Conference, in these fine, strong, youthful men who have

been out there with the same ideals that you have, and come back with the same ideals only heightened. I appeal to you that the men who go to the Philippines and to Hawaii and to Porto Rico, when they come back are the same men that they were when they went out.

“Blind endeavor is not wise;
Wisdom enters through the eyes.”

The people who are wise on these matters are those who have studied them on the ground. Send out the best men, as you have done, and then trust them. I have had experience in all these dependencies, and I have yet to know any considerable number of rational, careful men who have been out to these islands and who have not come back with substantially the same message that you have heard from all these gentlemen here.

The Conference then adjourned.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, October 21, 1904.

The Chairman called the Conference to order at 10 o'clock, and said: We must now hear from one of our best friends in Congress and in the country, who is obliged to leave us for reasons which I have no doubt are good to his mind, but of which we would probably not approve.

I therefore introduce to you at this stage, Hon. James S. Sherman, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives.

HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN.—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Members of the Conference:

I was placed upon the Business Committee when I first came here, and I have attended every session of that committee until yesterday afternoon, and, assuming executive authority, have vetoed every suggestion that I should appear before you. I came here to listen and to learn, and until a very few moments ago I had been enjoying myself immensely, when suddenly our dear, good friend Mr. Smiley gathered me in from the far corner and brought me up here, and at once my feelings underwent a change. I think they would perhaps be described properly as an Irish person of whom I have heard described his, when he was sitting by the bedside of his dying wife, and she asked as her last request that he would ride with her mother in the same hack to her grave: "Well," he says, "Biddie, sure its your last dying request, and I will do it, but God knows it takes all the pleasure of the day away from me!" Now you know that describes my feelings.

Now there is only one happy member of the Sherman family, and she made her escape from yonder door when I was introduced. I congratulate the Business Committee upon announcing the program this morning, and after that was given forth to the public putting me in without giving you any notice—else you might all be with Mrs. Sherman in the corridor.

We all came here because we wanted to come. Everything about this place is inspiring and delightful. It is no wonder that Mr. Smiley is a Christian, with this environment; if he was not a Christian he would be a heathen. Anybody would be a Christian up here.

There is lots that is delightful about the Mohonk Conference, and one of the most pleasing features is the presence of a major-

ity of the gentler sex. I feel like congratulating you and felicitating ourselves upon your presence. And were I not suspicious about the rest of the family being perhaps within earshot, I might dare. But I had an experience not many days ago that rather dampens my ardor when I think of making such a suggestion. I sat at home in the city of Utica with my wife on the opposite side of the table, I dozing over some stupid evening paper and she wrestling with the problem of darning the stockings of her promising sons and her non-promising husband. I finally said to her in a waking moment, "My dear, if I were a woman I wouldn't marry the best man in the world." She stopped knitting and looked across the table at me with a smile, and said, "Why, Jim, dear, I didn't!" So you will appreciate why I don't say anything about the presence of so many ladies here tonight.

It is a bit trying to bring back my mind from the questions which I have been discussing of late. I have been trying to guide my fellow-citizens to a right selection between the sage of Esopus and the hero of San Juan, and to get down to these broader—or, some people will think, drier—questions is not perhaps the easiest task in the world.

I was pleased, as you were pleased, I am sure, to listen to Commissioner Jones yesterday. His thoughts were those of an advanced thinker on the Indian question. On other occasions here he and I have differed somewhat in reference to certain Indian questions, and I don't want now to give absolute and unqualified approval to all that the Commissioner said.

I rather hesitate to take issue with the Chairman, because I have discovered that this Chairman has the last word, and I have also discovered, as have we all, that he is not a man to be trifled with where words are the weapons to be used. And yet I feel as though I must take issue with him to a moderate extent.

The Chairman stated in his opening address, as I recall it, that we were most unjust in our treatment of the Indians; that if the Indians were white people that sort of treatment would be all right; that anything was good enough for white people, but that the Indians ought not to be treated in this way. Well, now, I can't approve of both of those sentiments. I can't take a mighty sight of stock in his assertion that we have been unjust to the Indians.

I think that Chairman said another thing, that if we had today all the money that we had expended for the Indians during all these years, they would have enough money to live on for years to come. I won't contradict that; I think that is so. If Brother Smiley had all the money he has spent on us this year, he certainly would have it to entertain us next year. I do assert that the United States Government has been most generous in its treatment of the red men. I do not claim, nobody claims, that speculation has not crept into the Indian service. My friends of

the army and of the navy will not claim that at times speculation has not crept into that service—very rare, though, the latter, Wrong has crept into every branch of the service, and wrong has crept into the Indian service, nobody denies that. And yet we, the American people, have as a whole given to the Indians a measure of generous and wise treatment, I think, higher than that that has ever been meted out to any people, up to the time perhaps that we took under our patronage, under our guidance, and under our protection the peoples of the islands of the sea.

Now we have met here year after year to shed what light we could upon the solution of the Indian problem, and I think we have gone a long way towards the proper solution of that problem. I want no greater proof of that fact than that this Conference called by Mr. Smiley, upon his invitation, has given over the greater proportion of its time since we met here yesterday morning, to the consideration of questions other than those relating to the Indians. If the problem were not solved could we have done this, my friends?

Now I maintained two years ago, and I maintain today, that the light of intelligence, that the education which we have given to the Indians, has been the great force which has brought about so much of the solution as we have seen. Somebody was telling me a little while ago of the Governor of one of our great states making a speech to the young ladies of a seminary graduating class. He discoursed upon the wonderful possibilities of American citizenship, and he illustrated the fact by saying to this class: "Now, young ladies, here am I before you. I had no advantages of birth or of early training, and yet I have come along until I have got to be Governor of this great state, greater than any state contiguous to it. Now young ladies, what is it that has done that? Education done it; that is what done it." And I can't but think that the education of the Indians is what has done so much towards the solution of this Indian problem.

I do not think that we have yet reached the point where we can do away with our schools, or lessen the number either of reservation or of non-reservation schools; although I do think we have reached the point where we need not, and ought not, to increase the number of non-reservation schools. I do think that we are progressing along the proper lines in doing away with agents. We have done away with more than half of them in the brief time I have had the honor of presiding over the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House.

I do think that we are progressing along the right lines, and that not in your time, Mr. Smiley, or mine, we will see the abolition of the Indian Bureau. But we shall see all the rest of the agencies done away with, and we shall see Indian schools largely equipped with Indian teachers and instructors.

I think one of the most important questions before us now, and it will be discussed before you tomorrow by a gentleman than whom no other in the country is better qualified to speak, is the question of exacting from the Indian Territory, when it shall be admitted, as it must, as a state, or a portion of a state, of this Union, a promise to exclude from that territory intoxicating liquors.

They will say to you, "That cannot be done," and I will say to you, "I do not believe it." I want to say to you women here that in my judgment it is within your power to set the fire blazing so that Congress dare not refuse your behest to incorporate in the enabling act a provision that intoxicating liquor shall be constitutionally excluded from the Indian Territory.

A word more and I am done. How will you do it? How did you force Congress by substantially a unanimous vote to exclude from its membership Mr. Roberts from Utah? You did it by starting your agents going all over this broad land and setting public opinion on fire. You had every single member of Congress appealed to from every highway and every crossroad in his district. Now, ladies, start your crusade on this liquor question. Get your associations, your organizations, started throughout all the states of this Union, and let Congress hear from you as it heard from you in the Roberts case. Then liquor will be excluded, as it should be, from the Indian Territory when it is admitted as a state.

Mr. SMILEY.—Perhaps you do not all know that Mr. Sherman has more influence on Indian legislation than any other man in the country.

When Senator Dawes was living he was for many years Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and all Indian bills originated in the Senate, as Senator Dawes was so thoroughly acquainted with Indian affairs and so trusted and respected by his colleagues. Since his death the House has taken it up, and Mr. Sherman has for many years been the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House, and all Indian bills now originate in the House.

The CHAIRMAN.—The general subject to be considered at this session is Indian matters, and the first of the sub-heads of that subject which is to be considered is the question of liquor in the Indian Territory. On that question we will be first addressed by Capt. A. S. McKennon of So. McAlester, Ind. Territory.

Capt. A. S. McKENNON.—I am happy to have this opportunity of addressing you upon this important subject which so vitally affects the interest and the future happiness and prosperity of the people among whom I live.

When the tribes which now inhabit the Indian Territory left their lands east of the Mississippi River the Government pledged that they should live in the territory now occupied by them for all time to come. Our people could not then see that that far distant land would ever be wanted or needed for the white man. Their lands east of the river had been included within the States and it had become necessary to remove them. The march of American civilization has now made it necessary that these lands should be given into the hands of the white man in some form or other; in other words, that they should be allotted among the Indians and that these Indians should be made citizens of the United States. And this is now being done.

Seventy years ago, in 1832, the Congress of the United States passed a law which strictly prohibited the introduction or sale of liquor in that territory. In that act the United States officers were forbidden to pay any of the annuities or other moneys belonging to the tribe to any Indian when he was intoxicated, or to any Indian when there was a probability that he could reach intoxicating liquors. And the duty was imposed upon the Chiefs to provide for the security of their people against the sale or use of intoxicating liquors before the Government of the United States would pay to them any moneys at all.

These Indian Governments proceeded then to adopt laws for the protection of their people, and I wish you could see the earnestness with which they sought to protect their people against this course; it would be gratifying to you to know that these people aided the Government in the enforcement of the law. I do not mean the common people, but I mean those in authority in each one of those tribes.

These laws have been very faithfully executed by the United States' Courts, and we now have the most stringent laws prohibiting the introduction, the sale, the barter, or the giving away of intoxicating liquors of any kind, for any purpose. It is true they are violated as all other laws are violated, but I believe that they are more faithfully executed than any other law in our territory—save that against homicide only.

Now when the Dawes Commission was sent there recently for the purpose of negotiating agreements with the Indians for the allotment of their lands in severalty, the Indians were required to give up their Government. It was a sad message which we had to bear to them, it made their hearts sad, but they yielded to the purposes of the Government as they have always done. In yielding, however, they asked at the hands of the Government that their country should be protected for all time to come from the introduction, sale, barter or giving away of intoxicating liquors. The good and wise men at the head of the tribes know what is best for their people and they sought to protect them accordingly.

The Government by these late agreements—the ink of which has scarcely dried—pledged itself in most sacred and specific terms to protect the Indians against this curse. The question is, Will the Government do it?

There is now pending before Congress a bill for an enabling act to form a state out of the territories of Oklahoma and Indian Territory. That Bill has passed the house and is pending before the Senate and it is thought will become a law during the coming session of Congress. Not a single word or sentiment embraced in that Bill refers to this pledge on the part of the Government. Is that right?

What we seek now is to have the Government redeem this pledge and insert in that Bill a clause requiring that whatever constitution may be adopted for a state in that section of country, the sale, or introduction, or manufacture of liquors in that territory shall be prohibited. Are we right,—are we justified in asking this of our Government? If our Government cannot keep this pledge to these people, what pledge would it keep? Our Government cannot afford to leave these people in their helpless condition.

I need not argue to you the question of the Indians' love of liquor; we all know that. Almost all of them will drink; a small per cent. of them will not drink liquor. They are as helpless almost as babies before that curse, they fall before it as grain before the scythe. If there is not some provision protecting us in that territory from this curse we will have a pandemonium there as long as the Indian lasts.

Is the Indian the only individual to be protected in that territory? No. We have a large class of colored people there, who are almost as helpless before this curse as the Indian himself. They deserve our protection just as the Indian does.

Now then, shall we wait to have this curse installed in our midst, to let it become entrenched, and then to charge the breast works? We do not want to do that; we want to be protected from the beginning. Liquor is being driven out from Texas; Texas is almost dry today. In Arkansas it is the same way; forty-six counties out of seventy-five voted it out at the recent election. Now these saloon men have their eyes upon the Indian Territory, and there is no section of country in this broad land of ours so inviting to the liquor traffic. They are waiting, ready to pounce down upon us, and they have secured already in every town in that territory the most choice locations for their saloons.

My friends, with a heart full of love for all mankind and especially for these helpless people, I come to you this morning with a golden opportunity for you to do what you have been talking about. Will you do it? I was glad to hear Mr. Sherman make an appeal to you in this behalf. God bless that good man!

He said one thing which is the truth,—that the women of this country must take this in hand, and if they fail it is an up-hill business for us to accomplish it. May God bless the women of this country, and stir them up to protect us from the liquor curse in the Indian Territory!

If you will give us an educational fund there, a school fund, as you have given to other sections of the country, and exclude the liquor, in a few years you will be proud of that little territory of Oklahoma. We have the richest country, the finest country I ever saw. There is a greater per cent. of fine farming lands there than in any country I ever saw. With its great abundance of coal, its oil, its asphalt, and other minerals, its resources are phenomenal. God has blessed that country, and will the Government of the United States withhold its hand in lifting from us the burden of this curse? We ask your help in this time of our dire need. Will you give it to us? I believe you will.

Pres. A. GRANT EVANS.—A year ago the various ecclesiastical gatherings in the Indian Territory received an appeal that seemed to the minds of many of us one of the most pathetic, one of the most tragical things that had ever come to our attention. There was a letter from Chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes, pleading with us as Christian bodies to unite with them in appealing to Congress that it should keep the pledges which had been definitely and specifically made to them when they agreed to the allotment of their land and the giving up of their tribal governments,—that their people, and the territory in which their people lived, should still be protected from the liquor traffic.

Unfortunately, that plea was coupled or connected in a way with a request for a particular form of statehood, and our people, anxious as they were to help the Indians in this matter—not merely for the sake of the Indians, but for the sake of the whole population in the Indian Territory—felt that they could not as ecclesiastical bodies take a position on a purely political matter. But we did decide and recommend very strongly in the meeting of the Synod of the Indian Territory—which includes the churches of Oklahoma as well—that the appeal should be sent to Congress to make adequate provisions for keeping the last definite, specific and solemn pledges which had been made to the Indians.

When we got back to our homes some of us began to work at this matter. In my home, Muskogee, the Ministers' Association met and discussed it, and the result was the formation of a church federation. That church federation sent letters to the ministers in other towns, and the result was church federations for this great purpose all over the Territory. These culminated in a meeting at South McAlester a few weeks ago of a federation of all the

church people in the Indian Territory of all denominations, for the purpose of securing for the Indian Territory prohibition statehood. Capt. McKennon was made its President and as such was asked to represent it here.

We are speaking for a people who cannot, or who will not, speak much for themselves. We are saying the word now because it seems to us that unless it is said now it will be too late.

I want to show you how definite and specific the pledges are which have been given to these people. They are not ancient promises which we made when the Indians were moved to the Indian Territory, but in the last agreements under which they are now giving up their tribal governments, under which they are now receiving their lands in severalty, these pledges were made in these definite and set terms with the Creeks for instance: "The United States agrees to maintain strict laws in the Creek country against the introduction, sale, barter, or giving away of intoxicants of any kind or quality." The words of the agreement with the Seminoles are almost identical.

We are in a peculiar position in the Indian Territory; as a people we have been trained to political impotence. We have had to sit still for years and take whatever was given us by the Department of the Interior. I am not finding fault with what was given, but that kind of training has unfitted us for political initiative, it has robbed us of the feeling of responsibility, that we must secure for ourselves the good government we want. It would be calamitous if with the first granting of political power to us there comes the removal of a restriction that has prevailed for seventy years and kept our country so free from lawlessness that we have never had a lynching there, in spite of the fact that we have had coming in lawless elements from the surrounding states, and in spite of the mixed character of our population. There is only one explanation of the absence of this ultimate expression of lawlessness—lynching,—and that is, we have never had a saloon in the country. We have a strangely mixed population—there are negroes who have been in the position of landlords with white people sometimes as their tenants. These negroes, who by the treaty of 1866 were made equal with their former Indian owners, feel themselves very important people in many instances. One-third of our population in the immediate neighborhood of Muskogee is negro, and with the saloon among them they will become a positive menace to us at once, they will be an overwhelming danger before us. Above all the opening of the saloon in that country will mean undoubtedly the extermination of the real Indian element there in a very few years.

But surely no other consideration ought to need pressing when you have the pledges made by the government to each of the five tribes. These pledges can mean nothing whatever unless

they are a promise, as the Indian people certainly understand them to be, that prohibitory laws shall be continued over them after they cease to be tribes. As long as they continue to be tribes there is absolutely no question of the continuance of these laws. They are crying to us to provide for the day coming, to defend their people against what they feel would be an unspeakable curse to them.

Now we, the Christian people of the Indian Territory who have been appealed to, ask that the Christian conscience of the whole country shall act with us in this matter, and that the demand shall be made so plainly and emphatically that it will be impossible for Congress to pass any act granting statehood in any form to that country that does not provide for adequate protection of the Indian, by the exclusion from the territory which for generations has been his home, of this liquor traffic.

The PRESIDENT.—It will be remembered that Capt. McKennon told us that he expected the ladies to organize and settle this question. Therefore it may perhaps be well for us to hear from one of these ladies what is going to be done in the matter and how she proposes to set about it.

I will ask Miss Alice M. Robertson, also of the Indian Territory, to add her words to what has been already said on this interesting subject.

Miss ALICE M. ROBERTSON.—Before I come to my special subject there is just a word that I should like to say, and I do not believe anybody else has a better right to say it. A question has come up about our taking so much time to consider the question of dependent people. I don't believe any of you can claim a record of 85 years of family work for the Indians as I can for myself, so I have a right to speak on this matter. Do you think it troubles me any that we have here in the place of honor the questions about the Filipinos, the Hawaiians and the Porto Ricans? In these things there is soon a reflex action; we in the Indian Territory are already getting the benefit of much of the insular work. Were not we proud of the young men who came here and told us just what we wanted to know, just straight out Americanism. One of those young men has our case in hand; he has been investigating us, he is preparing a paper about us, and because he did so well in the work given him in Porto Rico he was given this work among the Indians. The friends of the Indians must be the friends of the Filipinos and the Hawaiians and the Porto Ricans. We are all one.

And now to come to the Indian Territory. We need an increased appropriation for schools. How I rejoiced when that

appropriation of \$100,000 was given to help the schools of the Indian Territory! I knew what a door of hope it opened to the poor whites and colored people in the Territory.

As soon as the word went abroad that we were to establish such schools the petitions began to come in, over 200 from the Creek Nation alone, and I think about \$18,000 is to be allotted for the Creek Nation. The people began to write me personal letters, they inquired around and they would come to see me and say, "Now, Miss Alice, you can't refuse our neighborhood." The most persistent of them all was a colored man from Arkansas who used to come in so often that finally I said to him, "I don't want to see you any more, because I can't give you that school." He said, "I am just going to wear you out." He has worn me out, but he hasn't got the school, because there is no money for it.

As these schools were to be for the tribes only, we had thought we could not establish a school unless there were Indians. In one case there was a large tract of land which had been leased, some very shrewd men had gotten hold of very ignorant negroes and Indians and had managed to take their allotments in such a way that they could lease immense tracts of land. In one of these places after searching through quite a number of miles only two Indian children could be found, and there came in three petitions for schools with only the names of these two Indian children. They hoped in that way to get a school for the white children.

As soon as the schools opened the work of the teachers was appalling. Imagine a teacher with 127 children of five or six different grades in a little schoolhouse. They write to us to tell some of the children not to come. We have no authority to say that some shall come and others shall stay away, and so when they cannot get into the schoolhouse they sit outside under the trees until they are called for. Let us have more money for schools in the Indian Territory.

As for the liquor question, it is wonderfully pathetic to know that one of the Chiefs who made that treaty, which has been mentioned, a magnificent old man, a soldier in the Federal Army, one who endured hardship and trial, a pensioner of the United States—to him came Oklahoma whiskey. It sought him in his own home and he had the maddening taste of it. He got his wagon and a boy to go with him and he drove across the line to Oklahoma, bringing back a supply of whiskey, and on the way back this magnificent old man fell and was crushed by the wagon, and he lies in his grave out there a victim of this Oklahoma whiskey.

I could tell you of another, a boy who came to us, one of the brightest fellows I ever knew. After a time in our Mission School he went for a few years of finishing study at Carlisle. He came back to us a leader among his people, one of the most

magnificent speakers that I ever heard. The very day on which this last treaty was ratified by the Creeks he came there to be Official Interpreter, and when the Council bell rang and the people poured in for the final indorsement of the treaty, this Official Interpreter lay there in the door of the Council House hopelessly drunk. Oklahoma whiskey had sought him there. They came pitying by, his fellow councillors, and some Indian police came and tried to take him away, but they could not do anything with him. I came and touched him; he looked up into my face as I said, "Robert!" "Oh," he said, "is it you? You didn't teach me to do this, it is the whiskey; I ought not to have done it." He tottered away and I never saw him again. He lies in that grave to which Oklahoma whiskey has taken him.

What is the use of missionary work among these people who had no whiskey of their own? When all other measures fail, those who want to lease lands from the Indians get them drunk, and then they sign papers which they would not sign when sober. Before I came away a man I used to love and respect was placed in jail because he was there with a band of Indians from whom he wished to get leases, and he had whiskey for them all. That is the weapon that is used to dispossess these people of their lands.

We are not trying to bring in prohibition where there is liquor; we simply want to continue prohibition where it now exists.

The CHAIRMAN.—I spent a very short time in the Indian Territory, but it was long enough for me to be very much impressed with one thing, which was brought to my attention. There seems to be an almost insane craving existing in some elements of the population there for intoxicating liquors. The stories of the nauseous, disgusting things that people would drink there if they had some alcoholic basis in them would seem to be almost incredible if they were not vouched for by persons of absolute knowledge and absolute trustworthiness.

Before leaving the question which has just been discussed, I have been requested to repeat to the Conference the answer to a question just submitted to me by a member of the Business Committee. He asked me how I thought it would be possible to prevent the new state which will be formed in the near future from promptly amending its constitution after it has been admitted to the Union, so that the saloon keeper will be admitted to its territory. You know it is said that a gratuitous opinion on a legal matter is generally worth just what is paid for it, and this may probably be illustrated by the answer in the present case. But it appears to me at first sight that there ought to be no very great difficulty in dealing with the question, because the State constitution could contain a provision whereby the United States

would retain sufficient jurisdiction throughout the territory to forbid by appropriate laws the introduction, manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors.

I answer the question to the Conference as I did to the gentleman who asked me, and repeat it at his request.

I will now introduce Miss Mary C. Collins of Little Eagle, South Dakota.

MISS MARY C. COLLINS.—I was thinking last night as I heard the words "Christianization" and "Civilization" used that real Christianization is civilization, and that if we expect to reach not only our Indians but also these other dependent people with the truest civilization we must give them Christ. All through the years of my service, which has been all of my life as a woman, I have kept that one thing before me,—Christ for this people. In building up a Christian home, a Christian family, we have given them the very best civilization and the truest ideas of the highest civilization that a people can have.

As you all know me here, or many of you know that year after year I have come up here pleading for justice for my people, and burning questions that in the beginning I have brought here, one after another have passed away; things have been settled, things have come round in a certain way. I do not believe that the people at Mohonk realize the great influence that you have not only in Washington but among the politicians on the borders of the reservations. They say: "But there is Mohonk, what will they think about it?" Only a few years ago I heard this remark when some question was coming up. You have not done with the Indian question, not by a long way, and if we are invited up here every year until the question is settled, some of us will come tottering old people, ready almost to step off of the stage of action.

The question is not settled. I was so interested in listening to the wonderful changes that have come about for the Indians that I thought to myself yesterday, why, it is such an easy thing here to settle the whole Indian question! But it is very different on an Indian reservation among the people.

We hear that the ration system is now done away with, that for years we have been cutting it down and now only the aged and the helpless have rations. But we did not hear that the sick and the aged are receiving that little, tiny mite of a ration to keep them alive—and it is about all it does.

Another question,—we have labor provided for our able-bodied Indians on the reservation. As I have always said to you here, and I say now, there is no way to civilize any people except by building up homes, and I have worked all these years to build up homes among the Indians. Three years ago I could ride from

one end of my field to the other and I could stop in clean homes. I could go out into the gardens and see the vegetables they were raising, and the chickens, and the few sheep, and the few pigs. And oh, how encouraged I was! And now comes this new plan of giving labor to the people. And what is this labor? Building roads, building reservoirs, making bridges. But a man cannot build a road by his own house, or a bridge, or a reservoir, and the consequence is the people are gathered together in squads, the men going eight and ten miles and perhaps more from their homes. The people come together and they have their old tepees. The women stay there with nothing in the world to do but to gossip and lead a life of idleness. There is no floor to scrub, there is no bed quilt to piece and put on the bed, there is no white pillow case to be ruffled. The women get the breakfast, they get the dinner, they get the supper; the men work and earn two dollars and a quarter a day with a team and a dollar and a quarter without their team. But where is the home? I can drive from one end of my field to the other and not find a single person in the houses. The gardens have been neglected, there are no chickens and no pigs and no sheep. We are going back to the nomadic life rapidly.

I do not tell you this because I do not want the Indians to work, or because I am finding fault with the discontinuance of the rations. I know missionaries are called cranks and idealists and sentimentalists by our friends, and worse names by our enemies. But could we not think out some way in which these men could work and still build up homes?

In regard to our government schools, here is another thing that I want to bring to you this morning. We do not need any more government boarding schools; we do not need any more non-reservation schools, and more reservation boarding schools—not one. It is the most unnatural life for the child and it is the most unnatural life for the people. Here our young boys and girls get married, they build up a little home, the children come and they have the care of the little ones until they are five years old, and from that time until they are eighteen the parents have no responsibility for the child. The father and mother may pick up and go off wherever they please. There is nothing whatever to make these young parents feel the responsibility of their children, because the government is taking them at five years of age, clothing them and feeding them and keeping them in the schools. How do the mothers feel about this? Mothers, some of you may have had your little ones taken away from you, but not one of you knows the feeling of the Indian mother when the little child of five is taken away before, as they say, it can tie its moccasins. They are babies, even more than our white children are babies, at five years of age. And this goes on continually, year after year.

We had a new order last year, that the children should not have two months at home in the summer. One man that I know lives sixty miles away from the school, and he has four children in the school, and so in the spring, with joy, he came his long journey with his wife and little ones to take home the brothers and sisters. Oh, how glad the family were to be united! They were told by the superintendent that he could only take two of them, but in two weeks he might come for the others. He takes his two children and drives his sixty miles and then in two weeks he took them back and took the other two home. In the fall he came again and said, "Will you tell the superintendent that he has made a hard summer for me." The superintendent said, "What do you mean?" The Indian replied, "Three times have I driven from my home to this school and back, the sixty miles, and I have had no time to work in my garden, I have had no time to put up my hay."

Now I believe in day schools; I want more day schools and less boarding schools. These children by and by will have to come into the district schools, but they are not being fitted for them in the boarding schools. The boarding school is a hindrance in this respect, and not a help.

And now as to church work. With all these hindrances and with my people scattered as they are, so that I cannot have a mid-week prayer meeting unless I have it in half a dozen places, I have arranged with my native missionaries and with myself that wherever there is a group of men one of us will go there and hold a prayer meeting when the work is done. And on Saturday evening the people hitch up and go to the nearest church and stay there all Sunday. And the church is growing. When the agent called for men to dig holes for the telephone line, only one dollar and a quarter a day and the very hardest kind of work, out of twenty-nine that went to work, twenty-seven belonged to my church. I was proud of it, that they were down on their knees digging in the dirt. I want you to understand that missionary work is not done, and that we are at a place now where these people need the Mission School as they never needed it in their lives, simply because in the Mission School is a family life—they are taught there to live as a family. Our Government schools are such great, immense things that there is very little family life in them.

Above all things do not let the missionary feel that every year he is going to be cut down in his supplies because the Government is doing so much for the Indians. I never knew our Government to do any very good religious work, and we need religious work, we want to have the people Christianized. We want you to take an interest in your missionaries and in their work.

The CHAIRMAN.—We are now to hear from Mr. Neatha Seger from Colony, Oklahoma, the son of the superintendent of the Colony Indian school.

Mr. NEATHA SEGER.—I grew up among the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians in Southwestern Oklahoma. My father has given his life to Indian work, has spent all the best days of his manhood in working among the Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians, and has seen all the different Government policies tried among them, and has had a hand in helping to put these plans into operation. It would be impossible for a son of my father not to be interested in Indian work. Whenever my father and I are together for any length of time our theme of conversation is the Indian work and Indian civilization; his heart and thought are all along that line.

I was very much interested in the talk by Miss Collins, and there is absolute truth in what she said. However, as to Colony, I want to say that this matter of cutting off the rations had been a success there. It depends very largely on the agent, as to whether this thing can be practical or not with the Indians. As to the money set aside for the Indian in lieu of rations, so as to provide work for him, it depends very much on the agent as to whether this work will do the Indian good or will do him harm. Most agents get the Indians out in bunches, as Miss Collins said, and they are kept away from their homes and farms, and they have no opportunity to raise anything; but it is my father's policy to get the Indians to work a little while when they cannot work on their farms, so that they can have this money to invest in something that they need and be able to live long enough on the farm to put in a crop. His advice to the Indians always is, to earn fifteen or twenty dollars and thus have something to live on while they are farming. I feel sure that if all agents would work along that line it would help to form these homes which Miss Collins spoke of.

The Christian work and the Government policies of civilization should work together; the government officials and the missionaries ought to work hand in hand to both Christianize and civilize the Indians. I believe in the present policy of the Indian Office, and whether it will be a success or not depends on the agents and the missionaries in the field.

I wish to say also that the most progressive Indians and those who are respected and lead their people are mostly Christian Indians. At our place we are happily situated with a broad-minded missionary, the Rev. W. C. Roe. You all know him. He is doing a great deal of good. He is there at Mohonk Lodge and furnishes bead work, and it helps the Indians to give them a

chance to earn money to live on while they work on their farms. He also advises them to get on to their farms and live there.

There is very little good in civilizing Indians without Christianity among people who are ready simply to pull them down. The civilized Indian without Christianity is worse than the uncivilized Indian; but the Indian who has Christianity with his civilization is very much ahead of the uncivilized Indian. We have reason to be encouraged, and I do not sympathize with the man who believes that the Indian has made no progress in the last twenty-five or thirty years. I have seen the Indians from childhood up to manhood; I have grown up with Indians, and I know how they were years ago and how they are now. And I do know that the Indians are progressing right along, and that especially the Christianized Indian is becoming a truly civilized Indian.

The CHAIRMAN.—We pass now to a subject that is at all events very appropriate to the weather, viz., that of irrigation among the Pimas. I believe we are first to hear a report from a Committee appointed at the Conference last year, which will be presented by the Hon. Darwin R. James.

Hon. DARWIN R. JAMES.—I have not the honor to be the Chairman of that Committee, but in the absence of the Chairman I will make a very simple report. It might perhaps be called "reporting progress," but there has not been very much progress made in this matter.

We were appointed a Committee on seeing what could be done to assist in providing irrigation for the Pimas and Papagoe Indians in southern Arizona. After the committee was appointed someone said, "Who are the Pima Indians?" They are a very bright class of Indians in southern Arizona, and for many, many years they have had irrigation through which they have cultivated their farms. But within recent years the missionaries have gone among them and the work has been very successful. Whites have now come in and gone to the upper part of the Gila River and they have cut off the Indians' water supply, consequently during the last few years these Indians have been on the verge of starvation.

Great interest was created in the Congress of last year when this matter was presented, and a committee was appointed, as has been said, of which the Chairman was the Hon. John D. Long. Work has been done, but nothing material has come out of it.

The Business Committee drew up a resolution at their meeting yesterday, which I will present. It is the sense of the Business Committee and it is also in harmony with the action of the Board

of Indian Commissioners, which has had this matter under consideration at its meetings during the year:

"That in the opinion of this Conference artesian wells should at once be sunk at the Sacaton Agency, in accordance with reports understood to have been made by Inspector Code; and that the authorities be respectfully and earnestly requested to send Inspector Code to that Agency at once, and with money now at the disposal of the Indian Bureau for this purpose, to begin this fall the sinking of at least four or five artesian wells for the irrigation of the land of the Pimas and Papagoes."

I will say further that one well was sunk as was reported at the Conference a year ago. There was a good deal of a question raised as to the quality of the water which was produced from that well. Some seemed to feel that it was doing more harm than good, being alkaline. But such is not the case; large crops have been produced by the water from this well. And although the sinking of these wells is thought to be a temporary expedient for these Indians, yet it seems to be the only practical thing that can be done, and much delay has occurred, very unfortunately.

We shall hear from others who have made a special study of it, and one gentleman in particular who was on the committee, who has done very much work in the matter during the year.

It was moved and seconded that the resolution presented by Mr. James be referred to the Business Committee for such action as their wisdom may think proper as to incorporating it in the Platform. This vote was unanimously passed.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am requested to call upon Rev. Dr. Spining for his views in respect to this resolution.

Mr. SMILEY.—Dr. Spining was selected by the President to go out there and look into the matter, so he comes with authority.

Rev. GEORGE L. SPINING, D.D.—It is a great pleasure to me to be here this morning. I had not expected to be at this Conference, but fully expected to be today on the Pima Reservation in Arizona.

For the benefit of those who have not this matter clearly in their minds I will give a brief history of these people. They came to us in 1853 by the Gadson purchase from Mexico. They are not a nomadic people, not wanderers; they are an agricultural people, and have always been until recent years—so far as we know—self-supporting. Thirty odd years ago the Rev. Dr. Cook went to them as a missionary. He has represented our Board of Home Missions of which I am a member and our Presbyterian church for all these years. As a result of his labors and other

educational agencies, 1,300 of these people—numbering about 5,000 at the present time, and having affiliated with them some 2,000 more Papagoes—1,300 of them are members of Christian churches, and they have given such decided Christian character to the whole tribe that they are known as the Christian Indians.

During our terrible wars with Geronimo these people stood as a wall between our settlers and also our armies and Geronimo and his forces. They rendered invaluable services to our Government, saving us millions of dollars. They have been our true and loyal friends, self-supporting, never drawing rations from the government. Some ten years ago had you been there you would have seen trainloads of wheat at the station at Sacaton, raised by these Indians. They were living in comparatively comfortable circumstances. Mormon colonies were allowed to go in and divert the water from the Gila River from which they have obtained their supplies of water for centuries, for their ancestors have lived there for untold centuries. By the diversion of this water they were left out on the desert where, as a cow-boy aptly expressed it, a jack-rabbit would have to carry a knapsack in order to get along. Gradually they began to eat their cattle, part with their ponies, part with their sewing-machines, part with their wagons, anything that they might sell, and they have been slowly drifting toward a condition of vagabondage.

The government has recognized the equities in the case and their prior right to the water and efforts have been made to restore it to them. And had they been white men they would have had the water and their rights long ere this, but they are red men, and we are the dominant race, and this great, strong government has stood by and has seen this peaceful people, innocent, inoffensive, struggling and fighting their way up toward our platform and standard of civilization—the government has seen them deprived of their rights and suffering from year to year. In the meantime protests have gone up from this Conference, from good people everywhere who have known something of their situation and the Interior Department has endeavored to do whatever legislation has enabled it to do.

The Presbyterian church has a great many missions among these Indians. For twenty years I have had to do with legislation at Washington, and have learned some things there. We felt that this matter was hanging fire and that we ought to make a direct appeal to the President of the United States and enlist his personal interest in order to promote further favorable legislation to get water to these Indians and to get it to them speedily.

So on July 31 a committee of five of that Board including its President, Dr. Dodge, and its Secretary and myself, met the President by appointment and a statement was made of the history of these people. The President was deeply interested,

and at the close of an address which I was permitted to make he said, "I would like to have a special committee appointed to go to that reservation to ascertain the present physical condition of those Indians, go throughout the reservation, examine thoroughly and report to me." He asked me when I would be ready to go. "I am ready to take the next train, Mr. President, this matter has been delayed long enough." He asked the Assistant Secretary of the Interior when he would have their representatives ready. He said, "As soon as possible, in the near future."

A conclusion has been reached and an arrangement has been made by which I am to meet the representative of the Government on that reservation next Friday. Our purpose is to go from one end of that reservation to the other,—the reservation is 100 miles long and nearly thirty miles wide,—from one hamlet to another, take our time and examine into the physical condition of the Indians, and make as thorough a report as possible, knowing that the simple facts in the case will serve as a basis upon which we may stand and plead for generous and prompt legislation in their behalf in pushing the scheme of digging wells, putting down pumps to irrigate as much land as possible in the very near future.

Our aim is plain, it is definite, and we hope the Lord's blessing will rest upon us as we do this work. We know that we have the sympathy and active interest and co-operation of every true-hearted member of the Mohonk Conference.

Rev. Dr. ADDISON P. FOSTER.—May I offer a word of explanation? Commissioner Jones was to speak on this subject, but he has received a telegram from President Roosevelt telling him he must start at once to the Pima country to adjust this matter—and he has left.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will now hear from Mr. Charles W. Goodman, who has been for several years supervisor of the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona.

Mr. CHARLES W. GOODMAN.—I did not expect the honor of a place on this program; I never make speeches, but of course I am very deeply interested in this subject, as I have lived there for a few years past.

In regard to the Pima reservation, as was stated by the last speaker it is a very large reservation along the Gila River. The lower part, the western part, near the junction of the Salt and Gila rivers is fairly well supplied with water for the reason that the white people were unable to steal that water. A ledge of rock throws the water to the surface. The place in question is at the

east end of the reservation, and it is there that there is talk of putting down wells.

It is absolutely impossible to my mind for them ever to reap any benefit from the waters in the Tonto Basin, so that the only way of getting water there now is by putting down wells. There have been five wells put down near Sacaton. They are all connected and there is one pumping plant. The water rises to within sixteen to twenty-four feet of the surface, so that it is not a very expensive job pumping.

With regard to the quality of the water, it was mentioned that the water contains from 200 to 400 parts of soluble salts injurious to the land in many cases. But in Egypt water is used containing from 800 to 1,000 parts of soluble salts, and is used successfully.

Many wells are being put down in that country by white people for irrigation. We are putting them down at our school farm, and it is considered a profitable means of supplementing the water from the river. However, I am informed that the water in these wells at Sacaton is not as strong in soluble salts as that of which I have spoken, hence the proposition to put down wells on that reservation seems extremely favorable, and I hope very much that more will be done in that line in the near future.

I would like to say a word about the Salt River reservation, a small reservation of the Pima Indians on the Salt River. They are directly under the proposed Tonto Basin reservoir and should reap the benefit from that. But I very much fear they will reap no benefit unless some action is taken soon by those interested in these Indians. The Tonto Reservoir is supposed to irrigate some 200,000 acres of land and a Water-using Association has been formed and at least 200,000 acres has been taken up. The reservoir is supposed to cost about three million dollars, and dividing the expense among these 200,000 acres would make fifteen dollars an acre. If the Salt River reservation is to get the benefit of this water fifteen dollars an acre would have to be paid by the Indians, at the rate of one dollar and fifty cents an acre for ten years. I think this matter should be taken up by this Conference to see if these Indians are to get the benefit from the Tonto Reservoir.

Dr. SPINING.—Have you in the experimental farm there brought any wheat land under irrigation; have you raised any wheat crops? The wheat crop was the great crop of the people on which they depended.

Mr. GOODMAN.—Wheat is a very common crop in that country with alfalfa and the grains, and they are raised very successfully not only by irrigation from the river, but also from the wells.

Rev. Dr. J. A. Lippincott, of Philadelphia, read a paper on non-reservation schools.

Dr. LIPPINCOTT.—A rather surprising statement in an address delivered at the first session of this Conference must furnish the excuse for the preparation and presentation of this paper, if excuse be necessary. The sentiment in question was spoken with a certain authority which seems to me to justify a brief consideration of the opposite view, while the fullest liberty is accorded in the generous invitation to free discussion by Mr. Smiley himself. In suggesting another view point we do not forget that our genial host imposes one condition,—that the discussion be conducted without asperity and in a spirit of conciliation and inquiry. I comply gladly with this condition.

We may assume that there are humanitarians who are not avowedly and technically Christians who are earnestly striving to find the best way by which to lead these Indian peoples out of barbarism into civilization. It is not generous to question their sincerity or their singleness of purpose. There are Christian men and women moved, we doubt not, by deep religious sentiment, who are making heroic efforts to effect their evangelization. The Christian sentiment of these must be held in profound respect. The government of the United States, that is, the American people, acting in their organized capacity through their authorized agents, the President and his associates and advisers, is also making no little effort to lift these same people towards and into fitness for American citizenship. If I am correct in these statements, as I think I am, there are here three distinct groups of sincere and honest men and women laboring for essentially the same thing, the betterment of the present and prospective condition of an inferior race whose fate seems to lie in our hands. It seems to me that a wise husbanding of forces would require that each group of workers seek its end in generous rivalry with the rest and with acrimonious contention towards none. Let the reservation school accomplish what it can. Give the missionary of the Gospel place in the field; surely there is room. Establish the public school wherever any community is ripe for its extension. The non-reservation school has more than justified the hope of its founders; retain it and give it reasonable extension. If every arm of this three-fold service exert its utmost power, the problem will not be solved too speedily.

But now, Mr. President, having tried to show the friendly feeling which I do certainly profess towards all honest and sincere laborers in this whitening harvest field, I ask a similar friendly sympathy towards the non-reservation school. I think

a generous and friendly word should be spoken here and at this session of the Conference, and I want to speak it in a sincere and friendly spirit.

As I understand it, the Government, as such, can have but one object in the establishment and maintenance of schools for the education of its children. That object is the preparation of its youth for the highest and most efficient citizenship. The government has a right to do this and in a Republic, such a right rises to the dignity of duty and becomes one of the supreme functions of the national life.

We who are Christians believe most firmly that a religious element is needful in any scheme of education, and our ethical friends, while, perhaps, they minify the religious, do at the same time most strenuously magnify the moral element. Very well; the Government, in our country, makes provision for this moral and religious influence in the protection and partial support which it extends to churches and church schools.

The fact which I insist upon is this, that in the United States, the Government makes public provision (or pretends to do so) for all its children. In the generous sweep of its ample provision are included the children of aliens and strangers from every country in the wide world who come to us whether seeking citizenship or not. The children at least of these are prospective citizens. In the schools of the Republic they are expected to become fitted for the high duties of citizenship. Such privileges and advantages are extended with elaborately constructed systems to our island possessions. They are and of right ought to be placed within reach of every child of the Indian wards of the Nation.

What form of school may we with confidence determine to be for these Indian children the best? Perhaps we cannot agree as to that. I certainly do not assume to know. One thing I think I do know and I believe that all who hear my voice will agree with me. The non-reservation school has scored many noble and worthy results.

Let us consider it a moment. First, the children are invited away for a term of years from the atmosphere of the camp, the agency of the Indian Settlement. That in itself is an unspeakable advantage. It is true he loses his language, but so does the Italian; and it is an advantage to both, for they are coming into American citizenship. They get away from traditions, modes of thought and customs that are alien to the life of the Republic. The Indian child is separated from his parents; yes, but our courts of justice sometimes take little children from the custody of unworthy and unwilling white parents—forcibly if need be—for the children's good. You will find them by the thousand in the various charitable institutions of the States or of the church

under a course of education fitting them for places among useful citizens of the Republic. Besides, we send our older children to Europe to complete their education. The stories about tearing tender children from their mother's arms is not worthy of elaborate refutation. I myself was once sent to Indian reservations to gather up a company of children for an eastern school and my instructions required the parents' consent. Others who have made many such journeys tell me that they have always acted under similar instructions.

Another point is well worth consideration. Several speakers in the first session of this Conference represented, truthfully as I know, that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of an Indian who wants to come out into the life of the Nation and take his place by the side of the white man is a natural distrust, if not fear, of his neighbor and a lack of confidence in himself in the competitions of business and in social relations. When the language of the tribe is lost and the English tongue is mastered; when the superstitions of the barbarous life are supplanted by the better moods of a Christian civilization; and, better still, when the boy shall have measured himself for a term of years with his white brother (and not always to his own disadvantage) whether in the schoolroom, the football contest, or on the farm and in the shop, there comes to him a new hope born of confidence and courage which is an augury of success impossible in the home school.

All these elements that make for good will be mightily intensified if the boy or girl be fortunate enough to be sent out for any considerable time to live in a carefully selected American family to assist in the work of the farm, the house, or the shop and to attend the district school, the sole Indian among American children. For the purpose which the Government intends, a preparation for citizenship, such a boy enjoys advantages that no school on the reservation can possibly furnish. I say nothing to discredit other methods; I plead for the retention and the extension of non-reservation schools of the better class. They are needful to complete the system.

But some one asks about the danger that attends the children thus educated when they return to the bold desolation of the tribe and the reservation. Why do you ask me such a question as that? I live in a city on the Atlantic sea board. I have two sons. One of them has lived a dozen years in California; the other has just completed his professional studies and is now busy with preparation to go to the great West to make himself a home in Seattle.

Mr. FRANK WOOD.—I do not wish to interrupt the program, but I think that Dr. Lippincott has labored under a misapprehen-

sion. I do not remember one word in this Conference against the non-reservation school. Our Commissioner did say something against the boarding schools on the reservation and their methods of getting children, and I agree with all he said, as I know something about the methods employed by them. But I know that he believes in the non-reservation schools. He does not believe, and I do not think anyone who is informed on the subject believes, in sending men who have been educated in these non-reservation schools back to the reservation where there is neither work or future for them.

Dr. LIPPINCOTT.—I am glad to get these last words. I hope it was a misunderstanding on my part, but I have tried very hard to get that paper and haven't been able to find it.

Mr. SMILEY.—Would it not be well for this Conference to endorse Capt. McKennon and Mr. Evans strongly in their efforts to keep liquor out of the Indian Territory?

Dr. LIPPINCOTT.—We can take action in the broadest form. I move that the sentiment of this Conference is altogether with those who wish such Congressional action as will keep liquor out of the Indian Territory, and I move that we vote on that by rising.

The motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

Mr. JAMES WOOD.—For the purpose for which this resolution was acted upon at this time I think another resolution might be properly considered as follows:

“Resolved that the Conference strongly endorses the mission of Messrs. McKennon and Evans in this interest, and commends them to the favorable consideration of the proper authorities.”

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. S. M. Brosius spoke on “The Taxation of Pueblo Indians,” and also on the “Northern California Indians.”

THE RECENT COURT DECISION SUBJECTING THE PUEBLO LANDS OF NEW MEXICO TO TAXATION.

BY S. M. BROSIUS.

I wish to state briefly the need of legislation providing for the relief of the Pueblo Indians. In the Territory of New Mexico there are located nineteen distinct tribes or bands of Pueblos, upon as many reservations, or land grants, aggregating over 900,000 acres.

The title to these lands was recognized by the Mexican Government to be vested in the various bands of Pueblos, and the treaty between Mexico and the United States provided for the recognition by the United States of these private land claims. The Federal Government by act of Congress, in 1852, made further provision for the settlement of title in the Pueblos, and in the year 1864, patents were issued by the United States in favor of the Indians concerned, and vesting title therein. Since that time the United States has recognized the rights of the Pueblos to be absolute. An instance of this may be cited in the desire of the Government to locate schools among them. It is the policy of the Government to first acquire title to realty before expending funds appropriated for any purpose in improvements. Certain of the Pueblos have strenuously refused to grant title to the United States to the acre tract upon which buildings for school purposes might be erected, the result being an abandonment of the effort by the Government.

The Pueblo lands, however, since 1848 (the date of the treaty of Gaudaloupe Hidalgo) have not been subjected to taxation, until a recent decision of the highest Court of the Territory of New Mexico. The Court holds that the Pueblo Indians are citizens of the United States, closing the opinion with these words:—

“We conclude, therefore, that the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico are citizens of New Mexico and of the United States, hold their lands with full power of alienation, and are, as such, subject to taxation.”

The land grants of the Pueblos are largely mountainous and desert lands, but afford scanty pasture for stock, the Indians cultivating the more fertile tracts; the revenue therefrom is very limited, and if subject to taxation the Indian owners would soon lose title through inability to meet the demands of the assessor.

Congress has the authority to exempt Territorial lands from taxation. There are five cardinal reasons why the Pueblos should transfer title to these lands to the Government to be held for their use:

First.—The lands would not then be subject to taxation.

Second.—The Indian's interests would not be lost by adverse possession, as now endangered. The Statutes of New Mexico provide that one who claims by adverse possession for ten years secures an indefeasible title. The loss of lands belonging to the Taos Pueblo is a case in point. The Taos Pueblos were generous to their Mexican friends many years ago and allowed them to reside upon their Pueblo. Three years ago when it was desired by the Pueblos that these Mexicans move off the Pueblo, the Mexicans refused and set up their right by adverse possession which holds good under the Statute, after a continuous adverse possession for ten years. Statutes of limitation do not run against the United States.

Third.—Shrewd and unprincipled persons are continually seeking to defraud the Indians and often meet with success while the title remains in the Pueblo, which may act through its leaders in council. An apt illustration of this is found in the case of claimant Smith, who represented to the Pueblos that he could secure confirmation of title in the Pueblo to a grant which lies adjoining to one of their Pueblos, the Indians agreeing to convey to Smith sixty acres of land contained in two tracts agreed upon. In reality the Indians signed a deed to Smith for ten thousand acres of their lands, and immediately conveyed the title to an innocent purchaser.

Fourth.—Many of the Pueblos are controlled by ignorant members of the tribe who manage the tribal estate in a partizan and fraudulent manner. This condition might be remedied by proper care of the Government, and the establishment of proper system of franchise.

Fifth.—A system of day schools could be installed by the Government for all the Pueblos, and thus overcome the objections that now prevent such action by reason of absolute ownership by the Pueblo bands.

The Pueblos themselves have come to realize the great danger that confronts them by reason of the drastic decision of the Court, and it is thought will be quite willing to transfer their communal interest to the Federal Government as guardian, to be managed for their benefit, and it would seem that such action is much to be desired to preserve their property.

The Northern California Indian Association, of San Jose, California, have appealed to Congress for an appropriation to provide homes for these Indians, and are prepared to furnish forms of petition for this purpose. Copies of the petition may be had by addressing M. K. Sniffen, Secretary Indian Rights Association, 1305 Arch St., Philadelphia, Penn.

A PLEA FOR THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIANS.

BY S. M. BROSIUS.

The lamentable conditions existing among the landless Indians of Northern California may be charged in large part to unfulfilled promises of the Government. These Indians were cultivating the fertile valleys of what is now the northern portion of California, at the date of the treaty of 1848, under which sovereignty over that country was transferred by Mexico to the United States. The Mexican Government at least protected them to that extent in their occupancy of the lands that peace prevailed in the Indian settlements; this was a recognition by the sovereign power of the right of occupancy at least.

This was the condition of these Indians when the United States assumed control of their territory. The English and French Governments recognized the native's right of occupancy in their colonial possessions, so we may conclude that all the Indians inhabiting the territory of the United States, no matter when acquired, were entitled to equal rights in the question of occupation of the lands.

This recognition of the Indian's claim to his home by reason of first occupation has been attempted to be respected by our Government with various tribes throughout the United States.

What has been done in this direction for the landless Indians of Northern California? The tidal wave of immigration that swept over the lands of these Indians from 1849 to 1855 ruined their farms and left them destitute and subjected to most cruel treatment by the whites. I quote from the report of O. M. Wozencraft, U. S. Indian Agent for California, July 12, 1851:

"It would appear that most of the difficulties that unfortunately have occurred between the white and red men have been owing to an improper and short-sighted policy, or rather a want of true policy, with these children of the forest. Since the discovery of gold in this region, the section of country that was, and is necessarily the homes of the Indians, has been found rich in the precious metal, and consequently filled with a population foreign to them, and this has been done, in most instances, without attempting to conciliate them, or appease them in their grief and anger at the loss of their homes. I am sorry to say that in many instances they have been treated in a manner, were it recorded, would blot the darkest page of history that has yet been penned. Had they even been foreign convicts, possessing as they do, a full knowledge

“of the evils and the penalties therefor, and received the
 “punishment that had been dealt out to these poor, ignor-
 “ant creatures, this enlightened community would have
 “raised a remonstrative voice that would have rebuked the
 “aggressor, and caused him to go beyond the pale of
 “civilized man. Indians have been shot down without
 “evidence of their having committed an offence, and with-
 “out even an explanation to them of our laws. They have
 “been killed for protecting that which they, like the Spar-
 “tans, deemed a virtue; they have been rudely driven from
 “their homes, and expatriated from their sacred grounds,
 “where the ashes of their parents, ancestors, and beloved
 “chiefs repose.” (Also issued as an appeal to the people
 of California, by Agent Wozencraft.)

The authorities seemed powerless to prevent these wrongs. A score or more of treaties with eighty or ninety bands of the Indians were negotiated, providing for locating the Indians within certain described reservations, the instruments designating that the Indians were:

“***To have and to hold the said district of country for
 “the sole use and occupancy of said Indian tribes, forever.”

This was the condition contained in most of the treaties on the part of the United States. The consideration on the part of the Indians in many of the treaties provides as follows:

“The said Indians or bands, and each of them, hereby
 “engage that they will never claim any other land within
 “the boundaries of the United States.”

A treaty with eleven bands, negotiated June 10, 1851, contains this clause:

“In consideration of the foregoing, the said tribes of
 “Indians, jointly and severally, forever, quit-claim to the
 “Government of the United States, to any and all other
 “lands, to which they, or either of them, now have, or may
 “ever have had, any claim or title whatever.”

The compact on the part of the Indians was fulfilled by them—the lands overrun by white men and totally and finally lost to the Indian owners.

The treaties failed of ratification by the Senate, so that the Government failed altogether to carry out its promises made in the various treaties. Later, some effort was made to provide homes for these Indians by setting apart Military Reservations

upon which they could be located for temporary occupancy. When these were found to be valuable to the white settlers they were declared open to settlement as public lands. About the year 1870, several reservations were selected for the California Indians, being those now occupied by certain of them. Many thousands are still homeless in the northern portion of the State, occupying public thoroughfares and ancient burial places, at the public sufferance.

It may be claimed by some that the Government owes them nothing, since they were not owners of the soil they cultivated—yet we found them contentedly occupying the lands we negotiated with them for, thus securing peaceable abandonment of their claims through treaty stipulations that have not even attempted to be fulfilled on our part. Surely, in conscience, these Indians are entitled to have at least a few acres for each family, where, through industry, they may secure the actual necessities of life. It is not proposed to urge the herding of the bands within large reservations; five-acre tracts secured wherever possible will, in a measure, meet the present need, and be but scanty and long-deferred justice to a wronged people.

Mrs. AMELIA S. QUINTON.—You have heard the facts as legally found,—the Indians of that region (Northern California) claim and understand that they sold their land to the Government, but they have received no price, no money. The Government has parted with the land to white people, and the tract referred to is said to be worth from six to eight million dollars. You have heard the tenure of occupancy described; the Indians simply exist wherever they may, they are crowded into corners and rough places and unfertile lands, and they are rapidly diminishing in numbers under the circumstances. For instance, one band, which was formerly a band of several hundreds, has been reduced to less than one hundred in number, and they are now living on four acres of land which is the burial place of their fathers. It is surrounded by a wire fence enclosing property which belongs to white people, and those Indians have one well in that place, ten feet deep.

Others have gone into other places under similar conditions. Many have made themselves self-supporting; some of them are in schools, and many of them are worthy members of society in that region.

One contingent of the number settled around a light-house, of course belonging to the Government, on the shore. Later that tract was sold, and the Indians are literally on the shore living as they can. All friends of Indians will recognize that under such circumstances they are a tenderloin for vice of every description, they are without protection of any description.

Mrs. John Bidwell said she has had the best legal advice in the State, and she was told that Indians cannot homestead land, they are liable to eviction. Several bands have been evicted and they are homeless wanderers.

The Northern California Indian Organization has been deeply interested in this case for two years. Some of the best citizens in California have been investigating it, including Senators and members of the House in Washington, and at last there is a strong sentiment in favor of an effort to secure not a reservation—those who are presenting this petition would not have a reservation for these Indians,—all they ask is that an act of Congress shall authorize the purchase of a few little homesteads, consisting of two or three acres, on which these Indians without homes or belongings and in constant peril, may make a home, and by day's work and otherwise subsist their families.

Some of them are men of character, fine character, and under the most difficult circumstances have done well for themselves. What is asked is that this Conference shall help by its sentiment, and if possible by some action, to beg of the Government an act of Congress that will purchase small holdings for these people, not for the whole number at once,—there may be ten thousand or twelve thousand, one cannot say positively how many there are. Could there not be a small appropriation and make a beginning to help enable them to provide a home?

The Association to which I refer has bought some land and has given small holdings. Some of these people have at once moved their houses and put up their fences and begun a self-supporting life. And the letters which have come express their joy at having a place of their own.

I am sure everyone present is thankful to our Chairman for the key-note he struck at the opening session, for justice. Those Indians claim that they sold over 160,000 acres of land for the Government for a fixed price, and they have had no payment. We would ask that a real investigation in due legal form should be had, and that help should be given to those in danger of immediate eviction, and later for others if possible.

Miss • M. BURGESS, of Carlisle.—Friends, this is a very great surprise to me. I have been coming to this Conference a number of years, and this year I have been asked more times than I can count, "How is Carlisle, and how is the new superintendent?" I am willing to pass a message from him to this Conference and to answer any questions that may be asked except by the Chairman,—I am afraid his would be too comprehensive.

Capt. William A. Mercer, of the Seventh Cavalry, is now the Superintendent of Carlisle. He was urged by Mr. Smiley to

come to this Conference, and while I have passed a message to Mr. Smiley, he wishes to say to the Conference that he is very sorry that previous engagements prevented him from coming this year, but that he hoped if an opportunity offered another year to be present with you, that he knew it was his loss not to be here.

Capt. Mercer seems to be taking hold with a disposition to do all that he can to improve Carlisle. There never was an institution, I suppose, but could be improved some, and he is looking around to see where those points are, and he is determined to do all he can to improve the school. We find him a very pleasant gentleman; of course we do not know him very well yet. He seems quite reticent; he is feeling his way, he says.

If time or service among Indians gives one a right, I might have a small fraction of a right to say something on the Indian question, as I have been in the Indian service as a day school teacher for two or three years, and as a teacher in an Indian boarding school on the reservation for three or four years, and in one month from this time I will have served at Carlisle for twenty-five years.

Hon. MERRILL E. GATES.—May I ask one moment of time simply to say in behalf of an army officer who comes to succeed a man who was a king in his own rugged fashion: We could not always agree with him on all points, but we all felt the heroism of his Christian service. Anyone who comes to succeed General Pratt has to face these peculiar circumstances. I therefore want to say that our Board of Indian Commissioners has known of Capt. Mercer's dealings with the Indians. I want the privilege of saying, without prophesying at all what his work may be in this particular case, that the man's character and integrity and the purposes he discloses in his correspondence since he went to Carlisle, are such as to make us very hopeful for the administration even of the man who comes after the king.

Mr. SMILEY.—I am very sorry to announce that the President of this Conference who has been here at five sessions must leave this afternoon. I know I voice the feeling of all this Conference in thanking him heartily for his services.

On motion duly seconded, a vote of thanks was given to the President for his services.

Hon. CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.—Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: I intended to announce myself the afflicting news to you that I was obliged to leave this evening. I cannot say that I have received any telegram from President Roosevelt, nor do I know that Divine Providence has sent me a telegraphic notice that I should have to leave, but un-

fortunately certain very prosaic matters of business necessitate my being at another scene of action.

To preside over such a gathering as this is always an honor, and I shall always look back with the greatest satisfaction to the fact that I did not merit but received your thanks.

I wish to say that the sentiment which I expressed in my opening address that what our Indian wards want, and what they have too seldom received, is justice, is something which has been greatly strengthened by all that I have known of our dealings with Indians, and to some extent strengthened by what I have heard at this Conference. The Indians who have been deprived of the water which their ancestors have enjoyed for unnumbered generations, the water which was not only a matter of life and death to them, but was also the means by which they were gradually rising in the scale of civilization—they would have had their rights if they had been white men, because they would have taken their rights if they could not have obtained them in any other form.

Now we, representing the irresistible force of this great Nation, stand between these Indians and the rights to which they are entitled. We prevent them from doing justice to themselves, and does it need a word from anyone to make us say that we must do justice to them?

Again, these Indians of Northern California—would any white man have been treated in the way they have been treated? You may say that the weak must go to the wall, and that a Divine Providence has ordered that types of living beings shall be gradually eliminated, or in other words exterminated, by other and stronger types. I say you may say that, and say it consistently if you choose, and then you may close your hearts and your ears to the cries of those who suffer in the process. But unless you do say that, if you pretend to say that this country exists as an instrument of justice, that our Government is given us that we may do right to the weak and to the strong alike, then you must say that we have not dealt with these men as we would have had them deal with us had they been in our place and we in theirs.

I prejudice nothing, of course, as to the facts. We need to ascertain in all these cases the facts and to act on the facts and not on sympathies or mere desire to advance the welfare of those in whom we are profoundly interested. But if the facts are what we have heard to-day, I think we all must see that the Indian question is not solved. And while I sincerely hope that our good friend, Mr. Smiley, may welcome us here until its solution is an assured fact, I wish that with the greater heartiness because I know that he will then be with us for many years.

The Conference then adjourned.

Sixth Session.

Friday Evening, October 21, 1904.

The meeting was called to order at eight o'clock. In the enforced absence of the President, Mr. Smiley named Dr. Charles F. Meserve as presiding officer for the evening, referring to Dr. Meserve's highly successful record in the Indian service as head of the Haskell Institute, Kansas, before assuming his present office as President of Shaw University at Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. MESERVE took the chair and said:

Mr. Smiley and Fellow Members of the Conference: I believe it is the duty of a presiding officer to preside. I am not, however, insensible to the honor conferred upon me by Mr. Smiley who has asked me to preside over the deliberations of this Conference to-night.

I am looking in a very hopeful way upon the condition of things today. There are two invitations that I have received now every year for some twelve or thirteen years, and I also accept them no matter what others I may have to put off,—the invitation to the Mohonk Indian Conference, and the invitation to Booker T. Washington's Conference held each February at Tuskegee, Ala. And I feel to-night as a colored brother said at one of Mr. Washington's recent Conferences, very "possumistic."

I feel it is very encouraging that in the Platform which will be read to-night you will find suggestions looking to the abolition of the Indian Bureau and the closing up of Indian schools as Indian schools.

The first speaker this evening will be Rev. A. T. Pierson, D.D., who will speak on the "Religious Aspects of the Indian Question."

Rev. Dr. A. T. PIERSON.—I have spoken enough times in my life to have overcome ordinary diffidence and timidity, but I must confess that I have not faced an audience for many years with a more honest desire to be excused from speaking than the audience at the Mohonk Conference.

Far be it from me to say anything fulsome or that is of the nature of adulation, but I regard this as by far the most important Conference that I know of, because it is composed of experts, many of whom have been here for a number of years con-

secutively. This is my first appearance at the Conference, though with Mr. Smiley's kind consent it will not be the last. I think, however, that there is a reason why I may speak without being intrusive; we have a daughter whom we have given to the Indian work, and who has been in the Indian work at Tucson, Arizona, for upwards of fourteen years in the Indian School. And I may claim to have a little acquaintance with the work of irrigation, for when I went out to visit that school in Tucson, Arizona, with Mrs. Pierson, we found that there were forty acres of ranch in the possession of that school from which they got a sparse crop of rye every year, but which properly irrigated would be capable of supplying all the vegetables and fruits necessary for the school. Whereupon, having no money of my own, I diligently set siege to a friend of mine in Brooklyn, who when asked, kindly supplied the money to build an artesian well and irrigate the ranch.

And now, to speak on the religious aspects of the question purely. There is a famous saying of Dionysius, that history is philosophy, teaching by example, and however great the wisdom of the philosopher it needs to be both directed and created by the researches of the historian. Now I claim to be neither a philosopher nor a historian, but in connection with the studies of forty years, and especially the editorial work of the last fifteen, I have made a diligent and constant study of one department of history, namely, the History of Christian Missions, and from that study I have come with a deliberate and unshakable conviction that of the outstanding facts, the most conspicuous one in the whole history of the Christian Missions of the last century is this, that the foundation of the highest civilization is laid in the Gospel of Jesus Christ and in the open Bible. And upon that subject I wish to be heard by this Conference for a few moments.

If I were asked to select from the Missions of the last Century—the great Missionary Century of the Church—some twelve examples of the most conspicuous triumph ever achieved on the missionary field, I should without hesitation select the following:

The work of Dr. J. C. Hepburn and his companions in the construction of the New Japan. Second, the work of Adoniram Judson in the reformation of the community in Burma. Third, the work of the Church Missionary Society in the Tinnevely district in India. Fourth, the work of the American Baptist Union in India. Fifth, the work of Robert W. McCall in Paris and the French provincial cities. Sixth, the remarkable work of Johnson in his seven years in Sierra Leone. Next, the remarkable work of Lindley and his associates among the Zulus. Next, that most remarkable modern revival in Uganda. Then turning to the isles of the sea, take the greatest of all islands, Madagascar. Then the great work of the Wesleyans among the Fijis. Then the work of Titus Coan and his associates. And last, but not

least, the work of William Duncan among the Mellakatella Indians.

Now I do not say that there have been no other spheres of mission work that can be compared with these, but I can say without hesitation and without successful contradictions that the whole history of missions here in the Nineteenth Century presents no more conspicuous triumph in the way of achievement than has been found in the several events which I have mentioned.

And one of the most remarkable things is that the triumphs achieved in these fields have been in some of the most prominent instances among the most degraded, superstitious, brutal and bestial races. And yet, mark it, in every solitary case of the twelve mentioned, all civilization that has been reached has been founded upon Christianity. That Christianity has gone before civilization, and there has been no effort for civilization to prepare the way for Christianity.

Now I think that this is a very conspicuous fact. No philosopher who is studying the Nation's treatment of its subject races and island dependencies can afford to shut his eyes, for, as I said, whatever be the theories of philosophy they ought to be both directed and created by the researches of the historian. For here philosophy will find both its exemplification, and if it be a false philosophy, its refutation.

Now I do not deny that there are many great results that are wrought by other things than by Christianity. But I cannot forget that in the Bible itself we have the Constitution of man represented as threefold,—spirit, soul and body, and the order is a part of the inspiration—it is not body, soul and spirit. The spirit is the highest, and the soul is the next, and the body is the lowest. Cleanliness of habit and sanitary provisions of all kinds may promote the well-being of the body, and by all means let us have these methods of improving physical conditions.

All things that pertain to an elevated sphere of thought, mental training and moral training, appertain to the soul. By all means let us have schools, educational methods, libraries, and everything else that tends to make an intelligent citizen. For intelligence and industry are the handmaids of virtue, as ignorance and indolence are the handmaids of vice. But let us not forget, and I am sure none of us do forget, that there is a better and a higher part of man than body or soul, and that if we are going to make a big building we have got to have a deep basis, and the deep basis for the perfectly constructed man is found in spiritual sympathy with a spiritual God.

Now I believe in education and I glory in education, and I have done all I could during my life to promote it. It is the corrective of a great many evils, as, for instance, in the story about Cuvier and the ghost. When Cuvier was a student some of his

fellow-students tried to appall him with a ghostly apparition; at midnight he was awakened by some one saying in his ear "I will eat you." He looked at the apparition and said, "Hum, horns above, hoofs below, graminivorous not carnivorous—you'll never eat me." Well, that is a very fine illustration of the fact that education dispels a great many silly superstitions. What I want you to observe is that while education of that sort may pull down it does not build up religious faith in the place of the destroyed superstition.

I have heard a great deal said about the great educational institutions of India, but thousands of Indian youths are being uneducated of their superstitions; they have learned to disbelieve in Brahma, but they have not learned to believe in Jesus Christ.

It is possible to give a man an education that will only be preparing his mind for crimes of a more refined and subtle nature, so that while you make impossible in a measure the coarse and brutal crimes of his former life you are changing the field and the form of criminality, but you are by no means doing away with sin.

When Lindley, my dear old friend, came back from the Zulu country, he said to me, "Pierson, I have sown Christianity, the foundation of civilization, among the Zulus. We went there simply to tell the Gospel story to these savage races, and we found that the first intimation that a man was interested in Christ was this,—he came in his nakedness to get a duck shirt at the mission premises, and then the next day he would come to trade off some simple article for a pair of duck pants; and then he would come to trade something else for a little three-legged stool. And when that man got on his shirt and pants, and sat on his little stool he was about a thousand miles above all the savage people round about him." He put beneath that Zulu people the uplifting power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and when they had heard of Christ they felt their nakedness and desired to be clothed, and they yearned for cleanliness and humanity and decency and propriety and a better family life.

I remember that when Mr. Johnson went to Sierra Leone he found round about Freetown, which was then called Hogburg—and might well be called so because of the human hogs that inhabited the district, 27 tribes of Africans gathered there as the refuse taken out of slave ships, and every kind of crime was rife. He simply began with nothing but the preaching of Christ crucified and the opening up to them of the Word of God, and in eighteen months a revival swept over that community that brought the great mass of the people into the church. They put up a building that would hold 2,000 people; they put their children into the schools, and in seven years Johnson's eyes were closed by his first convert. But he left behind him a community in which

there was not a trace of the iniquities of seven years before, and it had all been brought about by the preaching of Jesus Christ, by the spreading before them of the open Bible, and by his own personal contact with a God that answers prayer.

Rev. JOACHIM ELMENDORF.—I feel less divinely called to this service than I did last night when the Chairman of the Business Committee conquered my opposition to undertaking the service by assuring me that I was called of the Lord to do it. Generally when the Lord calls men he really furnishes them with the means of discharging their duties.

My own experience in the preaching of the Gospel, in witnessing the triumphs of that Gospel over every class and over every character, has been within the compass of churches or congregations. I think I have never felt more deeply the certain power of the religion of Christ to accomplish the great end for which the Lord gave us the religion of Christ than I have felt since I came to this Conference. I did not apprehend so distinctly as I do now the force, the bearings, of the topic under which we were to speak, but I did feel from the beginning of the Conference up to this present time that I have never been taught so much about the power and the importance of the simple religion of Christ as I have been since I have been here. It has been a joy to me hour after hour to see how certainly the workers in this great cause are able to say, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." They who apprehend most the difficulties of accomplishing what their hearts are set upon have learned and felt and declared that it is not civilization except that civilization be given character and power by the simple religion of Jesus Christ.

I think everyone of you has had his or her faith strengthened by everything we have heard here. No one better than the doctor who has spoken to us could bring before us so many illustrations of just what he wanted to say in the defence of, or in the advance of, Christianity. I only want to say that the strengthened faith of each one of you ought just in your own sphere to make the effort to extend the influence of this Conference.

I feel that we none of us ought to be here and think that it is a simple matter of enjoyment or personal improvement. We ought to go away determined to extend just as far as possible in our own spheres the teachings we have received, the power of this Conference in its various work, so that it shall be found true in the history of each one of us and of the Conference, that we have been faithful to our trust in communicating what we have received.

Now, faith in the means employed and in the object to be accomplished is the foundation. It has been said that sight is

the greatest sense. It is the quickest unquestionably, and the broadest, for in an instant it can look from earth to heaven, and in an instant it can sweep the surface of the circumference of the heavens, and you know the proverb runs, "Seeing is believing." Now, faith is the sight of the soul, and it is the quickest and the broadest and the most reliable course. From the topmost peak of the mountains of inspiration it can catch gleams of the heavenly land. It sweeps from the creation to the consummation, the final consummation of all things that God has spoken of by His holy prophets. From the beginning of the world, from the fall of man in Paradise on earth, it sweeps to the Paradise in heaven, secured through Christ. Everyone of us ought to exercise the faith we have in the use of the means that shall extend the triumphs of the Gospel in our spheres as well as in the spheres toward which we have been looking and for which we are going to pray.

True, faith in its exercise upon the individual man can accomplish nothing, comparatively, except it prompts us to prayer. That is another way that I wish you all to exercise your influence on earth and in heaven.

My idea of prayer is for us to have specific objects, it is for us to depend upon the promise of the prayer-hearing God, and we shall get the blessings we seek for—and only get them in that way.

As we recollect the proceedings of this Conference, the specific objects, there are interests forced upon our minds that will never pass away, and which we should plead before the great prayer-hearing God. If we shall all do this we shall have answers to our prayers, and we shall have, and be able to read about the prosperity and success of this cause. And we shall know nothing about it in any other way.

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously by the Twenty-second Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples, October 21, 1904:—

LIQUOR IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

Whereas, The Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory made solemn agreements with the United States, in the years 1897, 1898, and 1902, for the surrender of their lands to the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes, providing that the sale, barter, or giving of intoxicating liquors to any person within the district now constituting the Indian Territory shall be forever prohibited, which agreements were fully accepted and approved by the United States; and,

Whereas, The said agreements constitute a permanent, unalterable condition applicable to the disposition and use of the before-mentioned lands; therefore,

Resolved, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to duly execute the said agreement by inserting in the Enabling Act that may be passed, to constitute a State of the Indian Territory, either separately or in conjunction with Oklahoma, such provision as will secure, by constitutional enactment, the permanent enforcement of the said agreements.

SCHOOLS FOR THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

Resolved, As the existing treaties and agreements with the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory provide for the abandonment of all tribal institutions before March 4, 1906; and as this will involve the termination of the school system upon which these tribes are spending nearly half a million dollars annually, this Conference urges that immediate provision be made to carry on these schools under the control and management of the Department of the Interior until such time as they may properly be made a part of the school system of the State or Territory which may eventually have jurisdiction over the Indian Territory.

APPROPRIATION FOR SCHOOLS IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

Resolved, That we believe the Government to be in duty bound to provide homes for the landless Indians in Northern California, and thus redeem the provisional pledges made in the treaties with the Indians, whereby they were induced to vacate their lands, the Government, as the other contracting party, having failed to ratify the said treaties, and to execute its obligation;

Resolved, That we recommend that the Congress appoint a commission of three men of high character, at least one of whom should be a resident of California, and familiar with local conditions, to investigate the condition of these Indians with a view to the purchasing of lands and allotting homes of from five to ten acres each of these Indians among white settlers, where employment may be found for them; and that this Commission be directed to report at the earliest practicable moment.

WATER RIGHTS OF THE PIMAS.

Resolved, That the condition of the Pima Indians in Southern Arizona calls for immediate relief, and we ask the Government authorities to secure a supply of water for their use, without unnecessary delay, by sinking such number of artesian wells as may be necessary for this purpose, and that the funds now available be promptly used.

We further recommend that in the construction of dams on the Gila and Salt Rivers, the interest of these people be carefully considered.

The Platform was presented by Mr. James Wood, and adopted unanimously. It can be found on pages 5, 6 and 7 of this report.

The following resolution of thanks was read by Rev. Geo. K. Spining:—

The two following Resolutions should be substituted for the one on the opposite page headed Appropriation for Schools in Indian Territory:—

APPROPRIATION FOR SCHOOLS IN INDIAN TERRITORY

Resolved, That this Conference heartily approves the grant of \$100,000 made at the last session of Congress for enlarging and multiplying the schools of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory, so that they might be made available for non-Indian children otherwise without any possible means of securing educational advantages, and urges that for the next fiscal year an appropriation of at least \$250,000 be made for this purpose.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIANS

Resolved, That we believe the Government to be in duty bound to provide homes for the landless Indians in Northern California, and thus redeem the provisional pledges made in the treaties with the Indians, whereby they were induced to vacate their lands, the Government, as the other contracting party, having failed to ratify the said treaties, and to execute its obligation;

Resolved, That we recommend that the Congress appoint a commission of three men of high character, at least one of whom should be a resident of California, and familiar with local conditions, to investigate the condition of these Indians with a view to the purchasing of lands and allotting homes of from five to ten acres each to these Indians among white settlers, where employment may be found for them; and that this commission be directed to report at the earliest practicable moment.

The adoption of the resolution was seconded by Mr. Edward J. Wheeler, Editor of the "Literary Digest," as follows:—

MR. EDWARD J. WHEELER.—Ladies and Gentlemen: It has afforded me unqualified delight as I have sat here and listened to the testimonies of those who know what they are talking about—it has afforded me a great deal of delight to feel that this Nation has, after all, as a Nation taken the right side of that question; that although there have been individual failures and outrages perpetrated, perhaps without number, yet the Nation, as a nation, has taken the right side, and has displayed feelings of generosity and kindness and right purpose with regard to these people.

I go away from Mohonk Conference a better and broader American than I came here. I go away with a greater feeling of love and respect for the Stars and Stripes, and with a desire to sing with even more gusto than in the past the glorious old "Star Spangled Banner."

Now one word more about the Conference. Our highly honored, but not too highly honored, Secretary of State, John Hay, has a valuable painting by one of the old masters—Botticelli, if I remember aright. That painting is made upon a very thin panel of wood, and not many months ago it was discovered that in the reverse side of that painting, on the wood, a crack had appeared that would probably extend until it had reached the face of the picture and would deface and spoil the beautiful painting. That led to a process for the preservation of the painting that is a very rare one indeed in this country. The object of the process was to separate the painting from the wood and yet preserve the painting. What they did was to take first very clean slips of tissue paper and place on the painting itself; to fill all the depressions and to make the surface perfectly complete and level. Then they turned the painting face down upon a smooth table and then began a long and tedious process of removing, bit by bit, the wood upon which that painting was painted, by means of sandpaper. It took months, but finally they came to a point where the wood was only as thin as thin paper, and then it took the utmost care to remove the remainder of the wood without spoiling the picture. When that was done they took a piece of canvas and glued it to the painting, and the treatment of the picture was at an end.

Ladies and gentlemen, a much greater artist than Botticelli has made man in his own likeness, not only the White man, but the Black man and the Red man, and the Brown man and the Yellow man. Here is a painting of the image of God himself in a living picture; not a dead painting by a human artist. All that trouble to preserve the painted image by a human artist,

but how much trouble it is worth while to give to preserve this living image of Almighty God and His children! That is what the Mohonk Conference has been doing. It has taken years and years to do that work and it is not finished yet. The work is to preserve that image of God that has been painted, so to speak upon the background of superstition and ignorance and barbarism; to remove all that background and put that image of God upon a new background of Christianized civilization. And that is what the Mohonk Conferences have been doing.

Rev. John Timothy Stone, of Baltimore, also seconded the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—There was no man in public life that I ever came to know quite well that I esteemed so highly as Senator Dawes. I remember when I first met him. We were having some trouble at Haskell Institute about the time we were getting things on a civil-service basis, and I had the pleasure of calling upon him at his home in Washington one night. I remember the kindly words he said to me about leaving my home in Springfield, Mass. And then in 1892 I got word from him that his committee and some invited guests were coming the next day to Lawrence, Kansas, in a special car, to visit the Institution. I remember the visit very well. The following day he asked me to go to the Indian Territory. I went with him. Our car was set off on a switch on the beautiful Cherokee strip where there was no sign of human habitation, save the large school, and there we sat chatting, side by side, and he fell into a mood of reminiscence. I had been saying to him, "I wish you would tell me some of the more interesting experience of your public life." And in the line of that conversation I drew out that he was the father of Indian education, that he was the father of the Fish Commission, and the father of the Weather Bureau. How remarkable it was that we had produced over in the old Bay State a man who had been so strong and so influential in the halls of Congress as to be the means of putting through legislation regarding such important measures.

I cannot give the year, but possibly seven or eight years ago—Miss Dawes will correct me if I make a mistake—I left the Conference, going to New York. We were travelling together, and before we reached New York, he said: "I am going to Washington at the invitation of President Cleveland." The day after I learned that President Cleveland had selected him—who was known to be a member of another party, but the highest type of statesman—as the Chairman of the Dawes Commission.

In view of these personal experiences with him, it is a special

pleasure to ask you to rise and remain standing a moment in honor to the memory of the late Senator Dawes.

Mr. SMILEY.—I want to recognize and thank you for the resolutions passed and for the kind expressions that have been spoken. They contain too much praise, which I do not deserve at all. I feel that I am doing just what any man, with the same opportunities, ought to do as his duty, and as someone has said, I enjoy it as much as you do. Now what is there in that to be praised for? Nothing at all.

But I want to say to you that I thank you all for coming here. I know that many persons who have contributed much to this Conference have left duties undone at home to come here to do something for humanity. They are the ones who deserve the praise, and I hope they will deserve the same praise by coming another year.

These Conferences are going on. I think some have had a feeling that the Indian question might be left in the background. It will not, and the name of the Conference will always include "Friends of the Indian" unless the Indian Bureau is abolished and all the Indians settled down with good homes and become citizens.

We have had a wonderful Conference, and all the questions have been well discussed. I have never before heard such addresses on the Filipinos, and Porto Ricans and the Hawaiians, so full of thought and beautifully expressed and mostly from young men. I am proud of America and of our Government that has selected such men, and I hope that in the future we may keep on selecting our best men to send to our dependencies—men whom we can trust implicitly and who will take an interest in the people to whom they are sent.

I am sorry that the time has come to part for we shall miss you all. My wife sends a special message that she is so sorry not to be here to greet you and mingle with the Conference, but her health, as most of you know, was so impaired by the strain of receiving guests at a former Conference, that she now has to be very careful. She sends her kindest regards to you all.

After the singing of the hymn, "God be with you till we meet again," the Conference adjourned *sine die*.

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